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The
Emma
Goldman
Papers

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Goldman
Papers

A Microfilm Edition

Reel 53

Goldman Writings

January 1, 1935 to May 31, 1940

Edited by
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Ronald J. Zboray
and
Daniel Cornford

CHADWYCK-HEALEY INC.

Alexandria, Virginia

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In memory of Brenda J. Butler (1953-1990)

who, from 1987 to 1990, coordinated the search for Goldman documents in Europe, Asia and the Soviet Union, thus expanding the Goldman Papers collection to reflect the international dimension of Goldman's life and work.

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- [Emma Goldman in Madrid. In Spanish] Emma Goldman en Madrid / Emma Goldman. — p. 1 ; 28 cm. *In* Cultura Proletaria [New York]. — (Nov. 6, 1937).
- [Interview] Conversando con Emma Goldman [Talking with Emma Goldman. In Italian] / Emma Goldman. — p. 8 ; 40 cm. *In* L'Adunata Dei Refrattari [New York]. — Vol. 16, no. 45 (Nov. 13, 1937).
- [Notes of Emma Goldman. In Spanish] Unas Cuartillas de Edmma Goldman / Emma Goldman. — p. 3 ; 30 cm. *In* Nosostros [Valencia]. — no. 205 (Nov. 20, 1937).
- [Interview] Emma Goldman Speaks of the Spanish Workers Struggle / Emma Goldman. — p. 3 ; 30 cm. *In* Spain and the World [London]. — Vol. 1, no. 24 (Nov. 24, 1937).
- Durruti / Emma Goldman. — p. 1 ; 30 cm. *In* Spain and the World [London]. — (Nov. 24, 1937).
- [Impressions from Spain. In Italian] Impressioni di Spagna / Emma Goldman. — p. 1 ; 42 cm. *In* L'Adunata Dei Refrattari [New York]. — Vol. 36, no. 47 (Nov. 27, 1937).
- A Capitalist Newspaper Sees the Light / [Emma Goldman]. — [1937 Dec.?, draft].
- [Address to the Delegates at the Extraordinary Congress in Paris of the I.W.B.A.] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — [1937 Dec.].
- [Address to the Delegatès at the Extraordinary Congress in Paris of the I.W.B.A.] / [Emma Goldman]. — [1937 Dec.].
- [Emma Goldman is convinced that the Spanish revolution will resist... In Spanish] Emma Goldman está convencida que la revolución espanola resistirá... / Emma Goldman. — p. 3 ; 29 cm. *In* La Protesta [Buenos Aires]. — (Dec. 1937).
- [A letter from Emma Goldman. In Spanish] Una carta de Emma Goldman / Emma Goldman. — p. 1 ; 29 cm. *In* Cultura Proletaria [New York]. — (Dec. 4, 1937).
- Emma Goldman Reports on Spain / Emma Goldman. — pp. 1, 3 ; 29 cm. *In* Spanish Revolution [New York]. — (Dec. 6, 1937, fragment).
- A Visit to the Durruti-Ascaso Orphans Colony / Emma Goldman. — p. 8 ; 28 cm. *In* Spain and the World [London]. — (Dec. 10, 1937).
- Political Persecution in Republican Spain / Emma Goldman. — p. 5 ; 22 cm. *In* Spain and the World [London]. — (Dec. 10, 1937).
- [Emma Goldman writes to us about Spain. In Yiddish] Emma Goldman schreibt undz vegn Shpania / Emma Goldman. — pp. 1,8 ; 43 cm. *In* Freie Arbeiter Stimme [New York]. — (Dec. 17, 1937).
- Political Persecutions in Spain Must Stop / Emma Goldman. — 28 cm. *In* Spanish Revolution [New York]. — (Dec. 20, 1937).
- ["Among the Features That Impressed Me Most..."] / Emma Goldman. — 27 cm. *In* Spanish Revolution [New York]. — (Dec. 12, 1937, excerpt).
- [Interview] Emma Goldman habla sobre las luchas de los obreros españoles [Emma Goldman speaks of the Spanish workers' struggle. In Spanish] / Emma Goldman. — p. 3 ; 34 cm. *In* Solidaridad Obrera [Barcelona]. — (Dec. 25, 1937).
- [Political persecutions in Republican Spain. In Italian] Persecuzione politica nella Spagna repubblicana / Emma Goldman. — pp. 1-2 ; 44 cm. *In* L'Adunata Dei Refrattari [New York]. — Vol. 16, no. 51 (Dec. 25, 1937).
- To The Toronto Star / [Emma Goldman]. — 1937 Dec. 27, draft.

- Anarchists Captured Teruel / Emma Goldman. — 17 cm. *In* The Toronto Star. — (Dec. 27, 1937).
- Herschel F. Grynspan and His Tormentors / Emma Goldman. — [1938? draft].
- My Second Visit to Spain / [Emma Goldman]. — [1938?, draft].
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- [Leon Trotsky protests too much. In Spanish] Leon Trotsky protesta demasiado / Emma Goldman. — [1938?, draft].
- Spain Betrayed by the Politicians. Workers of the World, Now Is the Time for Action! / Emma Goldman, *et al.* — [1938?, leaflet].
- Trotsky Protests Too Much / Emma Goldman. — Glasgow : Anarchist Communist Federation, [1938?].
- [To the delegates of the I.A.A. extraordinary congress. In Swedish] Till delegaterna på I.A.A.'s extraordinarie kongress / Emma Goldman. — pp. 1-5 ; 28 cm. *In* S.A.C.'s Meddelanden [Stockholm]. — No. 1 (1938).
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- [Excerpt from Lecture] The Betrayal of the Spanish Workers / Emma Goldman. — pp. 1, 3 ; 29 cm. *In* Spain and the World [London]. — (Jan. 14, 1938).
- [Interview] Emma Goldman e l'anarchismo spagnolo [Emma Goldman and Spanish anarchism. In Italian] / Emma Goldman. — p. 5 ; 42 cm. *In* L'Adunata Dei Refrattari [New York]. — Vol. 17, no. 3 (Jan. 15, 1938).
- [The liberation of women. In Swedish.] Kvinnans frigörelse / Emma Goldman. — 21 cm. *In* Arbetaren [Stockholm]. — (Feb. 7, 1938).
- Swiss Government Seizes Funds Destined for S.I.A. / Emma Goldman. — p. 4 ; 24 cm. *In* S.I.A. Bulletin [London]. — Vol. 1, no. 2 (March-April, 1938).
- Emma Goldman and the Alliance Proposals / Emma Goldman. — p. 4 ; 22 cm. *In* Spain and the World [London]. — (March 4, 1938).
- Preface [to Camillo Berneri: *pensieri e bataglie*] / [Emma Goldman]. — [1938 March?, draft].
- [The persecution in Republican Spain has come to its worst days. In Spanish] La persecucion en la España republicana sigue como en sus peores dias / Emma Goldman. — p. 2 ; 35 cm. *In* La Protesta [Buenos Aires]. — (March 1938).
- Emma Goldman Appeals for Support of S.I.A. / Emma Goldman. — p. 2 ; 29 cm. *In* Spain and the World [London]. — (March 18, 1938).
- Emma Goldman on Spain [Part 1] / Emma Goldman. — pp. 1, 3 ; 29 cm. *In* Spanish Revolution [New York]. — vol. 2, no. 11 (March 21, 1938).
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- The Black Spectre of War / Emma Goldman. — p. 4 ; 29 cm. *In* Spain and the World [London]. — (May 1938).
- Emma Goldman Reports on Spain [Part 2] / Emma Goldman. — pp. 1, 3 ; 31 cm. *In* Spanish Revolution [New York]. — (May 1, 1938).
- Trotsky Protests Too Much / Emma Goldman. — pp. 5-8 ; 29 cm. *In* Vanguard [New York]. — (July 1938).

- [The individual social state] Ge Ren Zai She Hui Li de Di Wei / Emma Goldman. — pp. 19-29 ; 21 cm. *In* Jing Zhe. — Vol. 2, no. 6 (July 10, 1938).
- W. Starrett / E[mma] Goldman. — p. 2 ; 22 cm. *In* Spain and the World [London]. — (July 15, 1938).
- [Leon Trotsky protests too much. In Spanish] León Trotsky protesta demasiado / Emma Goldman. — pp. 88-97 ; 22 cm. *In* Timón, Síntesis de orientación político-social. — Barcelona : Tierra y Libertad, 1938 Aug.
- Palestine and Socialist Policy / Emma Goldman. — p. 2 ; 22 cm. *In* Spain and the World [London]. — (Aug. 26, 1938).
- [Interview] Emma Goldman habla de la confusa y grave situación creada en Europa [Emma Goldman speaks of the confused and grave European situation. In Spanish] / Emma Goldman. — p. 4 ; 27 cm. *In* Solidaridad Obrera [Barcelona]. — (Sept. 16, 1938).
- [Interview] Emma Goldman, la luchadora infatigable de las filas del proletario, dice... [Goldman, the tireless fighter of the proletariat, says... In Spanish] / Emma Goldman. — p. 1 ; 34 cm. *In* CNT [Barcelona]. — no. 84 (Sept. 20, 1938).
- [Trotsky protests too much. In French] Réponse à Trotzki / Emma Goldman. — 27 cm. *In* Le Réveil Anarchiste [Geneva]. — (Sept. 21, 1938, excerpt).
- [Interview] Emma Goldman en España [Emma Goldman on Spain. In Spanish] / Emma Goldman. — p. 1 ; 29 cm. *In* Fragua Social [Valencia]. — no. 649 (Sept. 22, 1938).
- [Interview] Emma Goldman, Vigia de España, en Londres [Emma Goldman, vigil for Spain, in London. In Spanish] / Emma Goldman. — 34 cm. *In* Umbral [Madrid]. — (Sept. 24, 1938).
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- [Interview] Emma Goldman conversa con el compañero Gregorio Jover [Emma Goldman speaks with comrade Gregorio Jover. In Spanish] / Emma Goldman. — p. 4 ; 36 cm. *In* Umbral [Madrid?]. — no. 51 (Nov. 5, 1938).
- Visiting the Fronts / Emma Goldman. — [1938? Dec.?, draft].
- S.I.A.: Its Tremendous Achievements / Emma Goldman. — 32 cm. *In* S.I.A. Bulletin [London]. — no. 4 (Dec. 1938).
- A Correction / Emma Goldman. — 29 cm. *In* Spain and the World [London]. — (Dec. 3, 1938).
- Revolutionary Economy in Spain: Collectivised Milk Industry / Emma Goldman. — p. 3 ; 22 cm. *In* Spain and the World [London]. — (Dec. 23, 1938).
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- The Lure of the Spanish People / Emma Goldman. — [1939?, draft].
- 70th Birthday Commemorative Edition / Emma Goldman. — Los Angeles : Libertarian Committee, 1939.
- The Lure of the Spanish People / Emma Goldman. — pp. 2-3 ; 22 cm. *In* Challenge [New York]. — (Jan. 7, 1939).
- To the Editor, The Manchester Guardian / Emma Goldman. — 1939 Jan. 26, draft.

- P.O.U.M. Frame-Up Fails / Emma Goldman. — pp. 15-16 ; 29 cm. *In Vanguard* [New York]. — (Feb. 1939).
- The Widow of Erich Muesham. A Second Disappearance / [Emma Goldman]. — [1939] Feb. 2, draft.
- Tom Mooney's Resurrection [Part 1] / Emma Goldman. — p. 3 ; 22 cm. *In Revolt* [London]. — (Feb. 11, 1939).
- Tom Mooney's Resurrection [Part 2] / Emma Goldman. — p. 4 ; 22 cm. *In Revolt* [London]. — (Feb. 25, 1939).
- [Trotsky protests too much. In Italian] Kronstadt, Trotsky e Trotskisti [Part 1] / Emma Goldman. — p. 2 ; 43 cm. *In L'Adunata Dei Refrattari* [New York]. — (March 4, 1939).
- [Trotsky protests too much. In Italian] Kronstadt, Trotsky e Trotskisti [Part 2] / Emma Goldman. — p. 3 ; 43 cm. *In L'Adunata Dei Refrattari* [New York]. — (March 11, 1939).
- [Trotsky protests too much. In Italian] Kronstadt, Trotsky e Trotskisti [Part 3] / Emma Goldman. — p. 2 ; 44 cm. *In L'Adunata Dei Refrattari* [New York]. — (March 18, 1939).
- [Tom Mooney's resurrection. In Italian] Chi ha liberato Mooney? / Emma Goldman. — p. 4 ; 44 cm. *In L'Adunata Dei Refrattari* [New York]. — (April 1, 1939).
- [Interview] Emma Goldman, Anarchist, Crazy About Cathedrals / Emma Goldman. — 29 cm. *In The Toronto Star*. — (April 22, 1939).
- [Excerpt from Lecture] Stalin Was Real Judas in Spain, Speaker Says / Emma Goldman. — 9 cm. *In The Evening Telegram* [Toronto]. — (April 28, 1939).
- [Again, We Are Celebrating the First of May] / [Emma Goldman]. — [1939 May?, draft].
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- [Interview] They Called Her Dangerous. "Red Emma" Goldman Stumps for Anarchy / Emma Goldman. — pp. 5, 20 ; 29 cm. *In The Windsor Star*. — (May 19, 1939).
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- To Comrades and Friends on the North American Continent / Emma Goldman. — 1939 June 27.
- [Excerpt from Lecture] "Workers Stabbed," Says Emma Goldman / Emma Goldman. — (Sept. 21, 1939, newsclipping).
- [Excerpt from Lecture] Stalin Branded Betrayer by Emma Goldman / Emma Goldman. — 9 cm. *In Democrat and Chronicle* [Rochester]. — (Sept. 21, 1939).
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- Trotsky Protests Too Much / Emma Goldman. — London : Libertarian Education, [194?].
- The Place of the Individual in Society / Emma Goldman. — Chicago : Free Society Forum, [1940?].
- Appeal For Help / Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, A[lexander] Shapiro. — pp. 512-514 ; 22 cm. *In The Guillotine at Work. Twenty Years of Terror in Russia (Data and Documents)* / edited by G. P. Maximoff. — Chicago : The Chicago Section of A. Berkman Fund, 1940.

Statement: Fund for Spanish Refugees / Emma Goldman. — 1940 Jan. 18.

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Corrispondenze Comunicazioni: Resoconto Fondo pro' Rifugiati di Spagna / Emma Goldman and J. Fitzgerald. — 28 cm. *In* L'Adunata dei Refrattari [New York]. — (Jan. 31, 1940).

[Financial Account of the Funds for the Spanish Refugees. In Italian] Resoconto Fondo pro' Rifugiati di Spagna / Emma Goldman and [M.E.?] Fitzgerald. — p. 7 ; 36 cm. *In* L'Adunata dei Refrattari [New York] — (Feb. 17, 1940).

[Emma Goldman and the Dies commission. In Italian] Emma Goldman e la Commissione Dies / Emma Goldman. — 31 cm. *In* L'Adunata dei Refrattari [New York]. — (May 25, 1940).

Memorial Meeting / Emma Goldman. — 1940 May 31.

Introduction to Reels 47 through 55

The Goldman Writings Series is a collection of Goldman's published essays, essay drafts, and lectures, as well as summaries of (and excerpts from) speeches as they appeared in newspaper articles and interviews from 1890 to 1940.

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The newspaper articles reveal the public Emma Goldman as she was portrayed by the contemporary press. The articles underscore her wit, humor, and intellectual curiosity as well as her composure when confronted with hostility and sexism.

The Goldman Writing Series follows the public life of Emma Goldman from 1890 to 1940. Four periods stand apart in terms of both her activity and the attention focused on her: the years she published, edited, and wrote for *Mother Earth*, with the lively narratives of her lecture tours across the United States; her return from the Soviet Union, including her criticism of Leninism, the attacks from the Left against her anti-Leninist positions, and her responses; her brief return to the United States in 1934, a respite from the exile that separated her from her family and comrades in the United States;

and finally, the years of the Spanish Civil war: her visits to Barcelona and Madrid, her analysis of the transformations in Spain and of the controversies concerning the alternative tactics employed by Spanish anarchist organizations in their militant and political struggle against Fascism.

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10

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[Methods of Birth Control] / [Emma Goldman]. — [1935?, draft, fragment]. — 65 p. ; 30 × 19 cm.

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V H 20
DR. FRED J. TAUSSIG, ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR
OF GYNECOLOGY OF WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY, ST. LOUIS,
AND AUTHOR OF THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE REPORT
ON ABORTION, PRESENTED A PAPER ON "ABORTION.
CONTROL THROUGH BIRTH CONTROL" AT THE 1934
AMERICAN CONFERENCE ON GIRTH CONTROL AND
NATIONAL RECOVERY. AT THIS TIME HE CONSERVA-
TIVELY ESTIMATED THAT APPROXIMATELY 700,000
ABORTIONS ARE PERFORMED IN THIS COUNTRY EVERY
YEAR, WHILE DR. A. J. RONGY, IN "ABORTION:
LEGAL OR ILLEGAL," PUT THE ANNUAL TOTAL AT
NEARER TWO MILLION.

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THE HISTORIES OF PATIENTS OF THE NEW YORK

CLINIC SHOW THAT MANY OF THEM ARE DRIVEN TO

ABORTION, NOT BECAUSE THEY ARE FRIVOLOUS YOUNG

THINGS, UNWILLING TO ACCEPT THE RESPONSIBILITIES

OF MOTHERHOOD, BUT BECAUSE THEY CANNOT FACE

THE ADDED ECONOMIC WORRIES AND THE FURTHER

DRAIN ON THEIR HEALTH WHICH A LARGE FAMILY

ENTAILS. THE MORE PREGNANCIES THESE CLINIC

PATIENTS HAVE HAD THE MORE ABORTIONS YOU WILL

FIND IN THEIR HISTORIES.

THIS PROBABLY EXPLAINS WHY THE GREATEST

NUMBER OF DEATHS FROM ABORTION OCCUR AMONG WOMEN

BETWEEN THIRTY-FIVE AND THIRTY-NINE YEARS OF

AGE, AS THE NEW YORK ACADEMY STUDY SHOWS.

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OF 357 DEATHS FOLLOWING ABORTION IN THE

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NEW YORK ACADEMY STUDY, 108 WERE THE RESULT

OF SELF-INDUCED ABORTIONS. SUMMING UP

THE EVIDENCE, DR. TAUSSIG ESTIMATES THAT AT

LEAST 8,000 WOMEN DIE IN THIS COUNTRY EVERY

YEAR FROM SOME KIND OF AN ABORTION. THIS

TOLL OF DEATHS REPRESENTS OVER HALF THE NUMBER

OF WOMEN WHO ARE KNOWN TO DIE ANNUALLY FROM

CHILDBIRTH.

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IN RUSSIA THE LARGE NUMBER OF ABORTIONS
PERFORMED UNDER THERAPEUTIC CONDITIONS IN THE
STATE HOSPITALS GIVE SOME INDEX OF THE RELATIVE
SAFETY OF THE PROCEDURE. IN 1920 THE SOVIET
UNION, IN AN ATTEMPT TO CUT DOWN THE SERIOUS
MORTALITY AND MORBIDITY CAUSED BY CRIMINAL
ABORTIONS, PASSED A LAW LEGALIZING BUT REGULATING
ABORTIONS. IT WAS DECREED THAT THE OPERATION
SHOULD BE PERFORMED ONLY BY A LICENSED SURGEON,
PREFERABLY IN A STATE HOSPITAL, THAT THE
PATIENT SHOULD REMAIN AT THE HOSPITAL FOR THREE
FULL DAYS AND SHOULD NOT WORK FOR TWO MONTHS,
AND THAT SHE SHOULD NOT BE ABORTED IF THE
PREGNANCY WAS MORE THAN TWO AND A HALF MONTHS
ADVANCED. IF A WOMAN WHO REQUESTS AN
ABORTION HAS NO GOOD ECONOMIC OR HEALTH REASON,
AND IF SHE HAD HAD FEWER THAN THREE CHILDREN,
THE SOCIAL WORKER WILL TRY TO DISSUADE HER.
BUT IF THE PATIENT IS DETERMINED TO BE ABORTED,

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SHE IS CARED FOR AT THE STATE HOSPITAL, AND

NOT SENT OFF TO FIND A CRIMINAL ABORTIONIST.

WITH ABORTIONS SO REGULATED IN RUSSIA,

THE MORTALITY RATE HAS BEEN REDUCED TO .02

PER CENT. STILL, THE BAD EFFECTS OF ABORTION

HAVE BECOME SO EVIDENT AS TO ALARM THE SOVIET

GOVERNMENT.

MEDICAL INVESTIGATORS HAVE FOUND THAT

WOMEN WHO HAVE HAD ABORTIONS AND WHO SUBSE-

QUENTLY GO THROUGH WITH A PREGNANCY STAND A

POORER CHANCE OF HAVING THE CHILD DELIVERED

SAFELY.

DR. SERDUKOFF, IN COMPARING 1,723 WOMEN

WHO HAD HAD NO ABORTIONS, WITH 661 WHO HAD,

FOUND THAT THE LATTER GROUP SUFFERED IN A

NUMBER OF WAYS. FEVER AT THE TIME OF DELIVERY

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WAS THREE TIMES MORE FREQUENT AMONG THOSE
WHO HAD HAD ABORTIONS, INFLAMMATION OF THE
GENITAL ORGANS WAS MORE COMMON, DELAYED RETURN
TO NORMAL LOCAL CONDITIONS WAS FOUR TIMES
MORE FREQUENT, AND THE INFANT WAS MORE OFTEN
BORN DEAD.

DR. SERDUKOFF ALSO FOUND THAT INDUCED
ABORTION WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR PERMANENT
STERILITY AMONG YOUNG WOMEN, AND THAT A LARGE
NUMBER SUFFERED A SERIOUS DISTURBANCE OF
THEIR MENSTRUAL FUNCTION.

While Soviet
Russia recalled
apart from
stresses as far
made my head
When I saw
the cure

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23 26
THE BEST OBSTETRICIANS TODAY ARE AGREED THAT

PREGNANCY IS DANGEROUS WHEN A WOMAN IS SUFFERING
FROM ONE OF A NUMBER OF DISEASES; THAT TOO
FREQUENT PREGNANCIES ARE BAD FOR ANY WOMAN'S
HEALTH; AND THAT SHORT INTERVALS BETWEEN BIRTHS
LESSEN THE CHILD'S CHANCES OF SURVIVAL.

ONE OF THE MOST SERIOUS HANDICAPS TO
PREGNANCY IS CHRONIC NEPHRITIS. THIS DISEASE
IS ESPECIALLY DANGEROUS WHERE THERE HAS BEEN A
HISTORY OF TOXEMIA WITH PAST PREGNANCIES.
THAT IT IS A COMMON CAUSE OF DEATH IN CON-
NECTION WITH PREGNANCY WAS POINTED OUT BY

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24 23 474
THE LATE DR. J. WHITRIDGE WILLIAMS, OF JOHNS

HOPKINS UNIVERSITY, IN AN ARTICLE PUBLISHED

IN THE JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIA-

TION ON OCTOBER 27, 1928. "AS TIME GOES ON,"

DR. WILLIAMS SAID, "I HAVE BECOME MORE AND

MORE IMPRESSED WITH THE SERIOUS EFFECT OF

PREGNANCY ON WOMEN SUFFERING FROM CHRONIC

NEPHRITIS.

SERIOUS HEART DISEASE, ESPECIALLY WHEN IT
IS ACCOMPANIED BY DECOMPENSATION, IS LISTED

AS A BAR TO PREGNANCY. "THE LIFE OF A WOMAN

WITH HEART TROUBLE," SAYS DR. DICKINSON,

"IS VERY MUCH SHORTENED WITH REPEATED DELIVERIES

BECAUSE OF THE TAX ON THE HEART FROM THE PREG-

NANCY, ESPECIALLY WITH TOXEMIA AND MOST OF ALL

AT LABOR, WHEN THE DANGER OF THROMBOSIS (BLOOD

CLOT) IS GREAT."

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PULMONARY, LARYNGEAL, OR BONE TUBERCULOSIS.

IF IT IS ACTIVE, AND SOMETIMES IF IT IS LATENT,
MAKES PREGNANCY A DECIDED RISK.

ACTIVE TUBERCULOSIS HAS A VERY SERIOUS
COURSE AND ONLY ABOUT ONE IN SEVEN PREGNANT
WOMEN CAN HOPE TO PROCEED WITHOUT GROWING WORSE.

PROGRESSIVE DEAFNESS, ACCORDING TO DR.
HAROLD HAYS, OF NEW YORK, MAY BE AGGRAVATED BY
PREGNANCY. "IT IS THE OPINION OF THE MAJORITY
OF OTOLOGISTS," HE SAYS, "THAT PATIENTS
HAVING A TENDENCY TOWARD DEAFNESS SHOULD BE
EXTREMELY CAREFUL ABOUT BECOMING PREGNANT. . .

WHERE THERE IS A HISTORY OF INSANITY OR
FEEBLEMINDEDNESS IN THE IMMEDIATE FAMILY, WHERE
DEFECTIVE CHILDREN HAVE BEEN BORN, AND WHERE ONE
OF THE PARENTS HAS UNCURED SYPHILIS, PREGNANCY
SHOULD BE AVOIDED FOR EUGENIC REASONS. CERTAIN

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PULMONARY, LARYNGEAL, OR BONE TUBERCULOSIS,
IF IT IS ACTIVE, AND SOMETIMES IF IT IS LATENT,
MAKES PREGNANCY A DECIDED RISK.

ACTIVE TUBERCULOSIS HAS A VERY SERIOUS
COURSE AND ONLY ABOUT ONE IN SEVEN PREGNANT
WOMEN CAN HOPE TO PROCEED WITHOUT GROWING WORSE.

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PREGNANCY. "IT IS THE OPINION OF THE MAJORITY
OF OTOLOGISTS," HE SAYS, "THAT PATIENTS
HAVING A TENDENCY TOWARD DEAFNESS SHOULD BE
EXTREMELY CAREFUL ABOUT BECOMING PREGNANT. . .

WHERE THERE IS A HISTORY OF INSANITY OR
FEEBLEMINDEDNESS IN THE IMMEDIATE FAMILY, WHERE
DEFECTIVE CHILDREN HAVE BEEN BORN, AND WHERE ONE
OF THE PARENTS HAS UNCURED SYPHILIS, PREGNANCY
SHOULD BE AVOIDED FOR EUGENIC REASONS. CERTAIN

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FORMS OF HEREDITARY BLINDNESS AND DEAFNESS

SHOULD ALSO BE CONSIDERED A BAR TO PREGNANCY.

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21476
Says
But even perfectly
healthy women
have been held
indemnified
by too many
pregnancies
& all sorts
of accidents
of advanced age
in the need of life

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"SPACING CHILDREN," SAYS DR. FREDERICK

C. HOLDEN, DIRECTOR OF THE DEPARTMENT OF

GYNECOLOGY AT BELLEVUE HOSPITAL, NEW YORK,

"MEANS THE PLANNING OF EACH CONCEPTION AND

PREGNANCY WITH A VIEW TO THE BEST TIME AND

SEASON FOR BOTH MOTHER AND CHILD.

EVEN WITH A HEALTHY MOTHER AND A SOUND

INHERITANCE OF BODILY AND MENTAL ENDOWMENT ON

BOTH SIDES, TOO FREQUENT AND TOO NUMEROUS

PREGNANCIES ARE TO BE AVOIDED AS UNDERMINING

TO THE MOTHER'S HEALTH AND AS TAKING HER FROM

THE CARE OF HER LIVING CHILDREN. WHEN

THE MOTHER IS NOT ENTIRELY WELL, AND THE

ENDOWMENT NOT OF THE BEST, SPACING AND LIMITATION

ARE THE MORE NECESSARY. . . ."

In fact (unlike)
page 19

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THE INTERVAL BETWEEN BIRTHS, WOODBURY
SHOWS, HAS AN ~~EVEN-MORE~~ STRIKING EFFECT ON
INFANT DEATH RATES. OF THE CHILDREN BORN
AFTER AN INTERVAL OF ONLY A YEAR, 147 OUT
OF EVERY 1,000, FAIL TO REACH THEIR FIRST
BIRTHDAY, WHILE THOSE LUCKY ENOUGH TO BE
BORN AFTER AN INTERVAL OF TWO YEARS SHOW AN
AVERAGE DEATH RATE OF ONLY 99 PER 1,000
DURING THEIR FIRST YEAR OF LIFE, AND THOSE
BORN AFTER THREE YEARS, ONLY 86.5 PER
1,000.

WHEN BABIES COME TOO CLOSE TOGETHER,
THE CHILD THAT IS ALREADY BORN MAY SUFFER AS
WELL AS THE NEWCOMER. DR. HOLDEN HAS
OBSERVED THAT WHEN A BABY IS STARTED BEFORE
HIS PREDECESSOR IS A YEAR OLD, THE FIRST ONE
IS THREE TIMES AS LIKELY TO DIE AS UNDER
OTHER CIRCUMSTANCES. "THIS IS PARTLY DUE,"

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DR. HOLDEN SAYS, "TO THE INTERRUPTED NURSING,

BUT ALSO APPEARS TO BE DUE TO THE LOSS OF

CARE SUFFERED BECAUSE OF THE MOTHER'S

ENERGY BEING DRAINED BY A NEW PREGNANCY."

MOST OBSTETRICIANS AGREE THAT TWO YEARS

BETWEEN PREGNANCIES IS A WISE INTERVAL.

is essential for the health
of mother and
child, & 3-5
years better
interval
at 6-10 years
more than
at 3-5 years

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21 33
 In Re Abolition of
 sex and primary
 conjugation
 that
 sex is only for
 procreation
 and those who
 do not wish many
 children
 should abstain
 modern science
 has done away
 with advice
 dispensance of
 information

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ABSTINENCE WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF

MARRIAGE, WITH ITS PHYSICAL INTIMACIES AND

FREQUENT CONTACTS, IS A VERY DIFFERENT

MATTER. *massive propaganda* *an*
inherent in the method of action

DEBILITY, IMPOTENCE, CONGESTED GLANDS,

AND INSOMNIA AMONG MEN. (AMONG WOMEN IT

~~HAS BEEN SAID TO~~ INDUCE ANEMIA, OVARIAN

CONGESTION, THYROID AND ENDOCRINE DIS-

TURBANCES, ANXIETY NEUROSIS, SEXUAL

NEURASTHENIA, HYSTERIA, AND FULLY DEVELOPED

PSYCHOSES.

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X ("THE TASK OF CHECKING AN URGE," FREUD
SAYS IN "MODERN SEXUAL MORALITY AND MODERN
NERVOUSNESS," "AS POWERFUL AS THE SEXUAL
URGE, BY OTHER MEANS THAN ITS NATURAL
GRATIFICATION, IS ONE THAT CONSUMES ALL THE
ENERGY A MAN IS CAPABLE OF." AS FOR THE
TOLL IT TAKES FROM THE WIFE, FREUD BELIEVES
THAT SHE MAY FIND COMPENSATION FOR HETERO-
SEXUAL PASSION, IN HER LOVE FOR A CHILD SO
LONG AS SHE IS NURSING IT, BUT NOT AFTERWARDS.

THE PSYCHOANALYSTS CLAIM THAT CONTINUED
CONTINENCE MAKES THE "WILL-TO-DIE" STRONGER
THAN THE "WILL-TO-LIVE." IT IS TRUE THAT
DOCTORS WHO ARE NOT ANALYSTS HAVE OBSERVED
AMONG ABSTINENT PATIENTS THE DEVELOPMENT OF
A GENERAL DEPRESSION AND THE COMPLETE LOSS
OF INTEREST AND JOY IN LIFE.

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DR. DICKINSON TELLS OF A PATIENT WHO WAS A
VICTIM OF NEURASTHENIA WITH SUICIDAL
TENDENCIES. SHE WAS "CRAZY FOR A BABY,"
BUT HER HUSBAND WAS UNWILLING TO HAVE CHILDREN.
SO THEY LIMITED THEIR RELATIONS TO EVERY TWO
OR THREE MONTHS, AND SHE SUFFERED TERRIBLY
FROM HIS "STAYING AWAY FROM HER." HER
THOUGHTS OF SUICIDE, OF COURSE, MAY HAVE
HAD THEIR ROOT IN HER THWARTED MATERNAL
INSTINCT AS WELL AS IN HER SUPPRESSED SEXUAL
LIFE.

HE BELIEVES THAT IT PRESENTS A PRACTICAL
SOLUTION ONLY WHERE BOTH HUSBAND AND WIFE ARE
IN LARGE MEASURE PHYSICALLY FRIGID OR ~~IMPOTENT~~
OR ~~SPRINTING~~ ~~ADULTIC.~~

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IN ENGLAND THE MEDICAL ENQUIRY CONDUCTED
FOR THE NATIONAL BIRTHRATE COMMISSION UNDER
SUCH FAMOUS MEN AS HERBERT SPENCER, ARTHUR
GILES, AND SIR ARTHUR NEWSHOLME, REACHED
THE CONCLUSION IN ITS LAST REPORT THAT "IN
THE CLOSE RELATIONSHIP OF MARRIED LIFE THE
EFFECTS OF CONTINUED ABSTINENCE MAY BE GRAVE
FOR PERSONS OF CERTAIN TEMPERAMENTS," AND
"IT IS IMPRACTICABLE FOR THE MAJORITY OF
YOUNG MARRIED PEOPLE."

LORD DAWSON OF PENN, THE KING'S PHYSICIAN,
SAYS, "IF THIS HARMFUL RESTRAINT SUCCEEDS IN
PREVENTING CONCEPTION, THERE EVENTUATES THE
INEVITABLE PREVALENCE OF SEX EXCITEMENT FOLLOWED
BY ABORTIVE AND HALF-REALIZED SATISFACTION, AND
THE ENLARGED RISK OF THE MAN OR WOMAN YIELDING
TO OVERSIDE SEX ~~CONNECTIONS~~ NO - BIRTH CONTROL
BY ABSTENTION IS EITHER INEFFECTIVE OR, IF

It is not in Emma's Can.

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COITUS INTERRUPTUS HAS OBVIOUS ADVANTAGES AS A METHOD OF BIRTH CONTROL;

IT REQUIRES NO PREPARATION, NO APPLIANCES,

NO CHEMICALS -- IT IS ALWAYS AVAILABLE --

AND IT COSTS NOTHING. THE CASE FOR AND

AGAINST IT, THEREFORE, IS TO BE CAREFULLY

CONSIDERED.

THE FIRST QUESTION TO SETTLE IS WHETHER

COITUS INTERRUPTUS ALWAYS SUCCEEDS AS A

MEASURE OF PREVENTION. DR. ROBINSON WAS

ABLE TO TELL HIS VISITOR, WHO WAS SO SURE THAT

HE HAD HIT UPON AN IDEAL METHOD OF BIRTH

CONTROL, THE STORY OF ONE OF HIS PATIENTS WHO

WAS THE UNWILLING FATHER OF EIGHT CHILDREN.

tells Miss Bramley
OF 10,000 PATIENTS WHO VISITED THE BIRTH

CONTROL CLINICAL RESEARCH BUREAU IN NEW YORK,

ONE-THIRD HAD RELIED ON WITHDRAWAL AS A MEANS

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OF PREVENTION, AND 60 PER CENT OF THIS

GROUP REPORTED THAT IT HAD FAILED.

EVIDENCE COMES FROM ALL SIDES THAT WITH-
DRAWAL MAY IN SOME CASES CAUSE IMPOTENCE.

EITHER PARTIAL OR COMPLETE. THE THEORY IS

THAT THE SUDDEN BREAK IN THE RHYTHM OF THE

ACT, LIKE A BREAK IN A SHORT CIRCUIT,

EXHAUSTS THE SEXUAL NERVE CENTERS UNTIL IN

TIME THEY BECOME INCAPABLE OF RESPONSE.

BUT HERE AGAIN MEN VARY. DR. MAX HUBNER

IN HIS "DISORDERS OF THE SEXUAL FUNCTION IN

THE MALE AND FEMALE," SAYS THAT HE HAS SEEN

THE FINAL STAGE OF IMPOTENCE REACHED AFTER

BUT SIX MONTHS OF COITUS INTERRUPTUS, AND ON

THE OTHER HAND HE HAS SEEN PATIENTS INDULGE

IN THIS PRACTICE FOR MANY YEARS BEFORE ANY

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ILL EFFECT WAS NOTICED. STILL OTHER MEN ARE
SAID TO HAVE INDULGED IN IT ALL THEIR LIVES
WITH NO HARM TO THEMSELVES.

DR. ABRAHAM STONE THINKS THAT "FOR MOST
MEN THE TENSION OF CONTINUALLY BEING ON GUARD
LEST THE WITHDRAWAL BE UNDULY DELAYED, CON-
STITUTES A DEFINITE DIFFICULTY, SINCE THE
MAN IS LIKELY TO BE LEFT IN A DISTURBED AND
DISSATISFIED STATE."

IN THIS CONNECTION DR. HANNAH M. STONE
TELLS OF A PATIENT WHO WAS REFERRED TO THE
MATERNAL HEALTH CENTER IN NEWARK BY THE
MENTAL-HYGIENE CLINIC OF ONE OF THE PSYCHIATRIC
HOSPITALS, BECAUSE OF THE CONDITION OF HER
THIRTY-SEVEN-YEAR-OLD HUSBAND, WHO WAS SUFFERING

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FROM A PSYCHONEUROSIS, AND HAD BEEN UNABLE TO
WORK FOR SOME TIME.

HE COMPLAINED OF DYSPEPSIA AND SHORTNESS
OF BREATH, AND HE WAS IRRITABLE, WORRIED, AND
EASILY UPSET. THE COUPLE HAD BEEN MARRIED
THIRTEEN YEARS, HAD TWO CHILDREN, AND HAD
PRACTICED COITUS INTERRUPTUS FROM THE FIRST.
SEVERAL MONTHS AFTER THE WIFE HAD BEEN GIVEN
CONTRACEPTIVE ADVICE, THE MENTAL-HYGIENE
CLINIC REPORTED THAT THE HUSBAND WAS MUCH
IMPROVED AND SHOWED NO SYMPTOMS OF HIS
PREVIOUS TROUBLES.

WHEN THE NORMAL RHYTHM IS NOT COMPLETED,
THE WOMAN MAY BE LEFT IN ACTUAL DISTRESS, AND
VARIOUS NERVOUS SYMPTOMS MAY FOLLOW.
DR. HUNNER BELIEVES THAT REPEATED EXPERIENCES
OF THIS KIND MAKE A WOMAN IRRITABLE, SUSCEPTIBLE
TO INSOMNIA, TO RACHICUS, AND TO UNWILLING

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THE FAVORITE ARGUMENT ADVANCED BY THE

OPPONENTS OF BIRTH CONTROL IS THAT ARTIFICIAL

MEASURES MAY CAUSE DISEASE, INDUCE STERILITY,

AND DAMAGE THE EMBRYO IN CASE OF CONCEPTION.

THE THEORY IS THAT REPEATED IRRITATION, WHETHER

OF A MECHANICAL OR CHEMICAL NATURE, MAY

RESULT IN INFLAMMATION, INFECTION, OR INJURY,

AND EVEN LEAD TO CANCER IN THE LONG RUN.

WHILE THE HARMLESSNESS OF THE METHODS

PRESCRIBED BY THE BIRTH-CONTROL CLINICS AND

THE BEST-INFORMED PHYSICIANS IS WELL ESTABLISHED,

IT IS PERFECTLY TRUE THAT POISONOUS CHEMICALS

AND INTRA-UTERINE DEVICES, WHEN USED AS CON-

TRACEPTIVES, HAVE CAUSED INJURY AND AN

OCCASIONAL DEATH.

The author of
a BIRTH CONTROL
minutes, an equally

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method on
be marked, to
day. If for
no other reason
that alone
should induce
every woman
to use a
cup or diaphragm
or IUD
Thus will
Dickensian
wishes

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A DRUG THAT IS FREQUENTLY USED FOR VAGINAL
DOUCHING IS "THE VERY POPULAR, POWERFUL, AND
DANGEROUS BICHLORIDE OF MERCURY. TO QUOTE
DR. DICKINSON. *By doctor* IF IT IS PREPARED."

HE SAYS, "IN THE USUAL PROPCRTION FOR SOLU-
TIONS FOR SURGICAL USE -- NAMELY, ONE TABLET
TO A QUART -- IT HAS A STRENGTH OF 1 IN 2,000.
AT 1 IN 10,000 IT HAS CAUSED VIOLENT INFLAMMA-
TION WHEN USED AS A DOUCHE. IT SHOULD
THEREFORE BE BANNED AS A CONTRACEPTIVE."

THE MEDICAL LITERATURE SHOWS SEVERAL
FATALITIES AND CASES OF POISONING DUE TO THE
USE OF BICHLORIDE OF MERCURY AS A CONTRACEPTIVE.
A BRIDE WHO WAS NERVOUS USED THREE TABLETS IN
A QUART OF WATER INSTEAD OF ONE, AND INJECTED
THE SOLUTION WITH THE POWERFUL PRESSURE THAT
CAN BE EXERTED BY A BULB SYRINGE, SO THAT
THE LIQUID WAS FORCED THROUGH THE UTERUS

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INTO THE PERITONEAL CAVITY. AFTER HOURS
OF FRIGHTFUL AGONY, THE YOUNG WOMAN DIED OF
PERITONITIS.

BICHLORIDE TABLETS HAVE CAUSED DEATH
WHEN THEY HAVE BEEN APPLIED DIRECTLY TO THE
VAGINAL TRACT. A NORFOLK DOCTOR WAS CALLED
IN BY A WELL-TO-DO WOMAN WHO HAD USED TWO
TABLETS BECAUSE SHE FEARED THAT SHE HAD
BECOME PREGNANT. SHE DIED AFTER ELEVEN
DAYS OF FRIGHTFUL SUFFERING.

IN ANOTHER CASE, REPORTED BY A WEST
VIRGINIA DOCTOR, A YOUNG FARMER WHO HAD JUST
BEEN MARRIED HAD PROCURED "ANTISEPTIC" TABLETS
OF BICHLORIDE OF MERCURY FROM A DRUG STORE,
AND AFTER INTERCOURSE HAD APPLIED ONE DIRECTLY
TO HIS BRIDE. SHE DIED TEN DAYS LATER, AND
THE HUSBAND WAS CONVICTED OF MANSLAUGHTER.

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HIS DEFENSE WAS THAT HE HAD BEEN IN THE HABIT
OF BUYING "ANTISEPTIC TABLETS," AND HE DID
NOT KNOW THAT THE LAST LOT WERE POISONOUS.

CARBOLIC ACID HAS ALSO BEEN EMPLOYED AS A
VAGINAL DRESSING. WITTAUS REPORTS IN HIS
TOXICOLOGY THE CASE OF A WOMAN WHO USED A
95 PER CENT SOLUTION AND SUFFERED SEVERE
LOCAL EFFECTS, AND OF ANOTHER WHO USED A
PURE CARBOLIC-ACID WASH DURING MARITAL
RELATIONS AND CAUSED SEVERE INJURY TO HER
HUSBAND'S TISSUES.

THE OCCASIONAL DOCTOR OR MIDWIFE IS TO
BLAME FOR THE USE OF METAL CONTRACEPTIVE
DEVICES WHICH HAVE CAUSED TROUBLE IN A CERTAIN
NUMBER OF CASES.

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NOT A SINGLE MEDICAL AUTHORITY WHO HAS
WRITTEN RECENTLY ON CONTRACEPTION RECOMMENDS
THE DOUCHE ALONE. DR. JAMES F. COOPER IN
HIS "TECHNIQUE OF CONTRACEPTION" SAYS,
"WHETHER PLAIN OR MEDICATED, THE DOUCHE IS IN
MY OPINION ONE OF THE MOST UNSATISFACTORY AND
UNRELIABLE CONTRACEPTIVE METHODS IN USE,"
WHILE DR. WILLIAM J. ROBINSON FINDS THAT
"IT FAILS IN 50 PER CENT OF THE CASES WHERE
IT IS USED."

DR. DICKINSON SAYS VERY POSITIVELY,
"THERE IS UNCERTAINTY IN RELIANCE ON THE
DOUCHE, EVEN IF IT IS PROPERLY USED."
DR. MATSNER LISTS IT IN HIS "TECHNIQUE OF
CONTRACEPTION" AS AN INEFFECTIVE METHOD.
HE ALSO POINTS OUT THAT IT HAS UNFORTUNATE
PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS. FREQUENTLY THE WIFE
IN HER ANXIETY HERSELF EXPERIENCES NO CLIMAX.

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THE EFFICACY OF A JELLY DEPENDS NOT ONLY
UPON ITS SPERMICIDAL POWERS, BUT UPON ITS
CONSISTENCY AND ADHERING POWER, AS WELL AS
THE MANNER IN WHICH IT IS APPLIED.

X AN EXTENSIVE SERIES OF TESTS OF CONTRA-
CEPTIVE PRODUCTS WAS MADE FOR THE NATIONAL
COMMITTEE ON MATERNAL HEALTH BY THE BIOLOGIST
AND CHEMIST, CECIL I. D. VOGEL, PH.D., AND
THE RESULTS PUBLISHED IN HIS BOOK ON "THE
PHYSICS AND CHEMISTRY OF CONTRACEPTIVES."
HE CONCLUDES, AFTER LISTING SOME FIVE HUNDRED
PRODUCTS, THAT "A LARGE NUMBER OF CHEMICAL
CONTRACEPTIVES CONTAIN NO MARKEDLY SPERMICIDAL
SUBSTANCE." MR. R. CAUTLEY, CARRYING ON
FURTHER RESEARCHES FOR THE COMMITTEE, HAS SO
FAR BEEN UNABLE TO FIND MORE THAN TWO OR THREE
JELLY MANUFACTURERS IN THIS COUNTRY WHO ARE
EVEN ATTEMPTING TO TEST THEIR JELLIES FOR CON-

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SISTENCY, OR TO GUARD AGAINST DETERIORA-
TION BEFORE THE JELLY IS USED BY THE CONSUMER.

THERE IS NO TELLING HOW MANY MILLIONS OF
DOLLARS' WORTH OF COMMERCIAL CONTRACEPTIVES

AND ABORTIFACIENTS ARE SOLD ANNUALLY IN THIS

COUNTRY IT HAS BEEN ROUGHLY ESTIMATED THAT

THE CONTRACEPTIVE SALES, INCLUDING THE

SHEATHS BOUGHT BY MEN "FOR THE PREVENTION OF

DISEASE" GROSS AT LEAST \$25,000,000 A YEAR.

THE ADVERTISING SPACE DEVCTED TO "FEMININE

HYGIENE" PRODUCTS IS A MORE DEFINITE INDEX

TO THEIR WIDE SALE.

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"CAN YOU LET ME KNOW WHETHER THERE IS ONE
METHOD THAT IS BETTER THAN ANY OTHER, AND
DO WE NEED A DOCTOR'S ADVICE, OR CAN WE JUST
BUY WHAT THE DRUGGIST HAS?"

X THE ANSWER TO THIS YOUNG WOMAN'S QUERY
IS THAT THERE IS NO ONE METHOD OF BIRTH CONTROL
THAT IS RIGHT FOR EVERY COUPLE. NOR CAN A
DRUGGIST BE TRUSTED TO ADVISE AND SUPPLY A
WOMAN WITH THE PROPER MEANS. ONLY A PHYSICIAN
INFORMED IN CONTRACEPTIVE TECHNIC CAN DETERMINE,
AFTER EXAMINATION, THE MOST SUITABLE METHOD
FOR THE INDIVIDUALS CONCERNED. IT CANNOT
BE TOO STRONGLY URGED THAT THE ADVICE OF A
COMPETENT PHYSICIAN BE SOUGHT IN EVERY CASE.

BY Clinic

THE SUREST MEANS OF PREVENTING THE UNION
OF THE MALE AND FEMALE CELLS IS SOME SORT OF
A MECHANICAL BARRIER. EITHER A SHEATH USED

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BY THE MAN WITH THE PROPER PRECAUTIONS, OR A

RUBBER PESSARY FITTED TO THE WOMAN BY A COM-

PETENT PHYSICIAN, WILL AFFORD SUCH PROTECTION

IN THE LARGE MAJORITY OF CASES.

MOST MEN ARE FAMILIAR WITH THE SHEATH.

IT HAS BEEN USED IN SOME FORM FOR A NUMBER OF

CENTURIES. LINEN SHEATHS WERE USED IN ITALY

AS EARLY AS THE MIDDLE OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY,

AND IN ENGLAND SKIN SHEATHS WERE OPENLY

ADVERTISED BY HANDBILLS TOWARD THE END OF THE

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, WHEN SMALL FORTUNES ARE

SAID TO HAVE BEEN MADE FROM THE SALE OF

"SUCH MACHINES." TODAY, SALES RECORDS SHOW

THAT IT IS BY FAR THE MOST POPULAR CONTRACEPTIVE

DEVICE. HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF THE ARTICLES

ARE SOLD THROUGH DRUG STORES.

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THE SHEATH WOULD SEEM, BY ITS VERY NATURE;
TO BE THE MOST RELIABLE OF KNOWN CONTRACEPTIVES.

YET ABOUT 50 PER CENT OF THE APPLICANTS AT
BIRTH-CONTROL CLINICS COMPLAIN THAT THEY HAVE
CONCEIVED DESPITE THE USE OF THE SHEATH.

"FAILURE," DR. DICKINSON SAYS IN HIS
"CONTROL OF CONCEPTION," "APPEARS TO BE PROBABLY
DUE TO POOR MATERIAL, OR TO MATERIAL THAT HAS
LOST ITS ELASTICITY FROM BEING KEPT TOO LONG,
EITHER BY THE DEALER OR BY THE HUSBAND.
IN MY PRIVATE PRACTICE ALMOST EVERY BREAK
HAS BEEN TRACED TO LACK OF TEST AND LUBRICATION."

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THE IDEAL CONTRACEPTIVE SHOULD BE

UNOBTRUSIVE.

FOR THIS REASON MANY MARRIED

COUPLES PREFER SOME FORM OF SOFT RUBBER

PESSARY (A VAGINAL DIAPHRAGM OR CERVICAL CAP),

WHICH IS PRESCRIBED BY MOST OF THE BIRTH-

CONTROL CLINICS AND INFORMED PHYSICIANS IN

THIS COUNTRY AS WELL AS IN ENGLAND. THE

STYLE AND SIZE OF THE PESSARY MUST BE ADAPTED

AND ACCURATELY FITTED TO THE INDIVIDUAL WOMAN,

AND SPERMICIDAL JELLY MUST BE USED WITH IT.

ONE OF THE GOOD POINTS OF THE PESSARY IS

THAT IT MAY BE ADJUSTED SEVERAL HOURS BEFORE

COITUS, AND REMOVED THE NEXT MORNING FOLLOWING

THE PHYSICIAN'S DIRECTIONS. OTHER ADVAN-

TAGES OF THIS TYPE OF CONTRACEPTIVE ARE THAT

IT DOES NOT INTERFERE WITH THE HUSBAND'S

NORMAL RHYTHM NOR DOES IT INTERRUPT IN ANY

WAY THE PRELUDE OF LOVE-MAKING FOR EITHER

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21501

IT IS AS IMPOSSIBLE FOR A WOMAN TO BUY
OVER THE COUNTER A PESSARY THAT WILL FIT HER
INDIVIDUALLY, AS IT WOULD BE TO BUY A PAIR
OF EYE-GLASSES. ONLY AN INSTRUCTED PHYSICIAN
CAN DETERMINE BY EXAMINATION, FIRST, WHETHER
A WOMAN IS SO BUILT THAT SHE CAN SUCCESSFULLY
USE SUCH A CONTRACEPTIVE DEVICE, AND, SECOND,
WHAT SIZE AND TYPE SHE REQUIRES.

WHILE THE PESSARY HAS NOT PROVED 100
PER CENT EFFECTIVE, ITS RECORD IS CONSIDERABLY
BETTER THAN THAT OF ANY OTHER METHOD.
CLINICS, WITH MOST OF THEIR PATIENTS OF THE
UNEDUCATED CLASS, REPORT SUCCESS IN THE LARGE
MAJORITY OF CASES WHERE THE PESSARY IS CONSIS-
TENTLY USED.

slapp
DR. MARIE E. KOPP, IN HER "BIRTH CONTROL

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21502

IN PRACTICE," STATES THAT OF 5,450 PATIENTS
OF THE BIRTH CONTROL CLINICAL RESEARCH
BUREAU WHO USED THE PESSARY STEADILY, 95.3
PER CENT SUCCEEDED IN PREVENTING UNDESIRE
PREGNANCIES. SIMILAR REPORTS COME FROM
OTHER PARTS OF THE COUNTRY.

DR. RACHELLE S. YARROS, WHO DIRECTS THE
CHICAGO BIRTH-CONTROL CENTERS OF THE ILLINOIS
BIRTH CONTROL LEAGUE, SAYS, "IF PROPERLY
APPLIED, I FEEL THAT THE PESSARY IS BY FAR
THE BEST AND MOST ADEQUATE METHOD. WHEN
PSYCHOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES AND RESISTANCES
TOWARDS ITS APPLICATION ARE DISCUSSED WITH
BOTH PARTNERS, IF POSSIBLE, AND ITS USE IS
THOROUGHLY LEARNED, I KNOW OF NO BETTER METHOD."

SIMILARLY, DR. BESSIE MOSES, IN CHARGE
OF THE BALTIMORE BIRTH CONTROL CLINIC (FORMERLY

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21503

THE BUREAU FOR CONTRACEPTIVE ADVICE), WRITES,

"WE BELIEVE THAT THE PESSARY PLUS JELLY

METHOD IS EXTREMELY RELIABLE IN A LARGE PER-

CENTAGE OF CASES IF THE PESSARY IS PROPERLY

FITTED."

X (DR. DICKINSON CONCLUDES THAT THE SUCCESS-
FUL USE OF THE PESSARY DEPENDS UPON THE PHYSI-
CIAN'S JUDGMENT IN PRESCRIBING IT, AND THE
PATIENT'S CARE IN USING IT. CAREFUL INSTRU-
TION OF THE PATIENT IS A PRIME ESSENTIAL,
SINCE COMPARATIVELY FEW WOMEN KNOW ANYTHING
ABOUT THEIR OWN ANATOMY. IF THE DOCTOR HAS
A CORRECT PELVIC MODEL, THE EXPLANATION WILL
BE GREATLY FACILITATED. IT IS IMPORTANT
THAT THE PATIENT, AS WELL AS THE DOCTOR HIMSELF,
SHOULD THOROUGHLY UNDERSTAND THE PRINCIPLES OF
THE METHOD.

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98 92
"THERE IS NOT THE SLIGHTEST EVIDENCE,

IN ALL OUR EXPERIENCE IN THE CLINICS, OR IN

MY PRIVATE WORK DURING TWENTY-FIVE YEARS,

THAT THERE HAS EVER BEEN AN AUTHENTIC CASE

OF INFLAMMATION IN THE PELVIC REGION AS A

RESULT OF THE CONTRACEPTIVE INFORMATION THAT

WE GAVE. WE HAVE, HOWEVER, SEEN MANY

INJURIES CAUSED BY METHODS LEARNED THROUGH

UNRELIABLE SOURCES."

X THE SAME POINT WAS MADE BY DR. PRENTISS

WILLSON, FORMERLY PRESIDENT OF THE DISTRICT OF

COLUMBIA MEDICAL SOCIETY, WHEN HE TESTIFIED IN

MARCH, 1934, BEFORE A SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE

UNITED STATES COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY.

"A FAIRLY EXTENSIVE EXPERIENCE IN THIS LINE

OF WORK," DR. WILLSON SAID, "ENABLES ME TO

SAY THAT I HAVE SEEN NO HARMFUL EFFECTS FROM

PROPER CONTRACEPTIVE METHODS, BUT MANY FROM

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METHODS WHICH WERE IN THEMSELVES ESSENTIALLY

HARMFUL, YET RESORTED TO THROUGH LACK OF

BETTER INFORMATION AND KNOWLEDGE." -DR.

DICKINSON ADDS THAT FOR TEN YEARS HE HAS

REQUESTED MEDICAL MEN TO SEND HIM RECORDS OF

INJURY FROM THE RUBBER PESSARY, AND NONE

HAVE DONE SO.

DR. DICKINSON STRESSES THE POINT THAT

"THE FEAR OF INDUCING STERILITY BY THE USE

OF APPROVED CONTRACEPTIVE METHODS HAS SCANT

BASIS OF STATISTICAL EVIDENCE."

*These medical
guarantees are
backed by scores
of well known
physicians at*

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Reduction

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21506

ABOUT THIS TIME THE EQUIVALENT FOR THE
MALE, VASECTOMY, WAS DONE BY DR. H. G. LENANDER
OF UPSALA, SWEDEN. IN 1899 DR. HARRY SHARP,
OF THE INDIANA STATE REFORMATORY FOR THE
INSANE, ADOPTED THE SAME TECHNIC FOR STERILIZING
MALE INMATES OF THE INSTITUTION.

TODAY EUGENIC STERILIZATION LAWS ARE IN
FORCE IN TWENTY-SEVEN DIFFERENT STATES PROVIDING
FOR THE STERILIZATION OF THE INSANE AND FEEBLE-
MINDED WHO ARE INMATES OF INSTITUTIONS. IN
THESE STATES, ACCORDING TO DR. H. H. LAUGHLIN
OF THE EUGENICS RECORDS OFFICE AT COLD SPRING
HARBOR, NEARLY 20,000 DERANGED AND FEEBLE-MINDED
MEN AND WOMEN HAVE BEEN STERILIZED SO THAT THEY
MIGHT RETURN TO THEIR FAMILIES AND EARN A LIVING
WHEN THEY WERE FITTED TO DO SO.

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21507
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~~SALPINGECTOMY~~, HOWEVER, IS CLASSED AS A
~~MAJOR OPERATION~~, SINCE IT NECESSITATES OPENING
A WOMAN'S ABDOMEN BY A SMALL INCISION. IT
IS SOMETIMES A STEP IN AN OPERATION MADE FOR
SOME OTHER PURPOSE, SUCH AS REMOVAL OF A
TUMOR.

IN A MORE RECENT SERIES OF 3,000 SALPIN-
GECTOMIES PERFORMED IN STATE HOSPITALS, THERE
HAVE BEEN NO DEATHS AT ALL.

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THE ASSERTION OF THE DOCTORS THAT STERILIZATION DOES NOT AFFECT SEXUAL CAPACITY HAS BEEN CONFIRMED BY THE TESTIMONY OF 65 NORMAL MEN FROM THE PROFESSIONAL, BUSINESS, AND SKILLED-LABOR CLASSES, WHO HAD BEEN STERILIZED BY DOCTORS IN PRIVATE PRACTICE, AND WHO REPLIED TO A QUESTIONNAIRE FROM THE HUMAN BETTERMENT FOUNDATION AS TO THE EFFECT OF THE OPERATION ON THEIR SEXUAL LIVES.

FIFTY-FOUR OF THESE MEN HAD NOTICED NO CHANGE, 9 REPORTED AN INCREASE OF LIBIDO -- NO DOUBT CAUSED BY FREEDOM FROM WORRY ABOUT IMPREGNATING THEIR WIVES -- AND ONLY 2 COMPLAINED OF A DECREASE IN DESIRE, WHICH MAY WELL HAVE BEEN DUE TO ADVANCED AGE.

WHEN ASKED WHETHER THERE HAD BEEN ANY CHANGE IN EITHER THEIR PHYSICAL OR THEIR MENTAL

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45 1509

HEALTH SINCE THE OPERATION, 47 SAID THEY HA

NOTICED NO CHANGE, 5 THOUGHT THEY WERE BETTER

OFF IN MIND, 4 CONSIDERED THAT THEY HAD BENE-

FITED IN HEALTH, AND 9 BELIEVED THAT THEY HAD

IMPROVED IN BOTH BODY AND MIND. SUMMING UP

THEIR REACTIONS, 64 OUT OF THE 65 MEN DECLARED

THAT THEY WERE ~~PLEASED~~ ^{satisfied} WITH THE RESULTS OF THE

OPERATION.

THE ONLY ONE WHO WAS NOT PLEASED HAD

ALWAYS BEEN ABNORMAL SEXUALLY, AND THE FACT

THAT, ELEVEN YEARS AFTER THE VASECTOMY, HE WAS

ABLE TO HAVE MARITAL RELATIONS ONLY FIVE TIMES

A WEEK, AS COMPARED WITH SEVEN TIMES IN HIS

YOUNGER YEARS, HARDLY DAMNS THE OPERATION.

FINALLY, THESE MEN WERE ASKED WHAT THEIR WIVES

THOUGHT OF THE OPERATION.

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21510

46

THE TESTIMONY OF WOMEN WHO HAVE HAD SALPIN-
GECTOMIES, IS AS FAVORABLE AS THE MEN'S. OF
105 WOMEN WHO WERE STERILIZED BY CALIFORNIA
DOCTORS IN THEIR PRIVATE PRACTICE, 60 FOUND
NO CHANGE IN THEIR SEXUAL LIFE, 36 TOOK MORE
SATISFACTION IN IT -- DOUBTLESS BECAUSE THEY
NO LONGER FEARED PREGNANCY -- 6 DID NOT ANSWER,
AND 3 REPORTED THAT MARITAL RELATIONS GAVE
THEM LESS SATISFACTION. OF THESE THREE
TWO HAD SERIOUS PELVIC DISORDERS, WHILE ONLY
ONE WOMAN, WHO HAD BEEN STERILIZED AT THE TIME
OF A CAESARIAN OPERATION, PRESENTED A PUZZLING
CASE.

IN 1933, THE COMMITTEE ON STERILIZATION
APPOINTED BY THE BRITISH MINISTRY OF HEALTH
REPORTED THAT THEY "HAD FAILED TO FIND ANY
EVIDENCE UNFAVORABLE TO STERILIZATION..."

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215.11

IT MUST BE ADMITTED THAT STERILIZATION
DOES NOT INVARIABLY SUCCEED IN CUTTING OFF THE
REPRODUCTIVE FACULTY. IN TWO CASES IN
CALIFORNIA, WHERE A MALE PATIENT WAS VASEC-
TOMIZED BEFORE BEING RELEASED FROM THE STATE
HOSPITAL, THE MAN'S WIFE BECAME PREGNANT, ONE
WITHIN A YEAR, AND THE OTHER WITHIN THREE
YEARS.

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Re "Safe Period" 48
DR. K. OGINO, A GYNECOLOGIST IN JAPAN,

CONCLUDED FROM OBSERVATION OF A SERIES OF
PATIENTS ON THE OPERATING TABLE THAT THE CON-
CEPTION PERIOD FOR WOMEN WITH REGULAR TWENTY-
EIGHT-DAY CYCLES FALLS BETWEEN THE ELEVENTH
AND NINETEEN DAY, COUNTING FROM THE ONSET OF
MENSTRUATION. DR. HERMAN KNAUS, OF AUSTRIA,
BY STUDYING THE QUIESCENCE OF THE UTERUS
THAT FOLLOWS OVULATION, REACHED SUBSTANTIALLY
THE SAME CONCLUSION, -- THAT FERTILIZATION
CAN ONLY OCCUR BETWEEN THE ELEVENTH AND
SEVENTEENTH DAY AMONG WOMEN WITH REGULAR
TWENTY-EIGHT-DAY CYCLES; AND THAT CONVERSELY
THE FIRST TEN DAYS AND THE LAST TEN DAYS
CONSTITUTE THE STERILE OR "SAFE PERIOD."

IT IS INTERESTING, IF NOT SIGNIFICANT,
THAT THIS WAS THE PERIOD OF FERTILITY TRADI-
TIONALLY RECOGNIZED BY THE ORTHODOX JEWS.

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24

49

21513

THE TALMUD OF BABYLON HELD THAT "A WOMAN
CANNOT CONCEIVE UNTIL AFTER THE BATH OF
PURIFICATION PRESCRIBED BY THE LAW OF MOSES."
THIS BATH OF PURIFICATION GENERALLY WAS TO
BE TAKEN ON THE FOURTEENTH DAY OF THE CYCLE,
OR ABOUT A WEEK AFTER THE END OF MENSTRUATION,
ACCORDING TO LEVITICUS XV, 19 AND 28.

OGINO AND KNAUS BOTH ADMIT THAT THE
STERILE PERIOD IS NOT SO EASILY DETERMINED FOR
WOMEN WHOSE CYCLES ARE IRREGULAR OR NOT OF
THE FOUR-WEEKLY TYPE. OGINO SAYS THAT A
WOMAN MUST COUNT BACK FROM HER EXPECTED MEN-
STRUATION, ON THE THEORY THAT THE FERTILE
PERIOD LIES BETWEEN THE NINETEENTH AND TWELFTH
DAY PRECEDING. IF THE CYCLE VARIES FROM
MONTH TO MONTH HE ADVISES KEEPING A RECORD FOR
AT LEAST A YEAR AND CALCULATING ACCORDINGLY.
THE OVERLAPPING DAYS OF THE SUPPOSED STERILE

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28 28 40 215.14

PERIOD IN EACH CYCLE WOULD CONSTITUTE THE

TRUE STERILE PERIOD FOR SUCH WOMEN, ACCORDING

TO OGINO.

WALKER
(ACCORDING TO THE BOOKS WHICH HAVE BEEN
WRITTEN ABOUT THE OGINO-KNAUS THEORY, IT

WOULD APPEAR TO BE FOOL-PROOF FOR THE GREAT

MAJORITY OF WOMEN. THE BOOKLET,

"LEGITIMATE BIRTH CONTROL," ASSERTS THAT THE

NEW LAW MAY BE APPLIED "IN ITS ENTIRETY TO

90 PER CENT OF FERTILE WOMEN AND THAT 9

PER CENT OF THE REMAINDER CAN MAKE A PARTIAL

APPLICATION OF THE FORMULA."

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21515

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KNAUS REPORTS THAT THE UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S
CLINIC AT GRAZ, AUSTRIA, NOW HAS "MANY
THOUSANDS OF PATIENTS WHO ARE CONTROLLING
CONCEPTION BY ABSTAINING FROM SEXUAL RELATIONS
DURING THE FERTILE PERIOD."

BUT HE SAYS NOTHING OF THE NUMBER OF
CASES WHERE THE METHOD WAS NOT APPLICABLE
OR WHERE IT FAILED, AND FOR THIS REASON HIS
REPORTS HAVE BEEN CRITICIZED AS INCOMPLETE BY
SCIENTIFIC MEN. *Amelie* IN THIS COUNTRY INTERESTING
DATA ON THE NEW "SAFE PERIOD" WAS PRESENTED AT
THE 1934 AMERICAN CONFERENCE ON BIRTH CONTROL
AND NATIONAL RECOVERY.

DR. A. G. MILLER, OF HOBART, INDIANA,
WORKING IN CONJUNCTION WITH DRS. C. H. SCHULZ
AND D. W. ANDERSON, REPORTED ON 136 PATIENTS
WHO HAVE SO FAR AVOIDED CONCEPTION BY OBSERVING

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30

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1516

THE STERILE PERIOD, BUT ONLY 25 OF THESE
HAVE SINCE CONCEIVED AT WILL, SO THAT THE
COMPARATIVE DATA ON STERILE AND FERTILE
PERIODS IS STILL LACKING.

KNAUS GRANTS THAT A WOMAN'S RHYTHM MAY
BE UPSET BY "UNUSUAL PHYSICAL EXERCISE, A
CHANGE OF CLIMATE, NURSING, CHRONIC AFFLIC-
TIONS, OR ANEMIA," BUT HE DOES NOT EXPLAIN
HOW A WOMAN CAN ANTICIPATE THIS CHANGE IN
ADVANCE, SO AS NOT TO CONFUSE STERILE WITH
FERTILE DAYS AND CONCEIVE AGAINST HER WILL.

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53²¹⁵¹⁷

DR. DICKINSON SAYS IN HIS "CONTROL OF

CONCEPTION," "ALTHOUGH EVERY WOMAN HAS A LONG

SERIES OF INFERTILE DAYS IN HER MONTHLY

CYCLE, THERE IS ENOUGH VARIATION BETWEEN

DIFFERENT WOMEN SO THAT NO GENERAL RULE CAN

BE FORMULATED THAT WILL SAFEGUARD ALL WOMEN.

IT CAN BE STATED, WITH A DEGREE OF DEFINITE-

NESS, HOWEVER, THAT DURING THE WEEK PRECEDING

THE MENSTRUAL PERIOD THE CHANCE OF PREGNANCY

IS ONE-FIFTH AS GREAT AS DURING EITHER OF

THE FIRST TWO WEEKS."

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DR. EMIL NOVAK, OF JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY,
WRITING IN THE JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN MEDICAL
ASSOCIATION IN JANUARY, 1934, GOES A LITTLE
FURTHER IN SUPPORT OF THE THEORY. "IN WOMEN
WITH CYCLES APPROXIMATING THE FOUR-WEEKLY
TYPE," HE SAYS, "THERE IS REASON TO BELIEVE
THAT THE IMMEDIATELY POST-MENSTRUAL PERIOD
(UP TO THE EIGHTH DAY) AND EVEN MORE THE
IMMEDIATELY PRE-MENSTRUAL PERIOD (AFTER THE
TWENTIETH DAY) ARE ALMOST ENTIRELY, THOUGH
PERHAPS NOT ABSOLUTELY, 'SAFE PERIODS' FOR
THOSE ANXIOUS TO AVOID CONCEPTION. IN WOMEN
WITH IRREGULAR CYCLES THE PROBLEM IS MORE
DIFFICULT AND LESS CERTAIN. . . .

NOT A SUFFICIENT TIME HAS ELAPSED AS
YET TO DEMONSTRATE CLEARLY HOW GREAT OR HOW
SLIGHT A DEGREE OF FALLIBILITY PERTAINS TO
THIS METHOD. . . .

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21519

5
 have merely lived
 by their words &
 struggle, the
~~truth~~ and
 the suffering
 they had
 done
 and is called
 life are being
 the very
 struggle

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21520

2 *cedaring*

THE PROBLEM OF BIRTH CONTROL IS NOT PECULIAR
TO THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. PRIMITIVE PEOPLES
HAVE INVARIABLY LIMITED THEIR OFFSPRING BY
SUCH METHODS AS INFANTICIDE, EXPOSURE,
ABORTION, AND SEXUAL TABOOS IMPOSED DURING
PROLONGED NURSING. ANCIENT CIVILIZATIONS,
TOO, WERE CONCERNED WITH THE PROBLEM OF
FAMILY LIMITATION.

PROFESSOR NORMAN E. HIMES, THE SOCIOLOGIST
AND HISTORIAN IN HIS FASCINATING BOOK, "THE
MEDICAL HISTORY OF BIRTH CONTROL," SOON TO BE
PUBLISHED, TELLS OF AN EGYPTIAN MANUSCRIPT
DATING FROM 1550 B.C., WHEREIN A METHOD OF
PREVENTION IS DESCRIBED WHICH IS ESSENTIALLY
THE SAME AS THE PRESENT-DAY CLINIC PROCEDURE.

PROFESSOR HIMES ALSO QUOTES PRESCRIPTIONS,
SOME SOUND, SOME SUPERSTITIOUS, FROM THE

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21521

93
GYNAIKOLOGY OF SORANUS OF EPHEBUS, WHICH
AFFORDS, IN HIS OPINION, THE MOST BRILLIANT
ACCOUNT OF CONTRACEPTIVE TECHNIQUE WRITTEN
PRIOR TO THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. THE GREEKS
HAD A NAME FOR CONTRACEPTIVES -- ATOKIA.

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21522

~~44~~ 4
Dr. Reich has been
an enemy of the
largest groups
56 various metals
of primitive people
genes and
has a race
Perseus, a super
an Jews, etc
Very crude, crude
and some symbols
metals of present
used, on the

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21523

In our time to kill

CONTRACEPTION OF A CRUDE SORT IS PRACTICED
by

BY VARIOUS SAVAGE ~~PEOPLES~~, ACCORDING TO CARR-
SAUNDERS, AND IN THE SOUTH SEA ISLANDS THE
TECHNIC OF ABORTION IS HIGHLY DEVELOPED.
AMONG THE KINGSMILL ISLANDERS WOMEN ARE REPORTED
TO HAVE AS A RULE ONLY TWO CHILDREN AND
"NEVER MORE THAN THREE," AND AMONG THE IROQUOIS
the same
IN THIS COUNTRY A WOMAN IS CONSIDERED
DECLASSE IF SHE HAS CHILDREN WITHIN FIVE
YEARS OF ONE ANOTHER. IN OTHER TRIBES,
WHERE BIRTHS ARE NOT PREVENTED OR POSTPONED,
INFANTICIDE IS COMMON. CERTAIN ITINERANT
TRIBES IN AUSTRALIA, ACCORDING TO SPENCER AND
GILLEN, HAVE A TRADITION THAT THE FIRST TWO
CHILDREN SHALL BE KILLED, SINCE THEY CONSIDER
THE BURDEN OF A LARGE FAMILY TOO GREAT FOR
THE MOTHER.

*We are of course
more civilized, we
do not kill infants
nowadays, we have
more children*

ed Hem die

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8-12
It is equally foolish
to maintain
so many virtues
people do that
virtue cannot
in days to
the necessity for
this, generally
at the end of
humanity. ~~the~~

Be
Daisy I am sure
that men & women
to day are much

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Remendation ad Baue

21525

THE LIST OF ORGANIZATIONS THAT HAVE GONE

ON RECORD INCLUDE THE COMMITTEE ON MARRIAGE

AND THE HOME OF THE FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE

CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA;

THE LAMBETH CONFERENCE OF BISHOPS OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND,

THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF CONGREGATIONAL AND

CHRISTIAN CHURCHES,

THE UNIVERSALIST GENERAL CONVENTION,

THE UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION,

THE CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS,

THE NEW YORK EAST CONFERENCE AND

OTHER REGIONAL SECTIONS OF THE METHODIST

EPISCOPAL CHURCH;

AND A SPECIAL COMMITTEE OF THE WOMEN'S

PROBLEMS GROUP OF THE PHILADELPHIA YEARLY MEETING

OF FRIENDS.

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THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, FOR ITS PART,
HAS GIVEN ITS ECCLESIASTICAL SANCTION TO THE
PUBLICATION IN ^a THIS COUNTRY AND ON THE
CONTINENT OF PSEUDO-MEDICAL BOOKS WHICH
RECOMMEND "THE SAFE PERIOD" AS A LEGITIMATE
MEANS OF BIRTH CONTROL.

(THE AUTHORS OF THESE BOOKS STRESS THE
ADVISABILITY OF FAMILY LIMITATION FOR ECONOMIC
AS WELL AS HEALTH REASONS. WHILE THE
SCIENTISTS ARE LESS SANGUINE ABOUT THE INFALLI-
BILITY OF THE "SAFE PERIOD" THAN ITS
CATHOLIC PROPONENTS ARE, THE CHURCH'S ACCEPTANCE
OF THE PRINCIPLE OF BIRTH CONTROL, IF NOT YET
OF ARTIFICIAL MEANS, IS A LONG STEP FORWARD.

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1341 10/15
AT ITS 1934 CONVENTION THE Y.W.C.A.

VOTED TO WORK FOR LEGISLATION PERMITTING

DOCTORS TO GIVE BIRTH-CONTROL INSTRUCTION.

IN MAY 1934, THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL

WORK INCLUDED BIRTH-CONTROL CONFERENCES IN ITS

PROGRAM. (THE SAME MONTH THE GENERAL FEDERA-

TION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS DEBATED THE ISSUE AT

ITS SIXTEENTH COUNCIL MEETING, AND THE

NEWSPAPER REPORTS SAID THAT "THE AFFIRMATIVE

SPEAKER WAS GREETED BY AN OVATION AND DEMON-

STRATION WHICH LEFT LITTLE DOUBT THAT IN THIS

FAR-FLUNG FEDERATION THE PENDULUM OF OPINION

ON BIRTH CONTROL SWINGS WIDELY TOWARD THE

APPROVING SIDE." ALSO, IN MAY 1934, A

BIRTH-CONTROL CONFERENCE WAS HELD AT ALUMNAE

HOUSE, VASSAR COLLEGE, AND THE OPENING ADDRESS

WAS DELIVERED BY PRESIDENT HENRY NOBLE MACCRACKEN.

Don Wakeford

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Methods of Birth Control] / [Emma Goldman]. — [1935?, draft, fragment]. — 65 p. ; 30 × 19 cm.

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THE MEDICAL SCHOOLS, TOO, ARE GRADUALLY
BECOMING BIRTH-CONTROL CONSCIOUS. SIX OR
SEVEN YEARS AGO THE SUBJECT WAS TAUGHT IN ONLY
A FEW SCHOOLS AND THE GRADUATES OF SOME OF THE
BEST SCHOOLS IN THE COUNTRY KNEW NO MORE ABOUT
CONTRACEPTIVE METHODS THAN DRUG STORE CLERKS,
IF AS MUCH.

TODAY THE DEANS OF YALE, JOHNS HOPKINS,
TULANE, MINNESOTA, OHIO STATE, SOUTH DAKOTA,
WEST VIRGINIA, AND THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
MEDICAL SCHOOLS HAVE GONE ON RECORD IN FAVOR
OF A CHANGE IN THE LAWS. THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE
ON MATERNAL HEALTH FOUND FROM AN INQUIRY IN
1932 THAT OUT OF 63 GRADE A SCHOOLS WHICH OFFER
A FULL MEDICAL COURSE, 35 WERE GIVING INSTRUCTION
IN CONTRACEPTION, WHILE ONLY 2, APART FROM THE
ROMAN CATHOLIC SCHOOLS, EXPRESSED DEFINITE
DISAPPROVAL.

Canada too has a number

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16 16
most assuredly
these professional
men or women
can not be
charged with
subversive
ideas or designs

It is only that
they have come
to realize the
economic and
social forces
that make the
rejection of any
other form of individualism

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22184

AUGUST STRINDBERG

. . . .ONE OF THE MOST POWERFUL -
UNDOUBTEDLY THE MOST PASSIONATE - OF THE XIX
CENTURY WRITERS IS AUGUST STRINDBERG WHOSE
WORDS ARE NOW BEGINNING TO BE ISSUED BY
AMERICAN PUBLISHING HOUSES.

THE PERSONALITY OF STRINDBERG IS NOT TO
BE COMPRESSED WITHIN A DEFINITION! HE CANNOT
BE CLASSIFIED. ONE MUST FOLLOW HIM, STEP
BY STEP IN HIS PROTEAN CHANGES THAT DEMOLISHED
OLD IDEAS AND IDEALS TO MAKE ROOM FOR NEW
ONES IN ORDER TO REACH IN SOME APPROXIMATION
OF THE MAN AND HIS GENIUS. HE IS LIKE
CHAOS, FROM WHOM FIERY COMETS EVER BLAZE
FORTH, TO BE SWALLOWED IN THE TWILIGHT
PRECEDING THE BIRTH OF NEW WORLDS.

IN HIS CHILDHOOD, STRINDBERG SUFFERED

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MUCH HUMILIATION AND SCORN AS A RESULT OF THE
POVERTY OF HIS PARENTS AND THEIR DOUBTFUL
MORAL AND SOCIAL POSITION IN THE EYES OF
RESPECTABILITY. AS A YOUTH, HE GREW CONSCIOUS
THAT HE BELONGED TO THE LOWER CLASSES,
TO THE MOB.

DURING THE UNVEILING OF THE STATUE OF
KARL XII AT STOCKHOLM A RIOT BROKE OUT IN
THE STREETS OF THE CITY. MONEY FOR THE
MONUMENT HAD BEEN COLLECTED FROM THE PEOPLE,
BUT THEY WERE EXCLUDED FROM PARTICIPATION IN
THE FESTIVITIES. YOUNG STRINDBERG WHO
HAD ALREADY TRIED HIS LUCK AS TEACHER AND
ACTOR - WITHOUT EITHER SUCCESS OR SATISFACTION
TO HIMSELF - WAS, AT THE TIME, AT A HOUSE
PARTY OF A FRIENDLY PHYSICIAN. THE COMMOTION
OUTSIDE ATTRACTED THE ATTENTION OF THE GUESTS
AND SOME ONE PRESENT INQUIRED WHAT WAS THE

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MATTER. THE REPLY CAME FROM A PROFESSOR:

"IT IS THE NOISE OF THE MOB."

In great indignation

~~INTENSELY~~ MOVED, STRINDBERG LEFT THE

PARTY AND RUSHED INTO THE STREET TO JOIN

THE "NOISY MOB." OF THIS INCIDENT

STRINDBERG LATER WROTE IN ONE OF HIS AUTO-

BIOGRAPHICAL BOOKS:

"THE MOB! THE WORDS RANG IN HIS EARS

WHILE HE WALKED DOWN THE STREET. THE MOB?

THEY WERE HIS MOTHERS FORMER SCHOOL FELLOWS

AND EVEN HIS OWN PUPILS? THEY WERE THE

DARK BACKGROUND WHICH MADE THE LIGHT AND

COMFORT EFFECTIVE IN THE PLACE HE HAD JUST

LEFT. HE FELT LIKE A DESERTER, AS IF HE

HAD DONE WRONG IN WORKING HIS WAY UP."

Strindberg
AT THAT PERIOD HE LOOKED UPON PALACES.

Saw up palace

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CHURCHES, BARRACKS, CITY STREETS, IN WHICH
PEOPLE SOUGHT TO CHEAT AND DECEIVE EACH
OTHER IN SO CALLED HONEST DEALING AS THE
HATED SYMBOLS OF A SOCIETY WHOSE FOUNDATIONS
IS BASED ON SOCIAL INJUSTICE AND LYING MORALITY.

HIS ENTRANCE INTO THE FIELD OF AUTHORSHIP
WAS THE SIGNAL FOR AN ATTACK UPON THESE
FOUNDATIONS.

"THE RED ROOM," A NOVEL, CALLED DOWN
ON HIS HEAD THE WRATH AND HATRED OF RESPEC-
TABILITY OF ALL SWEDEN. THE WORK IS THE
GRIMMEST SATIRE ON THE IMPENETRABLE DULLNESS
OF OFFICIAL GOVERNMENT MARIONETTES, OF
RELIGION, PATRIOTISM, MARRIAGE, PARLIAMENT
OF THE PRESS AND THE CRITICS, OF CHARITY
AND OF THE UPLIFT MOVEMENTS. ^{ways} THE BOOK IS.

applies with equal
IN ITS BROADER FEATURES, QUITE TIMELY IN
force to the present

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REGARD TO CONDITIONS PREVALENT TODAY IN THIS
 COUNTRY. ESPECIALLY UP-TO-DATE IS THE
 REMARKABLE DESCRIPTION OF THE "WELL-MEANING
 PERSONS." THESE PROMOTE BANKING AND LOAN
 INSTITUTIONS TO AFFORD THE PEOPLE EASY
 CREDIT AND WITH WHOM LATER ON THE DEPOSITS
 OF THE POOR MYSTERIOUSLY DISAPPEAR, A LA
 HENRY SIEGEL METHODS.....

Hen

HE WROTE A SERIES OF SHORT STORIES

12 IN NUMBER UNDER THE TITLE "MARRIED."

HE WAS CHARGED WITH BLASPHEMY FOR A PASSAGE
The Reward of Virtue
 IN ONE OF THESE PLAYS "THE REWARD OF VIRTUE".

EVEN THE QUEEN WAS SHOCKED AT HIS IMMORALITY!

HE WAS TRIED BY A COURT BUT WAS ACQUITTED.

HE RECEIVED ENCOURAGEMENT AND APPROVAL
 FROM THE LIBERALS WHO STAGED HIS PLAYS IN
 PROTEST AGAINST HIS FORMER INDICTMENT. THEY

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22189

PUT ON "LUCKY PEHR." HE WAS CHEERED,

BUT STRINDBERG FOUND HE WAS "NO GOOD" AS A

"GREAT MAN." "I CAN NEVER LEARN TO BELIEVE

IN CHEERS" HE SAID, "THEY CHEER TODAY AND

BOOH TOMORROW".....

THE ENVIRONMENT AND ATMOSPHERE OF

STRINDBERG'S PARENTAL HOME AND OF THE SCHOOL

IS PRESENTED IN "THE SON OF A SERVANT."

IN THREE ROOMS ~~THERE~~ LIVE THE PARENTS AND

THEIR SEVEN CHILDREN. OCCASIONALLY, THE

SERVANTS ALSO SHARE THE SAME QUARTERS.

THE FURNITURE CONSISTS CHIEFLY OF BEDS AND

CRADLES. IN THIS WORK, THE MARRIED MAN,

THE HUSBAND, ALREADY APPEARS IN THE ROLE

WHICH IS LATER ON ELABORATED ~~UPON~~ IN

"THE FATHER".....

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22190

THE WOMAN CHARACTER - THAT GAVE HIM THE
NAME OF A WOMAN HATER - APPEARS IN THE MOST
DEFINITE FORM IN "THE FATHER," "COUNTEDD
JULIA," "COMRADES," AND "CREDITORS."
THE FEMALE VAMPIRE IS PICTURED IN THESE PLAYS
WITH GREAT ARTISTIC FINESSE! SHE MAKES USE
OF THE MAN AS A MEANS TO AN END. SHE IS
FALSE AND TREACHEROUS, EXPLOITS HIS IDEAS
AND TALENTS AND FEEDS, SPIDER-LIKE, ON HIS
VERY LIFE BLOOD, FINALLY, TO CAST HIM ASIDE
WHEN DEVELOPMENTS BECOME CATASTROPHIC.

IT IS THESE DRAMAS THAT EARNED STRINDBERG
EUROPEAN FAME. HIS WOMEN STOOD OUT IN
STRONG RELIEF AND CHALLENGED PASSIONATE ATTITUDE
FOR OR AGAINST, WHEN COMPARED WITH THE NORA
TYPES OF IBSEN. THESE, TO STRINDBERG WERE
UNBEARABLE BY-PRODUCTS OF MODERN FEMINISM.
HE CALLED IBSEN THE "NORWEGIAN BLUESTOCKING."

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IN GERMANY AND FRANCE STRINDBERG MET
ENTHUSIASTIC ADMIRATION AMONG THE YOUNGER
AUTHORS. HIS SOJOURN IN BERLIN AND PARIS
BROUGHT GREAT TRIUMPHS TO HIS ART. HIS
DRAMAS WERE STAGED IN PARIS WITH GREAT
FINANCIAL SUCCESS. BUT SUDDENLY THE AUTHOR
DISAPPEARED FROM THE CIRCLES THAT HAD HAILED
HIM AS THE GREATEST NATURALIST WRITER.

HE IS UNDERGOING A GREAT CHANGE: HE
DOES NOT WANT TO CREEP INTO THE SOULS OF HIS
FELLOWMEN ANYMORE TO PLAY THEM ALIVE FOR THE
PURPOSE OF WRITING. HE RETIRES TO THE LIFE
OF A HERMIT, DEVOTES HIMSELF TO CHEMICAL
STUDIES AND PHYSICS AND ASTRONOMY, SCIENCES
IN WHICH HIS FRENZIED THIRST FOR KNOWLEDGE ARE
TRANSFORMED INTO ASTROLOGY AND ALCHEMY.

HIS PORTRAITS GRACE THE SHOW WINDOWS

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OF PARIS PROCLAIMING HIM THE NEW LIBERATOR.

DIRECTORS OF THEATERS VIE WITH ONE
ANOTHER IN SENDING HIM INVITATIONS AND THE
CRITICS PLEAD FOR INTERVIEWS. BUT STRINDBERG
REMAINS DEAF TO THEIR CALL.

HE HAS BURNED HIS BRIDGES BEHIND HIM: HE
LIVES OBSCURELY IN A LITTLE ROOM IN AN UNKNOWN
HOTEL WHERE HE IS IMMERSSED IN HIS EXPERIMENTS
IN PATHOMING THE SECRETS OF NATURE. THE
ELEMENTS ARE AG INST HIM - FIRE AND ACIDS
CAUSE MANY MISHAPS AND BURN HIS HANDS -
ADDED TO THESE MISFORTUNES, ARE BILLS FOR
RENT AND FOOD, WHILE STRINDBERG IS PENNILESS -
THE SOURCES OF HIS INCOME BEING OUT OFF BY
HIS DISAPPEARANCE. FINALLY BOTH HIS HANDS
ARE INFECTED WITH BLOOD POISON AND HE IS CONVEYED
TO THE HOSPITAL ST. LOUIS.

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HERE BEGINS THE TRANSFORMATION OF STRIND-
BERG FROM AN ATHEISTIC SAULUS TO A BELIEVING
PAULUS. BUT BEFORE THIS CHANGE IS COMPLETE,
HE STILL HAS TO PASS THROUGH A HELL TORTURED
BY HORRIBLE HALLUCINATIONS - THE PERSECUTION
MANIA HOLDS HIM IN ITS GRIP - HE IS OBSESSED
WITH THE NOTION THAT HIS FORMER FRIENDS SEEK
HIS LIFE AND PLOT TO STRANGLE HIM
ALL OVER HIS HORROR STRETCHES OMINOUSLY THE
HAND OF THE "INVISIBLE POWER" THAT PUNISHES
HIM BECAUSE HE HAD DESERTED HIS WIFE AND
CHILD WHEN HE FACED THE ALTERNATIVE OF EITHER
DEVOTING HIS LIFE TO HIS FAMILY OR SERVING
SCIENCE.

THIS PERIOD OF STRINDBERG'S LIFE IS
MIRRORED IN "INFERNO." HE DESCRIBED IT
LIKE AN IMPARTIAL OBSERVER WITH AN ARTISTIC
ACCURACY REMINDING ONE OF POE. TO THIS

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SAME PERIOD ALSO BELONGS THE WORKS THAT PICTURE
 THE CRISES IN HIS MENTAL LIFE: "LEGENDS,"
 "TO DAMASCUS" AND "ADVENT."

STRINDBERG RETURNS TO SWEDEN, HIS SPIRIT
 NOW FLOWING IN SMOOTHER CHANNELS. HIS
 ACQUAINTANCE WITH THE WORKS OF SWEDENBORG
 PROVES, HE INFORMS US, CLARIFYING IN REGARD
 TO MUCH THAT WAS FORMERLY HIDDEN AND OBSCURE.

A SUMMARY OF HIS IDEAS ABOUT RELIGION,
 THE WORLD AND LIFE IS TO BE FOUND IN HIS
 LATER WORK "DAS BLAU-BUCH." IN THIS HE
 ATTACKS THE ATHEISTS AND FREETHINKERS WITH
 AS MUCH VENOM AS HE HAD FORMERLY USED AGAINST
 THE GOOD CHRISTIAN AND BELIEVERS. HE
 IMPRESSES INTO THE SERVICE OF HIS FAITH THE
 DYING VOLTAIRE AND HEINRICH HEINE, AND EVEN
 THE LIVING GOETHE.

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NOTWITHSTANDING ALL THIS, HOWEVER,
OFFICIAL CHRISTIANITY WILL NOT BE ABLE TO
EXPLOIT STRINDBERG'S CONVERSION FOR ITS OWN
PURPOSES. HIS FAITH, LIKE EVERYTHING HE
WROTE RELIGION, CHURCH, AND CHRISTIAN
POLITICS WERE, TO HIM, VERY DIFFERENT
MATTERS. IN A CERTAIN PLACE HE PROTESTS
AGAINST BEING LABELLED CATHOLIC. IF HE IS
TO BE COUNTED IN THE FOLD, HE, HIMSELF,
DECLARES IT WOULD BE MOST FITTING TO CALL
HIM A SWEDENBORGIAN!

WHATEVER THE RELIGIOUS FAITH OF STRIND-
BERG IN HIS DECLINING YEARS HE HAS GIVEN US
MUCH THAT IS VALUABLE DURING THOSE HEROIC
PILGRIMAGES THROUGH LIFE, LEAVING US A
RICH HERITAGE IN THE NUMEROUS WORKS OF HIS
CREATIVE GENIUS.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] In the Shadow of Liberty / Emma Goldman. — New York : Macmillan Co., 1935. — 3 p. ; 22 x 27 cm.
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Macmillan Co. N.Y. 1935. \$3.00

IN THE SHADOW OF LIBERTY

By Edward Corsi.

Who was the most interesting radical ever to pass, eastbound or westbound, through the gates of Ellis Island?

The answer permits no argument. For human interest, one person stands out — Emma Goldman.

This extraordinary woman is now in her 65th year. The reading of her autobiography indicates that she has lost none of her fine power of self-expression; nor, in the least degree, has she changed any of the radical opinions. In our study of Ellis Island the sensational career of Emma Goldman furnishes the central theme. Around this theme there gathers in my mind strange history, the history of obnoxious thought in America during the past sixty years, due to radical European movements. We see violent explosive thoughts generated in the minds of the great European revolutionists of that period. These thoughts and the revolutionary movements which followed them have circled the world like cyclonic storms. We see these storms, again and again. They come as clouds boding in leash their thunderbolts. These storms have broken about us with such peculiar and divergent effects upon our public mind and lives, that their history is sometimes quite baffling. I am convinced that the best way to define the effect of the European and radical thought on America is to see it reflected in the mind of a single individual.

In the year 1886 some unknown clerk in the immigration service at Castle Garden registered the name of a Russian immigrant Jewish girl. She was then 17 years of age. Noting in the appearance of the child or in her demeanor singled her out from among the days run of babbling crowds that moved in and out of the immigration station. Once safely landed, she proceeded direct to her mother. In her autobiography she has given us her own inimitable account of the days events.

In Rochester Emma Goldman lived with relatives and, like most Russian immigrants worked in the clothing trades.

Then, three years later she came to New York. The first evening she looked up a friend, a young Russian medical student. He took her to dine at that university of radical thought — the cafe where there gathered the revolutionary intelligentsia. It was a primitive cafe of the sort found in New York's Greenwich Village. Within a few days the distinguished radicals were pointed out to her, the intellectual radicals of a generation ago. They included Ambrose Bierce, John Swinton, James Huneker and others. In later years Huneker was to become one of the greatest American literary critics. Bierce's stories are classics today. Curious it is that in America the young radical intellectuals who foregather in these places always seem to produce so many intelligent and distinguished and conservative stars of the generation that is to follow.

Thus Miss Emma went out to her first radical meeting.

The man who took her to that meeting she had observed gobbling an

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enormous beefsteak at Sachs on the occasion of her first visit. It was none other than Alexander Berkman, her life long friend and paramour.

That first radical meeting marked the turning point of her life. The orator was the famous anarchist leader, John Most. Berkman pointed out two others whose names were just as distinguished in the radical circles of New York of those days. They were Sergius Shevitch, an exiled prince who had become editor of the German Socialist daily of New York, and his wife, the famous Countess Helena van Kocowitza. Countess Helena had taken part in one of the great love affairs of history and the tragedy that led to the death of her distinguished lover, the brilliant Ferdinand Lassalle. Now, nearly half a century later, Emma Goldman describes in her autobiography the cold and appealing face of this strangest of all aristocratic beauties. She never became a radical. In her mind she remained what she was born, a conservative; while in her heart she loved in succession two of the extreme revolutionary socialists of the age. Now she was keeping house for Shevitch, her lawfully wedded husband — cooking ham and cabbage and making coffee in a Hoboken flat.

We come here upon one of the secrets of the power of radicalism in our lives. The uneducated working girl or boy will go to a public meeting and find himself face to face with persons of fine culture and intellectual distinction. This has been true from Moscow to San Francisco. And it is as true today in Bombay and Peking as it is in Chicago or London. Radicalism has its positive side. The radicals, in their social relations, customarily practice what they preach. Indeed, it has been pointed out again and again that modern radicalism uses the power which was inherited from the early Christian church. To the submerged worker at these gatherings this movement is so thrilling, not only because it prophecies the changed social order of equal rights for all the living present, but also because it gives intellectual and cultural opportunities which are not to be despised.

So Emma Goldman heard John Most speak. His eloquence thrilled her. What was the vibrant thought that moved out of the queer perverted brain of Most through his rapier — like tongue into the avid mind of the immigrant girl? This was the idea: that the poor should strike against the rich and bring them down. Not through kind words and teaching but by fierce blows of terrorism and death. Social government itself, as well as the property system, shall be destroyed. So shall the toiling masses enter into the Kingdom of Heaven. Most's social philosophy was the fruit — doubtless, the very natural fruit — of long oppression and of the suppressed rage of those whose emotions run away with their thoughts. Emma Goldman accepted his philosophy. In the course of the thirty years that elapsed between her first evening at the feet of John Most and the dull gray morning when, from the deck of "The Soviet Ark" she saw the shadows life from the winter sea, she received no essential instruction on the nature of government and on the laws of social progress. This woman, so honest in all she was and said and did, represents none other than in Europe and America the infant of rebellion in the inexperienced and backward masses in the repressed countries of Europe. The mind of this extraordinary individual is the key to an understanding of that submerged majority of humanity which has accepted the new and more frightful tyrannies in place of the old that have passed away.

John Most fell in love with Emma Goldman, and Emma Goldman fell in love with Alexander Berkman. Most's face was deformed and ugly.

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[Interview] In the Shadow of Liberty / Emma Goldman.— New York : Macmillan Co., 1935.— 3 p. ; 22 x 27 cm.

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He seemed to be denied what ever he wanted in life. When he couldn't have Emma Goldman, he grew to hate her and even abused her and her friends.

Emma Goldman, like many another radical, set about to teach her fellow men. She whose language was originally Yiddish and then classical German, now learned English. One reads her writings and marvels at the pure and vibrant style. Emma Goldman read many books. She read Dostoevsky, Shaw and Anatole France. But Karl Marx? Certainly not. To her Karl Marx was a conservative compromiser, an advocate of political trimming. His writings were to be classified with the Episcopal book of prayer and the Constitution of the United States. Usually the anarchists read only anarchist literature, just as the loyal Bolsheviks today read only Lenin but turn up their noses at the recalcitrant Trotsky. It is the old bigotry of the obscure sectarians all over again. Here a line shall be expounded. There a whole literature must be denominated to the flames. Cotton Mather and John Most are no alike as two circles in and in together. One was drawn in the seventeenth, the other in the nineteenth century. That is the difference.

Many assert the brilliance of the American career of Emma Goldman. Most Americans admire a fighter. Embellished on the banner of this remarkable woman are the words, "No surrender." Her circle of friends came to be large and numbered many persons of distinction and influence. The loyalty she found among these friends never increased because of her position. When one of her speeches sent the poor feeble minded Leon Czolgosz out to do his terrible deed, she disclaimed responsibility. The fact that inciting the crime comes within the scope of the criminal law, that her case was one essentially demanding investigation by a prosecuting attorney - that fact she never understood.

There came at last the American declaration of war against Germany. Emma Goldman had cried out against the Spanish-American war, but that war was the affair of a summer holiday and nobody cared. Most of the university professors, including the President of Harvard University opposed the World War, as in every great war, our country bowed to its heart's core, the sound of the drum. For thirty years Emma Goldman had poured out her emotions upon America. Now America, too, had turned emotional, and it proceeded to pour out some of its emotionalism upon that entire breed who had voiced their revolutionary message through her flashing eyes and bitter tongue. The war did not suffice to take up all the slack of this emotionalism. The day of the armistice came and went. It left unsatisfied the war hunger of the back country America. Quickly new national hatred turned from a defeated Germany and lashed itself into a rage against all forms of radicalism and all sorts of radicals. Victor Berger of Milwaukee was a conservative socialist. Senator La Follette was a Republican progressive. Federal Judge Landis of Chicago, in sentencing Berger to jail and prison, said he regretted he could not have him shot. A popular writer of fiction wrote an allegory intimating that La Follette would be forever ostracized and despised by all Americans.

A year passed and found the prison cells in Ellis Island packed to overflowing. On December 21, 1919, all nations stood in attention in silent salute to the flag that had been unharmed in battle during the great war. The sailing of the "ARK" marked the final victory of this country over its enemy in Europe. There is a last word to this history. The SS Buford came into port on the far coast of Finland. Even the 249 prisoners came to the Russian border, they received the cheers of the strange martial movement. Emma Goldman, as she crossed the frozen river

"this is the greatest day of my life."

Emma Goldman had been deported as an alien anarchist. Her father was a citizen of the United States, and her husband was a former citizen of the United States whose citizenship had been revoked on the grounds that it had been obtained by false statements. Since the husband was not present and therefore unable to defend the revocation proceedings, there is grave doubt as to their regularity. Emma Goldman had made one voyage abroad after obtaining her passport as the wife and daughter of American citizens. On this journey there was no question as to the regularity of her status. But her life in America had been a long series of strifes, arrests, ordeals and more arrests. Alexander Berkman had served a long term in a Pennsylvania prison. When he reached Ellis Island he appealed his case to the United States Supreme Court. The appeal was denied. Emma Goldman also had the right of appeal. She refused to exercise that right. Suffering the severe tortures of severe toothache at Ellis Island, realizing that Berkman was doomed to deportation and that the deportation would undoubtedly be to Russia, she got through the days somehow and waited.

Nothing of transcendent importance occurred at Ellis Island during her stay there prior to the hearing which brought about her deportation order. At that hearing she arose and read the most defiant statement ever hurled into the teeth of the United States Government. With her own permission, it is herewith reproduced: "At the very outset of this hearing I wish to register my protest against these star chamber proceedings. . . . With all the power and intensity of my being I protest against this conspiracy of imperialist capitalism against the life and liberty of the American people."

The years were not entirely unkind to Emma Goldman. But let us hear from her own lips what she thinks of Ellis Island. In February of this year, she came out of her retirement in France, obtained special permission of the United States Department of Labor to enter the United States for a lecture tour of three months and arrived in New York after an absence of 15 years. During the final week of her visit, surrounded by relatives and friends in her suite in the Fifth Avenue Hotel, she recounted for the purpose of this volume, her actual going into exile.

"I enjoyed writing pamphlets in those days," she said, "but I was afraid my writings would be taken from me that I waited till everyone had gone to bed at Ellis Island, and when they were sleeping, I got up, turned on the light and wrote. On the night we were taken away I was writing a pamphlet on deportation at 2 a. m. I did not dream that we would be going for several days. In fact I had spoken with Superintendent Baker and others, telling them that we would like to know a day or two before our deportations in order that we might send for our clothes and personal belongings. You see - many of us had been jerked up wherever we were found, and not permitted to communicate in any manner with our relatives until after we had reached the island. Many of the poor working men were taken in their work clothes without so much as a chance to get a change of underwear, and not even at the last were they permitted to remove their savings from savings banks. I believe the savings of the entire lot amounted to something like sixty thousand dollars. As I said, I was writing the pamphlet when a rap sounded on my door. It was one of the coldest nights of the year. I hurriedly hid the manuscript I was working upon and went to the door. An official said: 'Get your things together - you're being taken to the deportation

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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- 5 -

boat! Those who were sleeping were pulled from their beds. We were maroed between two long lines of soldiers with loaded guns to the cutter. We had to stand in the freezing cold. When two hours had elapsed we reached the Buford. Two hours later we were heading out to sea, and none of us knew where we were being taken. Everyone was ill from the cold. Some had fever. Some even had the gripe."

Mise Goldman then proceeded to describe the congestion on the Buford, how ineffectively the majority of the deportees were fed and how all were constantly guarded by soldiers. "A soldier stood outside my cabin at all times," she said. "I was sorry for him standing there in the cold. He was ignorant of what it was all about, merely acting in line of duty. One day I pushed a camp stool out to him. 'Why don't you sit down?' I asked. 'Why should you give me a camp stool?' he returned. 'I explained to him my feelings. Something about it must have gone the rounds of the other seventy soldiers for one of them came to Alexander Berkman on Christmas Eve and said: 'This thing is getting on our nerves - it doesn't seem right. Say the word and we'll throw the damn Captain and Colonel overboard. You'll be in charge of the ship, we'll go with you wherever you want to go. Berkman explained that he was not a navigator and that ended what might otherwise have been a mutiny. We reached Finland without knowing where we were, having crossed the Baltic Sea which was still underlain with German mines. We were placed in sealed cars on a Finnish train, each door manned by a guard, just as Trotsky went through Germany. Perhaps this was because the deportees organized a strike on ship because of the food. The strike had been settled by allowing our own bakers etc. to do the work. To cap it all, the guards looted the train before we got out of Finland and took most of our personal belongings. We were received in Russia with military honors. It was a grand ovation. None of us knew for sure that we were near Russian soil till we were so informed. The Russians in our party fell down to the ground and kissed the snow. The band played. We were cheered. It was magnificent."

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The Emma Goldman Papers

Miss Emma Goldman Holds that German Literature... / Emma Goldman. — [1935, advertisement]. — 1 p. ; 17 × 13 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress.
Institutional Location: Paul Avrich Papers.

Miss Emma Goldman holds that German literature though nailed to the Hitler cross is still very much alive. How blind and foolish are they in the high places! Always they have attempted to crush the creative spirit of man. In prisons and with torture — by fire and sword. The puppets of the hour strutting about the world stage have repeatedly tried to destroy that spirit — to tear it out from the minds and hearts of men to send it adrift, ever to roam the earth.

They dread nothing so much as the creative spirit — those who sit in the high places. And the power they have wielded has ever been the harbinger of death. For the weapons of fear can bring nought else but death. Not so the creative spirit whose very essence is the life-giving force — ever becoming — ever renewing strength.

Short lived and soon forgotten are they who presume to wield power. But eternal is the poet's song and the magic of the word and theirs the ultimate triumph.

To-night at the Central Y.M.C.A. Miss Emma Goldman will discuss German literature that has emerged scorched but undimmed from the fires fanned by savage hands.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summary of Lecture] History of Drama in Russia Up to Present Discussed in Lecture / Emma Goldman. — [1935, Emma Goldman Scrap Book]. — 1 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

16600

THE MONTREAL

and Screen

History Of Drama In Russia Up To Present Discussed In Lecture

THE Russian theatre and drama from days prior to the revolution were reviewed by Emma Goldman last night in the fifth of a series of dramatic lectures given in the Drummond street branch of the Y.M.C.A. She told a story of famous producers of years past to Stanislavsky, founder of the Moscow Art Theatre, who in her mind created a school of acting which has never been surpassed, and dwell on present day drama in Russia.

In Russia, "the land of the free," artists and writers are handicapped by a great lack of freedom. Following the revolution Tolstoy and others used the theatre for propaganda purposes, and propaganda was at the back of every play. This continued to a great extent but today writers and artists by subtle conveyances are ridiculing the popular propaganda and show clearly in their works the fear that stalks the land. For in Russia today, Miss Goldman says everyone from Stalin to the most humble worker lives in daily fear of the government, many of the population suffer from a persecution mania and it is a good thing, in her mind, that some writers have taken the heart to point out in their works and plays the fear that is throughout the land.

ACCORDING to Miss Goldman Russia is a land of creative artists, the most uneducated of the people have a depth of feeling that enables them to appreciate and closely understand the arts. It is this feeling that made the success of the theatre possible. This love of plays and acting has not sprung from the revolution of Soviet but rather has been always in the hearts of the primitive people.

This knowledge of art has been responsible for doing away with the "star" system in many schools of acting, Miss Goldman said. "The ensemble system" practiced, where every member of the cast must feel and live a part naturally, where all parts are of the same importance to the producer, is a great improvement on our Americanized "star system," which Miss Goldman ridiculed most thoroughly.

IN reviewing the progress made on the stage and by the producers of present day Russia, the speaker specially praised Stanislavsky, the founder of the Moscow Art Theatre, who raised the drama to heights never known before. Stanislavsky rehearsed his troupes at times for over two years, before he considered them as being worthy of living their parts before the audience. Actors under him did not play a part, they lived them, and this was the reason of his success.

Vaghtanov, another modern producer created a theatre quite removed from the Moscow Art Theatre which in turn has placed him among the notables of the drama. He, Miss Goldman, said, did away with illusion in his plays. The actors appeared in a barren setting, and made their own personalities provide the background for the play.

Meyerhold is another artist who has gained an enviable place at the head of present day Russian art, in the belief of Miss Goldman. Meyerhold believed, like Stanislavsky, that actors should live and not merely play their parts. He went further in his opinion however and considered that written text should be done away with completely. Actors working in plays produced by him were given no script, their parts were explained to them, and then they spent months accustoming themselves to the part they were to live in the production.

She closed by reading in part six plays by present day Russian writers, and then answered questions put by the audience.

SALESLERS SEE TAX EVASION

(Continued from Page One)

They will get its money and will save money in the process. Mr. Trudeau, "There is no selling coal and wood at \$100, that \$80,000; a \$120,000 and at \$200, the city will get that. Merchant cannot escape cost of collection will

sales tax at 2 per cent. Weldon. "Say we have a year in Montreal, that's \$5,000,000. Say that does not pay tax, it bought in 100,000 \$3,600,000, or \$72,000 in and you say \$100 license \$30,000. It's worth

attention asked that the situation at Quebec be up the matter immediately arranged that by the matter will have a in the hands of Mr. K.C., director of it will go to Council decision before the city the Legislative Council.

BODY TO INQUIRY ON CUSES OF CARS

(Continued from Page One)

George Sedgwick, K.C., the board, which is terms: March 23, 1935. Chairman:

pinion, in the publication an inquiry upon the operation of automotive industry as regards the bearing of customs and ex-cesses. Please regard as a formal letter as your authority your earliest con-investigation. An inquiry by the Part 1 of the it is my thought ation should not in those spec-ations or ex-cesses to the manu-vehicles, but reason and

in addition to freight and local prices up 50 per cent. on American selling rates. When we add provincial gas tax and local sales tax, not retail selling price mounts sky high.

"The motor vehicle is positively not a luxury and, therefore, motor taxation should not be based on any luxury theory whatever.

"Shall be pleased to attend any investigation you may decide to hold."

SHAMS PLAYED BY STRINDBERG'S ART

Swedish Dramatist Was 'World Conscience,' Emma Goldman Declares

August Strindberg, Swedish dramatist, was described as "the conscience not only of Sweden but of the whole world, a man who brooked no compromise with the things he regarded as evil or hypocritical," by Emma Goldman in a lecture on Strindberg's life and work, at Central Y.M.C.A. last night.

Attacking sham with satiric genius, Strindberg spent his life in attempting to expose the follies of humanity in general, the hypocrisy of class relationship and of family life in particular. In "The Father," he aimed a shattering blow against the sentiment "motherhood" myth—the notion that all mothers are walking Mother Macabres—by portraying the unscrupulous struggle of a narrowminded woman for complete, smothering domination over her child. In many of his short stories in "The Link," and in the autobiographical "Confessions of a Fool," he laid bare the drawbacks of modern marriage. In "The Red Book" he penned a satire on the whole social structure; "Son of a Servant," "Countess Julia" and many other works depicted the gulf that separates rich from poor.

Miss Goldman praised Strindberg's marvelous capacity for detached autobiography. This faculty, she said, is best seen in his "Inferno," a coolly objective study of his own experiences while insane.

Last night's lecture completed a series of eight on world drama, which Miss Goldman has delivered during the past two months.

RAILWAY BUILDER DIES

Charles John Pigot Passes Away at Quebec

Quebec, March 13.—Charles John Pigot, well known railway builder and engineer is dead at his home here at an advanced age. One of the builders of the Lake St. John Railway, he came to Quebec from Caylon in 1890, to take over the duties of assistant engineer in charge of the construction of the Lake St. John Road,

ment were for Kirk, Dominion Department of Agriculture on affairs. The necessity of Canada added efforts designed to improve alfalfa prairies.

Tests made of Dr. Kirk last alfalfa when with certain increased yield content in the periments had as the idea suitable for Dr. J. G. section A. of whose auspices

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The Emma Goldman Papers

Ostrovsky, Turgenev and Tolstoy Will Be Discussed / Emma Goldman. — [(Jan. 1935, advertisement)]. — 1 p. ; 8 × 6 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Ostrovsky, Turgenev And Tolstoy Will Be Discussed In Lecture

MOST people see in drama and the theatre nothing more profound than mere amusement—a sort of narcotic for jaded nerves. Emma Goldman considers such an approach to drama lacking in depth and perception of its function. She insists that the purpose of drama is to make people think and to stir their hearts.

That does not mean, however, that Emma Goldman rejects comedy. On the contrary, she believes that comedy may and often does represent more devastating social criticism than the tragic media. The fact is, that there is a kind of humor that, far from causing the aspects of amusement of silly hilarity, fills his laughter with tears, leaving often more indelible marks than the tragic form.

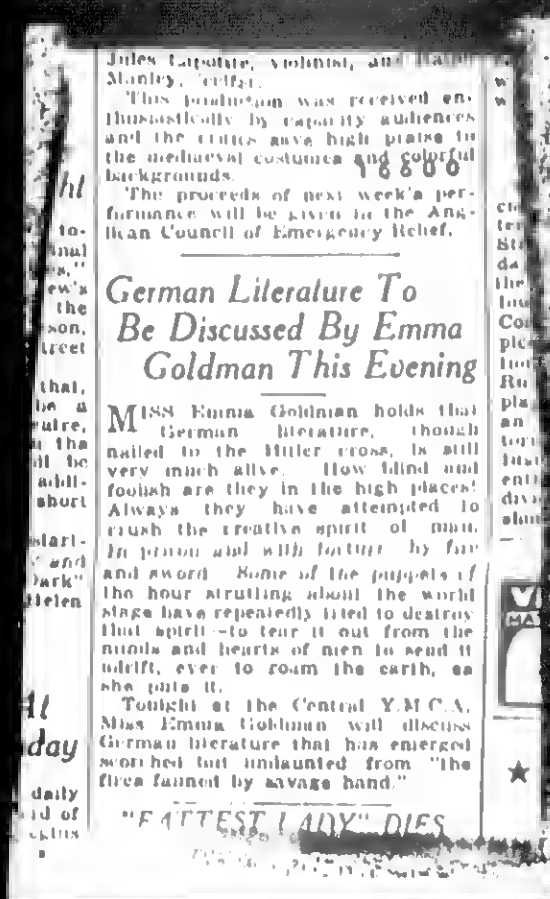
This point is illustrated in the plays of Ostrovsky and Turgenev, whose works, together with those of Tolstoy, will be discussed by Emma Goldman this evening in the second of a drama lecture series being given in the Wellington Room of the Central Y.M.C.A., at 8:30 o'clock.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

German Literature to Be Discussed by Emma Goldman This Evening / Emma Goldman. — [(Jan. 1935, advertisement)]. — 1 p. ; 8 × 6 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.



The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Arrest Laid To Nazis / Emma Goldman.— 10 cm. In The Gazette [Montreal]. — (Jan. 5, 1935).

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

fact is the way those young
men usually turn out," she said.

Communism to Be Probed

Madison, Wis., May 6 (AP)—Chairman E. F. Brunette said today that investigation by a state Senate committee of Communism and other subversive doctrines in the University of Wisconsin and other state educational institutions probably will begin next week.

ARREST LAID TO NAZIS

Strachey Case Will Be Dropped, Emma Goldman Thinks

Emma Goldman, anarchist leader expelled from the United States in 1919 for her activities in organizing anti-war movements, doesn't think Washington means much by its threat to deport John Strachey, British economist, for alleged Communist preachings.

"It was stupid, of course, to arrest Mr. Strachey, but I feel certain the charges will not be pressed," Miss Goldman said last night. "Mr. Strachey belongs to an important English family. If he were some poor alien with no friends or relations in high places things might be very different."

She was equally positive in tracing the move for Strachey's arrest to Nazi instigation. For reason, she declared that she herself had been warned, when entering the U.S. last year for a ninety-day visit following the Roosevelt amnesty, that she was not to speak against Hitler's Germany. "Lord Marler may come to the United States to speak against Nazis but then Lord Marler is a British peer. I am not."

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summary of Lecture] Protest Is Motive of Russian Drama / Emma Goldman. — 17 cm. In The Gazette [Montreal]. — (Jan. 10, 1935).

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

...will be the first visit of Eddie Duchin and his orchestra to Montreal. He leads his orchestra from the piano and his solo play an important part in his presentation of modern music.

The orchestra will play for dinner and supper on Friday, January 13. On Saturday, in addition to the dinner and supper dances, there will be on hand with his orchestra and music for the afternoon "the dancing."

PROTEST IS MOTIVE OF RUSSIAN DRAMA

Playwrights Used Stage as Pulpit, Emma Goldman Tells Group

Inaugurating a series of educational lectures on the drama, Emma Goldman, famous as an unrelenting agitator in the anarchist cause, editor and author as well, spoke last night on the first Russian dramatists at the Central Y.M.C.A. An appreciative gathering, largely women, attended the first of the weekly series.

Drama in Russia, Miss Goldman pointed out, has been almost from the first a means of protest. Each writer was to some extent "a lay preacher who used his pulpit to protest." Less rooted in social conditions than their foreign contemporaries, the early Russian playwrights fought a continuous battle against oppression by the ruling class.

The stage art developed comparatively late in Russia. It was given its start in court circles, eventually to aid in the destruction of the aristocracy, by Natalia, daughter of the Tsar Alexis. It gradually took form through the patronage of Peter the Great, and Catherine the Great and the work of Sumarokov, Knyashnin, and Vonvizin. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the first of the great dramatists in Russia, Grechovdev, began to write. His play "Intelligence Comes to Grief" remains an achievement.

Emma Goldman concluded her address with a discussion of the life and work of the first of the modern Russian literary giants, Nikolai Gogol. Gogol's battle against the injustices of the time and what he characterized as "the devil of mediocrity" behind social evils was told in detail. The speaker also recounted the development of the playwright, the writing of "Marriage," "The Gamblers" and "The Inspector-General." She gave a summary and an interpretation of the last play as it achieved the ultimate in production under Stanislavsky at the Moscow Art Theatre.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summary of Lecture] Goldman Reviews Moral Standards / Emma Goldman.— 20 cm. In The Montreal Herald. —(Jan. 18, 1935).
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

...and in... while a... the academic... standing of the... been made.

Government night schools... during the past year... a strong interest was mani... by large numbers of men and women, 707 altogether having regis...
18348

Goldman Review Moral Standards

No Such Thing as Fixed Morality.

Moral standards fluctuate from land to land and from time to time, and there is no such thing as a fixed morality, said Emma Goldman, anarchist, in a lecture last night in the York room of the Windsor Hotel.

Property morality, religious morality and state or patriotic morality were condemned by the speaker as were the moral censors who supervise books, plays and moving pictures. Religion teach "Thou shalt not kill" but at the same time sanction capital punishment, and this inconsistency appeared to the speaker to be nothing short of criminal.

State morality is imposing its will everywhere and she warned that even democratic countries are drifting towards the belief that the state and not the individual is supreme.

Revenue Decrease In Superior Court

A decline of \$21,000 in the revenue accruing to the Superior Court for the year of 1934 as against the previous year's receipts was shown in a report made yesterday by J. E. Bedard, director of accounts of His Majesty's Superior Court.

Line Has Not Yet Received Protest

No protest has as yet been received from the Legislature of British Guiana against allegedly excessive freight rates charged by the Canadian National Steamships on goods exported from that country to Canada despite dispatches from Georgetown intimating that they would appeal to the Canadian Government, according to P. G. Wood, freight traffic manager of the C.N.S.

Rice was particularly mentioned as one of the commodities on which the steamship line placed a high freighting charge. It was understood that the Guiana government was unanimous in their determination to protest the tariffs at Ottawa.

Mr. Wood asserted that the freight rates with that country as far as the Canadian line was concerned were lower than any given on other trade routes of the world.

Injunction is Granted To Local Milk

An injunction was granted by the Superior Court yesterday to the local milk...

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...not unfair... about... num Wage... nt where... are made... once com... submitted... is in Vic... complete... STOP As... receive this... opportunity... Commu... ally men... the true... misunder... not only... rally but... Board of... of which I...

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summary of Lecture] Sees No Pessimism in Russian Dramas / Emma Goldman. — 17 cm. *In The Gazette [Montreal].* — (Jan. 24, 1935).

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

"He was, in his performance last night, one of the most glorious baritone voices ever heard on a Toronto concert stage. Mr. Thomas is of the race which is naturally gifted to make their concerts or events of enjoyment for the public, the type of great singer destined to be popular without being showy. A combination of these qualities is rare for this end. The fact that the Thomas's voice, although a baritone, recalled Caruso's golden luscious richness, found many to agree with that opinion last night."

SEES NO PESSIMISM IN RUSSIAN DRAMAS

16600
Emma Goldman Discusses
Plays of Tchekov, Gorki
and Andreev

Combating the prevalent notion that Russian drama is gloomy and "pessimistic," Emma Goldman, anarchist writer and lecturer, held up the works of Tchekov, Maxim Gorki and Andreev as examples of a real and underlying optimism in the literature of their period last night. Her address was the second of a series on Russian drama at the Central Y.M.C.A., Drummond street.

In Tchekov's "The Sea Gull," the writer exposes the cheap success of a popular actress for what it is worth, placing it in contrast to the work of her son which is the expression of a new thought and a new inspiration. The son, ridiculed and defeated by his philistine contemporaries, ends as a suicide. But, Miss Goldman contended, the play as a whole is not pessimistic; its true keynote is not defeat, but victory deferred.

Similar was another Tchekov play, "Uncle Vanya"—wherein was exposed the pretences of a cultural "false alarm," a professor who had lived on his reputation for 25 years. Even in Maxim Gorki's "The Night Lodging," with its "terrible medley of ex-human beings," a note of hope might be discerned.

Andreev, she said, initiated "a return to Dostolevsky and the dramatization of thought." His plays, in their fashion, also carried out the underlying theme which dominates Tchekov and Gorki—superficially tragic, they contain the warnings: "Woe to the victorious."

Discussion of the works of each author was prefaced by a biographical outline, which showed that all three shared the hardships of poverty in youth.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summary of Lecture] State Drama to Die / Emma Goldman.— 11 cm. *In* The Gazette [Montreal]. —(Feb. 7, 1935).

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Lord Hugh Cecil contended that the play was not illuminating and that it was a mere propaganda for which it was designed. He termed the Douglas play of credit "just one of those foolish pranks which always arise in a time of economic distress."

STATE DRAMA TO DIE

16600
Soviet Mechanistic Conception Held Ephemeral

Flatly denying that the present development of the Russian theatre was due solely to Soviet origin and ideology, Miss Emma Goldman, prominent anarchist, writer and lecturer told an audience in the Central Y.M.C.A. last night that she did not believe that the mechanistic conception of the drama as utilized by the government-subsidized theatres of Meyerhold would last.

She pointed to signs of a greater freedom in Russia today, however, as instanced in the plays of Kataev (Squaring the Circle), Afanogenyev (Fear) and Kirshon (Bread) "who have been permitted to say some very biting truths about things in Russia." While Meyerhold was turning the former worship of the ikon into a worship of the machine, the author of "Fear" was pointing out that "when you destroy fear and everything that causes fear you will see how marvellously our country will blossom forth."

Answering a questioner the lecturer said that it was true that in no country in the world was freedom given the artist. However, in most countries outside Russia and the fascist countries freedom could be grasped. "You can only have that amount of freedom which you have the courage to take," she quoted.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summary of Lecture] Emma Goldman Defends Great Russian Writer / Emma Goldman. — 23 cm. In The Winnipeg Tribune. — (Feb. 9, 1935, Emma Goldman Scrap Book).

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Institutional Location: Max Neutlau Archive.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 1935

EMMA GOLDMAN
DEFENDS GREAT
RUSSIAN WRITER

Anton Tchekhov Not a Pessimist
Lecture

Anton Tchekhov, one of Russia's greatest dramatists, was not a pessimist though his work was in that category, Emma Goldman declared in a lecture on the writer's life and work in the Music and Arts Building Tuesday night.

Defending Tchekhov against the charge of being morbid, Miss Goldman pointed out that his work was conceived at a time when Russia was politically at low ebb, but that unconsciously the dramatist had been prophetic of the great changes which were to come in his country.

The lecturer praised Tchekhov not only as an outstanding dramatist, but as a philanthropist who had sought practical outlets rather than large and spectacular charities. She read extracts from Tchekhov's work in which the dramatist denounced large charity lotteries which cost more to give than the intended beneficiaries ever received.

Tchekhov's own life, she narrated, had been full of struggle and she described his personal effort which had put him through college to the practice of medicine, assisted by his ready pen.

Afraid He Was Failure

He had never been vainglorious of his own work but, on the contrary, appeared ever afraid that he was a failure as a writer; so much so that, when one of his plays proved a failure at the Moscow Art Theatre, he forsook writing and was only with difficulty persuaded to return.

Miss Goldman took up three of Tchekhov's outstanding plays, analyzing them briefly. These were "Uncle Vanya," "The Seagull" and "The Cherry Orchard." She found in them respectively an attack on the academicians and those whose seclusion shuts them out from the life of the world; a study of idealism in the face of material failure; and a study of the three epochs of Russian life—the romantic, the aristocratic domination and finally the materialists.

From "The Cherry Orchard" she quoted the almost prophetic passage: "Do you not know that Russia must be turned into a beautiful cherry garden and there must be industry or artistry, new human progress, come out and change the Russian, create something new and better as inspiration to the people who are going to build the new Russia and create a new world?"

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summary of Lecture] Creative Spirit Lives / Emma Goldman.— 16 cm. *In* The Gazette [Montreal]. —(Feb. 15, 1935, Emma Goldman Scrap Book).

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Mr. Justice W. F. A. Turgeon, chairman of the Royal Commission that recently investigated mining conditions in Saskatchewan, has not yet made his report. The chairman engaged in making his report from the evidence of more than 1,000,000 words heard at various sittings.

CREATIVE SPIRIT LIVES

Nazis Cannot Kill It, Emma Goldman Says

Bernard Shaw is credited with the story of the fire in the theatre and the panic which was allayed by a soothing personality who persuaded the people to keep their seats. They were all burned to death. The present attitude toward Germany was no different, Emma Goldman declared in her lecture Wednesday in the Y.M.C.A. The conflagration started by Hitler threatened to engulf all Europe and North America, but the world was advised to keep cool.

This was by way of preface to Miss Goldman's outline of modern German novelists. In spite of the fact that it was crushed under the iron heel, the creative spirit in Germany had brought about a renaissance, she said, as she went on to speak of the work of Thomas and Heinrich Mann, Jacob Wassermann, Theodore Plevier, B. Traven, Fruchtman, and the rebel poet and prison reformer, Reich Muhsam, who was imprisoned, tortured and finally killed by the Nazis.

"But the poetry, plays and novels live on," Miss Goldman insisted. "The creative spirit cannot be destroyed. It becomes the accuser and the judge of all the crimes committed by ignorance, stupidity and fanaticism."

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

T. A.

16600

human spirit."

Milsa Goldman was lecturing on modern German drama, and she opened with an exhaustive analysis of Ernst Toller, the uncompromising young artist, the outstanding post-war playwright, who, in a world abandoned to mechanism and aggrandizement, bravely fought for the trampled human spirit. She made an interesting reference to Alfred Döblin, whose novel "Alexanderplatz, Berlin" had been cast into light by picture and movie. The horse she pointed out was the one, she traced, the madness of the modern city, the buzz of the social machine.

Next week, Milsa Goldman will discuss Eugene IENOU.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summary of Lecture] O'Neill Greatest Writer in English / Emma Goldman. — 15 cm. In The Gazette [Montreal]. — (Feb. 28, 1935).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

A insurance company has asked a judgment on its apartment house off the coast of the city. The court has said that the insurance company must pay the cost of what was destroyed by the fire.

O'NEILL GREATEST WRITER IN ENGLISH

16599

Emma Goldman Calls Him Great Creative Genius, Not Propagandist

"Art is an affirmation of the greatness of the human spirit, its courage, its defiance, its rebellion against the realities of its unfulfilled desire." Such is the credo of the man whom Emma Goldman described last night as the greatest dramatist now writing in English, Eugene O'Neill. Unlike George Bernard Shaw, whom he would outlive, O'Neill was a great creative genius, rather than a propagandist; his dramatic works were close to the human spirit; he made his plays out of men and women, not puppets.

It was as the rebel against stupidity, superstition and prejudice against puritanism and fear and the narrow life that O'Neill emerged from Miss Goldman's lecture. "The Holy Age," for instance, was full of social implications. "How many of us know where we belong? We belong nowhere. This is the crux of our civilization; everyone is out of place." All the political parties were strenuously saving mankind but the individual man they ignored. Even the persecuted Jews were better off than the Negro, the speaker said, discussing "All God's Chilluns Got Wings." It would not be the Communists, the Syndicalists or the Anarchists who would pull down the great United States, she prophesied, but the Negroes.

"Lazarus Laughed" taught the lesson that if life were important, there need be no fear of death. It was this cringing fear that gave power to the world's tyrants, the brave fighter against tyranny declared. But life was not important that began with the alarm clock in the morning and wasted its days in scurrying to offices and factories. Some day, perhaps, the social structure would be sane and normal.

Next Wednesday, in the T.M.C.A., Miss Goldman will develop further the subject of American Drama.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Progress Catching Up with Red Emma / Emma Goldman.— 18 cm. In Montreal Daily Herald. —[(March? 1935)].

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on removed by the H. Bridge, which Royal Victoria Hospital. Mr. Bridge, who 7th year, belonged to 8. family, and was a 7er long engaged with in Line. He also acted capacity on government aged in Arctic survey ex- 8. When he left the sea he up insurance work in Mont- and in that capacity became known locally. While in some- what poor health, he had been active until a week or so ago. He

will approve of the fact that the protection of the public from "high-pressure" methods of selling and that of brokers and financial houses from losses due to incompetent employees would result. The proposed move is being followed with great interest by the local financial houses and their salesmen. 16599

had gone to the hospital for an operation for cataract, and his death was unexpected.

of Ottawa bought by Ameri- 30 years, he pointed have spent some the United States period.

Driver Pleads Criminal Response

The original charge slaughter against him one of criminal response connection with the hit- of Donat Belanger at Pt Tremblay last July. Ma- vesque, driver of the truck Belanger, pleaded the lesser charge in King Court yesterday.

His plea was accepted Crown and he will be sent the end of the present term.

AUTOS AND MOUNT

"Automobiles and Mount Park" is the subject of a address which will be given at 10.30 from station CPCE Milton Hersey, president City Improvement League broadcast will be under the pieces of the City Impro- League and Municipal re- su.

100% AMN

Charity and faith were the needs of the world today, de- the Ven. Archdeacon J. M. mood, rector of Trinity Men Church, on the occasion of a ner meeting to celebrate diamond anniversary of the ception of Montreal Encamp- No. 1, Independent Order of fellows, which was held last in the Queen's Hotel. Paul I. presided.

TUBERCULOUS VETERAN

Members of the Tubercu- Veterans Section of Mont- Branch 22, Canadian Legion of B.E.S.L. are requested to ass- in the concourse of the C station at 10.30 a.m. Sun- November 11, to attend the s- at the Cenotaph.

BROTHER IS BURIED

Final tribute was paid at 9 o- this morning at the funeral s- for Brother Berchmans of the of Holy Cross Brothers, who Monday night at the Notre- College, Queen Mary Road. 58 years of age.

Progress Catching Up With Red Emma

REVOLUTION, technocracy, birth control and the vast developments of the repertory theatre in the United States were among the many subjects discussed by Emma Goldman, anarchist, authoress and lecturer in an interview in the Ford Hotel last night. Miss Goldman is here to give a series of lectures in the Windsor Hotel starting Monday night.

"I cannot say definitely whether I believe in change by force," this quiet-spoken cultured little woman said.

"You see I believe that revolutions are not made. They just burst upon a country as the result of a long accumulation of evils."

Miss Goldman, still extremely energetic despite her years and turbulent life, agrees that progress is catching up on her.

"I fought for birth control 25 years ago, and was sent to prison for advocating it," she smiled. "Now, only a fortnight ago the principle is admitted correct by the majority of the Episcopalian Synods meeting in New York."

The technocrats also, apparently, have stolen the anarchists' thunder.

"The principles of technocracy have been preached by anarchists for 60 years," she asserted. "We maintain that a person need work only two hours a day between the ages of 25 and 40. Up to 25 years of age is the time for education; at 40 a man should retire from active life so that he can enjoy the fruits of his efforts while still in the prime of life."

The use of the machine was the magic formula by which this could be achieved, Miss Goldman explained.

Of Upton Sinclair, defeated can-

didate for governor for California, Miss Goldman's opinion was: He could not be worse than his opponents; he might have been better. But, a man cannot be a Socialist all his life and then suddenly turn Democrat.

The electioneering methods of his opponents, however, she described as "too contemptible for words."

And she has had some experience of California politics. She was in San Francisco in 1916 when the bomb was thrown that sent Tom Mooney to jail.

"I was one of the first to start a fund to provide him with a legal defence," she stated.

Greatest Hope In Theatre

It is in the theatre that this remarkable woman sees the greatest hope for the future. She regards it as the greatest of all educational forces, and finds in it her chief recreation. "I was deported from America 15 years ago after I had started the repertory movement there. Now I have been able to return I find a tremendous interest in the movement wherever I go. It is very gratifying."

One of the subjects she will deal with in her lectures is the "forgotten individual". Has he any place in the world, or is the individual just going to cease to exist?—she asked.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summary of Lecture] Drama Developing New Social Trend / Emma Goldman. — 26 cm. In The Montreal Gazette. — (March 6, 1935).

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Baselle
March 6, 1935

DRAMA DEVELOPING NEW SOCIAL TREND

March 6, 1935
Present-day Writers Fore-
runners of Change, Emma
Goldman Says

SOME EXAMPLES GIVEN

"Men in White," "Tobacco
Road," "Children's Hour"
Treat Subjects Formerly
Barred From Stage

Developments in the American drama since the war show that present-day writers are the spokesmen and forerunners of great social changes, Emma Goldman, prominent anarchist and literary and dramatic critic, told an audience at Central Y.M.C.A. last night. Just as the Encyclopaedists' philosophy laid the groundwork for the French Revolution of 1789, and the Russian intelligentsia prepared the way for the Russian revolution, so in America as elsewhere "the advance guard of social change is the intellectual movement."

After a rapid survey of the various organizations which have furthered the progress of dramatic art on this continent in the last 25 years—the Provincetown Theatre, Little Theatre Guild, various individual artists and organizers—Miss Goldman went on to consider the tangible results of that development. Concrete examples of the changed attitude, of both artists and public, she found in five recent plays—Men in White, Tobacco Road, The Children's Hour, Stevedore, Peace on Earth.

Men in White she described as "not a great play, but a sign of the change which has taken place on this continent since 1904." The public is now far enough advanced, she said, that subjects may be treated in serious drama which were formerly taboo. In Men in White occurs an operation for illness following abortion; 30 years ago, a play which merely touched on this forbidden topic was widely denounced on moral grounds.

POOR WHITES PORTRAYED.

The same thing was illustrated by Erskine Caldwell's Tobacco Road. This play, an "extraordinarily successful" dramatization of the novel, portrayed the miserable economic and moral conditions in a family of "poor whites" in the southern States. Only a few years ago, a factual record by a southern schoolteacher—"My Thirty Years of Struggle"—had to be published in France; it was banned in both England and the United States.

In The Children's Hour the subject of Lesbianism dominates the play, a work which Miss Goldman described as "beautifully written and beautifully produced." A book on this topic, the now-famous "The Well of Loneliness," was previously stopped by United States censors and created a furor in England; after the ban was lifted it sold 500,000 copies in the United States alone.

Stevedore, a "tremendous and effective" work, based its action on the struggles of the laboring class and particularly on the misfortunes of the American negro. Peace on Earth, last of the five plays discussed, dealt with the munitions traffic, suppression of free speech and other topics previously considered as inflammatory.

It was announced that Miss Goldman's lecture next Wednesday the last of the present series, will be on the life and works of August Strindberg; not, as previously announced, reviews of several recent books.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summary of Lecture] Shams Played By Strindberg's Art / Emma Goldman.—
[(March 14, 1935?, Emma Goldman Scrap Book)].— 1 p. ; 18 × 10 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

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**DEALERS SEE
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...from Page One)

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"The motor vehicle is positively
...not a luxury and, therefore, motor
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"Shall be pleased to attend any
...investigation you may decide to
...hold."

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**SHAMS PLAYED BY
STRINDBERG'S ART**

**Swedish Dramatist Was
'World Conscience,' Emma
Goldman Declares**

August Strindberg, Swedish dra-
matist, was described as "the con-
science not only of Sweden but of
the whole world, a man who brook-
ed no compromise with the things
he regarded as evil or hypocritical,"
by Emma Goldman in a lecture on
Strindberg's life and work, at Cen-
tral Y.M.C.A. last night.

Attacking them with scathing gen-
ius, Strindberg spent his life in at-
tempting to expose the failure of
humanity in general, the hypocrisy
of class relationships and of family
life in particular. In "The Father,"
he aimed a shattering blow
against the sentiment "motherhood";
myth—the notion that all mothers
are walking Mother Marshes—he
portraying the unscrupulous strug-
gle of a narrow-minded woman for
complete, smothering domination
over her child. In many of his short
stories in "The Lark" and in the
autobiographical "Confessions of a
Fool," he laid bare the drawbacks
of modern marriage. In "The Red
Book" he penned a satire on the
whole social structure: "Sea of a
Servant," "Countess Julia" and
many other works depicted the gulf
that separates rich from poor.

Miss Goldman praised Strind-
berg's marvelous capacity for de-
tached autobiography. This faculty,
she said, is best seen in his "In-
ferno," a coolly objective study of
his own experience while insane.

Last night's lecture completed a
series of eight on world drama,
which Miss Goldman has delivered
during the past two months.

RAILWAY BUILDER DIES

**Charles John Pigot Passes
Away at Quebec**

Quebec, March 15.—Charles
John Pigot, well known railway
builder and engineer is dead at
his home here at an advanced age.
One of the builders of the Lake
St. John Railway, he came to Que-
bec from Ceylon in 1880, to take
over the duties of assistant en-
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tion of the Lake St. John Road.

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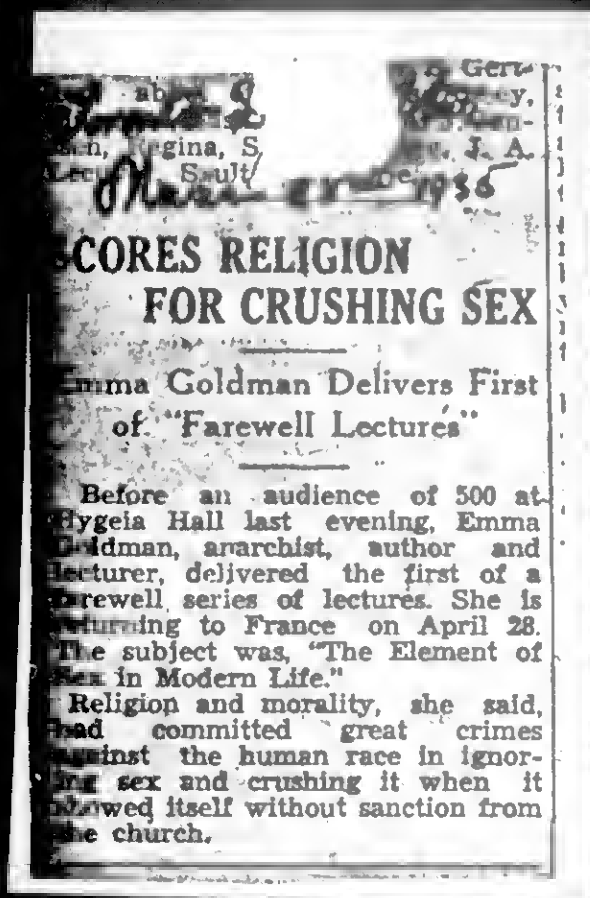
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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summary of Lecture] Scores Religion for Crushing Sex / Emma Goldman. — 9 cm. In The Toronto Daily Star. — (March 18, 1935).

Obtained from the private collection of Millie Desser Grobstein of Cranbury, New Jersey.



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The Emma Goldman Papers

There Is No Communism in Russia / Emma Goldman. — pp. 393-401 ; 22 cm. *In* The American Mercury. — (April 1935).

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THERE IS NO COMMUNISM IN RUSSIA

BY EMMA GOLDMAN

COMMUNISM is now on everybody's lips. Some talk of it with the exaggerated enthusiasm of a new convert, others fear and condemn it as a social menace. But I venture to say that neither its admirers—the great majority of them—nor those who denounce it have a very clear idea of what Bolshevik Communism really is.

Speaking generally, Communism is the ideal of human equality and brotherhood. It considers the exploitation of man by man as the source of all slavery and oppression. It holds that economic inequality leads to social injustice and is the enemy of moral and intellectual progress. Communism aims at a society where classes have been abolished as a result of common ownership of the means of production and distribution. It teaches that only in a classless, solidaric commonwealth can man enjoy liberty, peace and well-being.

My purpose is to compare Communism with its application in Soviet Russia but, on closer examination I find it an impossible task. As a matter of fact, there is no Communism in the U.S.S.R. Not a single Communist principle, not a single item of its teaching is being applied by the Communist party there.

To some this statement may appear as entirely false; others may think it vastly exaggerated. Yet I feel sure that an objective examination of conditions in present-day Russia will convince the unprejudiced reader that I speak with entire truth.

It is necessary to consider here, first of all, the fundamental idea underlying the alleged Communism of the Bolsheviks. It is admittedly of a centralized, authoritarian kind. That is, it is based almost exclusively on governmental coercion, on violence. It is not the Communism of voluntary association. It is compulsory State Communism. This must be kept in mind in order to understand the method applied by the Soviet state to carry out such of its plans as may seem to be Communistic.

The first requirement of Communism is the socialization of the land and of the machinery of production and distribution. Socialized land and machinery belong to the people, to be settled upon and used by individuals or groups according to their needs. In Russia land and machinery are not socialized but *nationalized*. The term is a misnomer, of course. In fact, it is entirely devoid of content. In reality there is no such thing as national wealth. A nation is too abstract a term to "own" anything. Ownership may be by an individual, or by a group of individuals; in any case by some quantitatively defined reality. When a certain thing does not belong to an individual or group, it is either nationalized or socialized. If it is nationalized, it belongs to the state; that is, the government has control of it and may dispose of it according to its wishes and views. But when a thing is socialized, every individual has free access to it and may use it without interference from anyone.

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In Russia there is no socialization either of land or of production and distribution. Everything is nationalized; it belongs to the government, exactly as does the post-office in America or the railroad in Germany and other European countries. There is nothing of Communism about it.

No more Communistic than the land and means of production is any other phase of the Soviet economic structure. All sources of existence are owned by the central government; foreign trade is its absolute monopoly; the printing presses belong to the state, and every book and paper issued is a government publication. In short, the entire country and everything in it is the property of the state, as in ancient days it used to be the property of the crown. The few things not yet nationalized, as some old ramshackle houses in Moscow, for instance, or some dingy little stores with a pitiful stock of cosmetics, exist on sufferance only, with the government having the undisputed right to confiscate them at any moment by simple decree.

Such a condition of affairs may be called state capitalism, but it would be fantastic to consider it in any sense Communistic.

II

Let us now turn to production and consumption, the levers of all existence. Maybe in them we shall find a degree of Communism that will justify us in calling life in Russia Communistic, to some extent at least.

I have already pointed out that the land and the machinery of production are owned by the state. The methods of production and the amounts to be manufactured by every industry in each and every mill, shop and factory, are determined by the state, by the central government—by Moscow—through its various organs.

Now, Russia is a country of vast extent, covering about one sixth of the earth's surface. It is peopled by a mixed population of 165,000,000. It consists of a number of large republics, of various races and nationalities, each region having its own particular interests and needs. No doubt, industrial and economic planning is vitally necessary for the well-being of a community. True Communism—economic equality as between man and man and between communities—requires the best and most efficient planning by each community, based upon its local requirements and possibilities. The basis of such planning must be the complete freedom of each community to produce according to its needs and to dispose of its products according to its judgment: to exchange its surplus with other similarly independent communities without let or hindrance by any external authority.

That is the essential politico-economic nature of Communism. It is neither workable nor possible on any other basis. It is necessarily libertarian, Anarchistic.

There is no trace of such Communism—that is to say, of any Communism—in Soviet Russia. In fact, the mere suggestion of such a system is considered criminal there, and any attempt to carry it out is punished by death.

Industrial planning and all the processes of production and distribution are in the hands of the central government. Its Supreme Economic Council is subject only to the authority of the Communist party. It is entirely independent of the will or wishes of the people comprising the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. Its work is directed by the policies and decisions of the Kremlin. This explains why Soviet Russia exported vast amounts of wheat and other grain while wide regions in the south and southeast of Russia were stricken with

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famine, so that more than two million of its people died of starvation (1932-1933).

There were "reasons of state" for it. The euphonious has from time immemorial masked tyranny, exploitation and the determination of every ruler to prolong and perpetuate his rule. Incidentally, I may mention that—in spite of country-wide hunger and lack of the most elemental necessities of life in Russia—the entire First Five-Year Plan aimed at developing that branch of heavy industry which serves, or can be made to serve, *military* purposes.

As with production, so with distribution and every other form of activity. Not only individual cities and towns, but the constituent parts of the Soviet Union are entirely deprived of independent existence. Politically mere vassals of Moscow, their whole economic, social and cultural activity is planned, cut out for them and ruthlessly controlled by the "proletarian dictatorship" in Moscow. More: the life of every locality, of every individual even, in the so-called "Socialist" republics is managed in the very last detail by the "general line" laid down by the "center." In other words, by the Central Committee and Politbureau of the Party, both of them controlled absolutely by one man, Stalin. To call such a dictatorship, this personal autocracy more powerful and absolute than any Czar's, by the name of Communism seems to me the acme of imbecility.

III

Let us see now how Bolshevik "Communism" affects the lives of the masses and of the individual.

There are naïve people who believe that at least some features of Communism have been introduced into the lives of the Russian people. I wish it were true, for that would be a hopeful sign, a promise of

potential development along that line. But the truth is that in no phase of Soviet life, no more in the social than in individual relations, has there ever been any attempt to apply Communist principles in any shape or form. As I have pointed out before, the very suggestion of free, voluntary Communism is taboo in Russia and is regarded as counter-revolutionary and high treason against the infallible Stalin and the holy "Communist" Party.

And here I do not speak of the libertarian, Anarchist Communism. What I assert is that there is not the least sign in Soviet Russia even of authoritarian, State Communism. Let us glance at the actual facts of everyday life there.

The essence of Communism, even of the coercive kind, is the absence of social classes. The introduction of economic equality is its first step. This has been the basis of all Communist philosophies, however they may have differed in other respects. The purpose common to all of them was to secure social justice; and all of them agreed that it was not possible without establishing economic equality. Even Plato, in spite of the intellectual and moral strata in his Republic, provided for absolute economic equality, since the ruling classes were not to enjoy greater rights or privileges than the lowest social unit.

Even at the risk of condemnation for telling the whole truth, I must state unequivocally and unconditionally that the very opposite is the case in Soviet Russia. Bolshevism has not abolished the classes in Russia: it has merely reversed their former relationship. As a matter of fact, it has multiplied the social divisions which existed before the Revolution.

When I arrived in Soviet Russia in January, 1920, I found innumerable economic categories, based on the food rations received from the government. The

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sailor was getting the best ration, superior in quality, quantity and variety to the food issued to the rest of the population. He was the aristocrat of the Revolution: economically and socially he was universally considered to belong to the new privileged classes. After him came the soldier, the Red Army man, who received a much smaller ration, even less bread. Below the soldier in the scale was the worker in the military industries; then came other workers, subdivided into the skilled, the artisan, the laborer, etc. Each category received a little less bread, fats, sugar, tobacco, and other products (whenever they were to be had at all). Members of the former bourgeoisie, officially abolished as a class and expropriated, were in the last economic category and received practically nothing. Most of them could secure neither work nor lodgings, and it was no one's business how they were to exist, to keep from stealing or from joining the counter-revolutionary armies and robber bands.

The possession of a red card, proving membership in the Communist party, placed one above all these categories. It entitled its owner to a special ration, enabled him to eat in the Party *stolovaya* (mess-room) and produced, particularly if supported by recommendations from party members higher up, warm underwear, leather boots, a fur coat, or other valuable articles. Prominent party men had their own dining-rooms, to which the ordinary members had no access. In the Smolny, for instance, then the headquarters of the Petrograd government, there were two different dining-rooms, one for Communists in high position, the other for the lesser lights. Zinoviev, then chairman of the Petrograd Soviet and virtual autocrat of the Northern District, and other government heads, took their meals at home in the Astoria, formerly the best hotel in the city,

turned into the first Soviet House, where they lived with their families.

Later on I found the same situation in Moscow, Kharkov, Kiev, Odessa—everywhere in Soviet Russia.

It was the Bolshevik system of "Communism." What dire effects it had in causing dissatisfaction, resentment and antagonism throughout the country, resulting in industrial and agrarian sabotage, in strikes and revolts—of this further on. It is said that man does not live by bread alone. True, but he cannot live at all without it. To the average man, to the masses in Russia, the different rations established in the country for the liberation of which they had bled, was the symbol of the new régime. It signified to them the great lie of Bolshevism, the broken promises of freedom, for freedom meant to them social justice, economic equality. The instinct of the masses seldom goes wrong; in this case it proved prophetic. What wonder, then, that the universal enthusiasm over the Revolution soon turned into disillusionment and bitterness, to opposition and hatred. How often Russian workers complained to me: "We don't mind working hard and going hungry. It's the injustice which we mind. If the country is poor, if there is little bread, then let us all share that little, but let us share equally. As things are now, it's the same as it used to be; some get more, others less, and some get nothing at all."

The Bolshevik system of privilege and inequality was not long in producing its inevitable results. It created and fostered social antagonisms; it alienated the masses from the Revolution, paralysed their interest in it and their energies, and thus defeated all the purposes of the Revolution.

The same system of privilege and inequality, strengthened and perfected, is in force today.

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The Russian Revolution was in the deepest sense a social upheaval: its fundamental tendency was libertarian, its essential aim economic and social equality. Long before the October-November days (1917) the city proletariat began taking possession of the mills, shops and factories, while the peasants expropriated the big estates and turned the land to communal use. The continued development of the Revolution in its Communist direction depended on the unity of the revolutionary forces and the direct, creative initiative of the laboring masses. The people were enthusiastic in the great object before them; they eagerly applied their energies to the work of social reconstruction. Only they who had for centuries borne the heaviest burdens could, through free and systematic effort, find the road to a new, regenerated society.

But Bolshevik dogmas and "Communist" statism proved a fatal handicap on the creative activities of the people. The fundamental characteristic of Bolshevik psychology is distrust of the masses. Their Marxist theories, centering all power in the exclusive hands of their party, quickly resulted in the destruction of revolutionary coöperation, in the arbitrary and ruthless suppression of all other political parties and movements. Bolshevik tactics encompassed the systematic eradication of every sign of dissatisfaction, stifled all criticism and crushed independent opinion, popular initiative and effort. Communist dictatorship, with its extreme mechanical centralization, frustrated the economic and industrial activities of the country. The great masses were deprived of the opportunity to shape the policies of the Revolution or to take part in the administration of their own affairs. The labor unions were governmentalized and turned into mere transmitters of the orders of the state. The people's coöperatives—that vital

nerve of active solidarity and mutual help between city and country—were liquidated. The Soviets of peasants and workers were castrated and transformed into obedient committees. The government monopolized every phase of life. A bureaucratic machine was created, appalling in its inefficiency, corruption, brutality. The Revolution was divorced from the people and thus doomed to perish; and over all hung the dreaded sword of Bolshevik terrorism.

That was the "Communism" of the Bolsheviks in the first stages of the Revolution. Everyone knows that it brought the complete paralysis of industry, agriculture and transport. It was the period of "military Communism," of agrarian and industrial conscription, of the razing of peasant villages by Bolshevik artillery—those "constructive" social and economic policies of Bolshevik Communism which resulted in the fearful famine in 1921.

IV

And today? Has that "Communism" changed its nature? Is it actually different from the "Communism" of 1921? To my regret I must state that, in spite of all widely advertised changes and new economic policies, Bolshevik "Communism" is essentially the same as it was in 1921.

Today the peasantry in Soviet Russia is entirely dispossessed of the land. The *souk Khozi* are government farms on which the peasant works as a hired man, just as the man in the factory. This is known as "industrialization" of agriculture, "transforming the peasant into a proletarian." In the *kolkhoz* the land only nominally belongs to the village. Actually it is owned by the government. The latter can at any moment—and often does—commandeer the *kolkhoz* members for work in other parts of the country or exile whole villages

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for disobedience. The *kolkhozi* are worked collectively, but the government control of them amounts to expropriation. It taxes them at its own will; it sets whatever price it chooses to pay for grain and other products, and neither the individual peasant nor the village Soviet has any say in the matter. Under the mask of numerous levies and compulsory government loans, it appropriates the products of the *kolkhozi*, and for some actual or pretended offenses punishes them by taking away all their grain.

The fearful famine of 1921 was admittedly due chiefly to the *razverstka*, the ruthless expropriation practiced at the time. It was because of it, and of the rebellion that resulted, that Lenin decided to introduce the NEP—the New Economic Policy which limited state expropriation and enabled the peasant to dispose of some of his surplus for his own benefit. The NEP immediately improved economic conditions throughout the land. The famine of 1932-1933 was due to similar "Communist" methods of the Bolsheviks: to enforced collectivization.

The same result as in 1921 followed. It compelled Stalin to revise his policy somewhat. He realised that the welfare of a country, particularly of one predominantly agricultural as Russia is, depends primarily on the peasantry. The motto was proclaimed: the peasant must be given opportunity to greater "well-being." This "new" policy is admittedly only a breathing spell for the peasant. It has no more of Communism in it than the previous agrarian policies. From the beginning of Bolshevik rule to this day, it has been nothing but expropriation in one form or another, now and then differing in degree but always the same in kind—a continuous process of state robbery of the peasantry, of prohibitions, violence, chicanery and

reprisals, exactly as in the worst days of Czarism and the World War. The present policy is but a variation of the "military Communism" of 1920-1921, with more of the military and less of the Communist element in it. Its "equality" is that of a penitentiary; its "freedom" that of a chain gang. No wonder the Bolsheviks declare that liberty is a bourgeois prejudice.

Soviet apologists insist that the old "military Communism" was justified in the initial period of the Revolution in the days of the blockade and military fronts. But more than sixteen years have passed since. There are no more blockades, no more fighting fronts, no more counter-revolution. Soviet Russia has secured the recognition of all the great governments of the world. It emphasizes its good will toward the bourgeois states, solicits their coöperation and is doing a large business with them. In fact, the Soviet government is on terms of friendship even with Mussolini and Hitler, those famous champions of liberty. It is helping capitalism to weather its economic storms by buying millions of dollars' worth of products and opening new markets to it.

This is, in the main, what Soviet Russia has accomplished during seventeen years since the Revolution. But as to Communism—that is another matter. In this regard, the Bolshevik government has followed exactly the same course as before, and worse. It has made some superficial changes politically and economically, but fundamentally it has remained exactly the same state, based on the same principle of violence and coercion and using the same methods of terror and compulsion as in the period of 1920-1921.

There are more classes in Soviet Russia today than in 1917, more than in most other countries in the world. The Bolsheviks have created a vast Soviet bureaucracy, enjoy-

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ing special privileges and almost unlimited authority over the masses, industrial and agricultural. Above that bureaucracy is the still more privileged class of "responsible comrades," the new Soviet aristocracy. The industrial class is divided and subdivided into numerous gradations. There are the *udarniki*, the shock troops of labor, entitled to various privileges; the "specialists," the artisans, the ordinary workers and laborers. There are the factory "cells," the shop committees, the pioneers, the *komsomoltsi*, the party members, all enjoying material advantages and authority. There is the large class of *lishentsi*, persons deprived of civil rights, the greater number of them also of a chance to work, of the right to live in certain places, practically cut off from all means of existence. The notorious "pale" of the Czarist times, which forbade Jews to live in certain parts of the country, has been revived for the entire population by the introduction of the new Soviet passport system. Over and above all these classes is the dreaded G.P.U., secret, powerful and arbitrary, a government within the government. The G.P.U., in its turn, has its own class divisions. It has its own armed forces, its own commercial and industrial establishments, its own laws and regulations, and a vast slave army of convict labor. Aye, even in the Soviet prisons and concentration camps there are various classes with special privileges.

In the field of industry the same kind of "Communism" prevails as in agriculture. A sovietized Taylor system is in vogue throughout Russia, combining a minimum standard of production and piece work—the highest degree of exploitation and human degradation, involving also endless differences in wages and salaries. Payment is made in money, in rations, in reduced charges for rent, lighting, etc., not to speak

of the special rewards and premiums for *udarniki*. In short, it is the *wage system* which is in operation in Russia.

Need I emphasize that an economic arrangement based on the wage system cannot be considered as in any way related to Communism? It is its antithesis.

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All these features are to be found in the present Soviet system. It is unpardonable naïveté, or still more unpardonable hypocrisy, to pretend—as the Bolshevik apologists do—that the compulsory labor service in Russia is "the self-organization of the masses for purposes of production."

Strange to say, I have met seemingly intelligent persons who claim that by such methods the Bolsheviks "are building Communism." Apparently they believe that building consists in ruthless destruction, physically and morally, of the best values of mankind. There are others who pretend to think that the road to freedom and coöperation leads through labor slavery and intellectual suppression. According to them, to instill the poison of hatred and envy, of universal espionage and terror, is the best preparation for manhood and the fraternal spirit of Communism.

I do not think so. I think that there is nothing more pernicious than to degrade a human being into a cog of a soulless machine, turn him into a serf, into a spy or the victim of a spy. There is nothing more corrupting than slavery and despotism.

There is a psychology of political absolutism and dictatorship, common to all forms: the means and methods used to achieve a certain end in the course of time themselves become the end. The ideal of Communism, of Socialism, has long ago

The Emma Goldman Papers

There Is No Communism in Russia / Emma Goldman. — pp. 393-401 ; 22 cm. *In* The American Mercury. — (April 1935).

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ceased to inspire the Bolshevik leaders as a class. Power and the strengthening of power has become their sole object. But abject subjection, exploitation and degradation are developing a new psychology in the great mass of the people also.

The young generation in Russia is the product of Bolshevik principles and methods. It is the result of sixteen years of official opinions, the only opinions permitted in the land. Having grown up under the deadly monopoly of ideas and values, the youth in the U.S.S.R. knows hardly anything about Russia itself. Much less does it know of the world outside. It consists of blind fanatics, narrow and intolerant, it lacks all ethical perception, it is devoid of the sense of justice and fairness. To this element is added a class of climbers and careerists, of self-seekers reared on the Bolshevik dogma: "The end justifies the means." Yet it were wrong to deny the exceptions in the ranks of Russia's youth. There are a goodly number who are deeply sincere, heroic, idealistic. They see and feel the force of the loudly professed party ideals. They realize the betrayal of the masses. They suffer deeply under the cynicism and callousness towards every human emotion. The presence of *komsomolski* in the Soviet political prisons, concentration camps and exile, and the escapes under most harrowing difficulties prove that the young generation does not consist entirely of cringing adherents. No, not all of Russia's youth has been turned into puppets, obsessed bigots, or worshippers at Stalin's shrine and Lenin's tomb.

Already the dictatorship has become an absolute necessity for the continuation of the régime. For where there are classes and social inequality, there the state must resort to force and suppression. The ruthlessness of such a situation is always in

proportion to the bitterness and resentment imbuing the masses. That is why there is more governmental terrorism in Soviet Russia than anywhere else in the civilized world today, for Stalin has to conquer and enslave a stubborn peasantry of a hundred millions. It is popular hatred of the régime which explains the stupendous industrial sabotage in Russia, the disorganization of the transport after sixteen years of virtual military management; the terrific famine in the South and South-east, notwithstanding favorable natural conditions and in spite of the severest measures to compel the peasants to sow and reap, in spite even of wholesale extermination and of the deportation of more than a million peasants to forced labor camps.

Bolshevik dictatorship is an absolutism which must constantly be made more relentless in order to survive, calling for the complete suppression of independent opinion and criticism within the party, within even its highest and most exclusive circles. It is a significant feature of this situation that official Bolshevism and its paid and unpaid agents are constantly assuring the world that "all is well in Soviet Russia and getting better." It is of the same quality as Hitler's constant emphasis of how greatly he loves peace while he is feverishly increasing his military strength.

Far from getting better the dictatorship is daily growing more relentless. The latest decree against so-called counter-revolutionists, or traitors to the Soviet state, should convince even some of the most ardent apologists of the wonders performed in Russia. The decree adds strength to the already existing laws against everyone who cannot or will not reverence the infallibility of the holy trinity, Marx, Lenin and Stalin. And it is

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THERE IS NO COMMUNISM IN RUSSIA

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more drastic and cruel in its effect upon every one deemed a culprit. To be sure, hostages are nothing new in the U.S.S.R. They were already part of the terror when I came to Russia. Peter Kropotkin and Vera Figner had protested in vain against this black spot on the escutcheon of the Russian Revolution. Now, after seventeen years of Bolshevik rule, a new decree was thought necessary. It not only revives the taking of hostages; it even aims at cruel punishment for every adult member of the real or imaginary offender's family. The new decree defines treason to the state as

any acts committed by citizens of the U.S.S.R. detrimental to the military forces of the U.S.S.R., its independence or the inviolability of its territory, such as espionage, betrayal of military or state secrets, going over to the side of the enemy, fleeing to a foreign country or flight [this time the word used means airplane flight] to a foreign country.

Traitors have, of course, always been shot. What makes the new decree more terrifying is the remorseless punishment it demands for everyone living with or

supporting the hapless victim, whether he knows of the crime or not. He may be imprisoned, or exiled, or even shot. He may lose his civil rights, and he may forfeit everything he owns. In other words, the new decree sets a premium on informers who, to save their own skins, will ingratiate themselves with the G.P.U., will readily turn over the unfortunate kin of the offenders to the Soviet henchmen.

This new decree must forever put to rest any remaining doubts as to the existence of true Communism in Russia. It departs from even the pretense of internationalism and proletarian class interest. The old tune is now changed to a pæan song of the Fatherland, with the ever servile Soviet press loudest in the chorus:

Defense of the Fatherland is the supreme law of life, and he who raises his hand against the Fatherland, who betrays it, must be destroyed.

Soviet Russia, it must now be obvious, is an absolute despotism politically and the crassest form of state capitalism economically.

The Emma Goldman Papers

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Siberia and Starvation / Emma Goldman. — p. 1 ; 28 cm. In The San Francisco Examiner. — (April 7, 1935).
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MARCH of EVENTS

San Francisco Examiner

STAGE and SCREEN

SAN FRANCISCO SUNDAY, APRIL 7, 1935

SIBERIA AND STARVATION

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This Is the Russia of Today, as Emma Goldman (*Herself a Communist*) Describes It.

AN **ENERGETIC** young lady in New York, named Emma Goldman, believed and told the world that she was a Communist. Frequently, on platforms, from soap boxes, from chairs, or any high place she would cry: "Hear, you men, and let it be told to you," and then she would tell them advising everybody to "throw off his chains," refuse to be starved and proceed to divide up everything nicely and evenly.

When Emma Goldman heard that the Czars had been thrown out, the last of them butchered with his children by a new Russian **COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT**, she shouted: "JOY! the millennium at last," and hurried to Russia as fast as she could go.

1935, go to Siberia, many to die there, not merely of natural cold, but of cruel starvation. The greater efficiency of the modern Communist Government, backed by radio, flying machines, telephone and automobiles, makes escape, once easy, now infinitely more difficult, almost unknown.

In addition to the old dreaded punishment, exile in Siberia, modern Communist rule in Russia, as this picture shows, carries with it horrible death by **STARVATION**, not a few isolated deaths here and there, but death **IN MILLIONS**, entire populations wiped out, miserable farmers allowed to starve while wheat, cattle and other food that they have produced are taken from them to feed the Communist Army and the aristocrats of the Communist party.

Some, of a "pink" or fairly radical turn, may

the property of the state, as in ancient days it used to be the property of the crown."

"There is no trace of such Communism—that is to say, of any Communism—in Soviet Russia. In fact, the mere suggestion of such a system is considered criminal there, and any attempt to carry it out is punished by death."

"This explains why Soviet Russia exported vast amounts of wheat and other grain while wide regions in the south and southeast of Russia were stricken with famine, so that more than two million of its people died of starvation (1932-1933)."

"I may mention that—in spite of countrywide hunger and lack of the most elemental necessities of life in Russia—the entire First Five-Year Plan aimed at developing that branch of heavy industry which serves, or can be made to serve, military purposes."

To call such a dictatorship, this personal

and over all hung the dreaded sword of Bolshevik terrorism."

"It was the period of 'military Communism,' of agrarian and industrial conscription, of the razing of peasant villages by Bolshevik artillery—those 'constructive' social and economic policies of Bolshevik Communism which resulted in the fearful famine in 1921."

"There are more classes in Soviet Russia today than in 1917, more than in most other countries in the world. The Bolsheviks have created a vast Soviet bureaucracy, enjoying special privileges and almost unlimited authority over the masses, industrial and agricultural. Above that bureaucracy is the still more privileged class of 'responsible comrades,' the new Soviet aristocracy. The industrial class is divided and subdivided into numerous gradations."

"Need I emphasize that an economic arrangement based on the wage system cannot be considered as in any way related to Communism? It is its antithesis."

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on platforms, from soap boxes, from chairs, or any high place she would cry: "Hear, you men, and let it be told to you," and then she would tell them advising everybody to "throw off his chains," refuse to be starved and proceed to divide up everything nicely and evenly.

When Emma Goldman heard that the Czars had been thrown out, the last of them butchered with his children by a new Russian COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT, she shouted: "JOY! the millennium at last," and hurried to Russia as fast as she could go.

Arriving there, she looked around for a short time, then HURRIED HOME, also, as fast as she could. And now, in "The American Mercury" for April, Emma Goldman, in an article entitled "There Is No Communism in Russia," tells you and the rest of the world what she found when she reached that Muscovite "millennium."

Later in this article you will read some of her statements and for further information you are advised to get a copy of the April "American Mercury" and read all that she says.

The unfortunate people of Russia have seen severe rulers. Peter the Great, a truly great though a brutal ruler who made of Asiatic Russia a European State, slaughtered considerably, thought nothing of asking the King of Holland to put some unfortunate man, "any one in my suite," into the "rack," a torture machine, because he wanted to see how it worked.

Ivan the Terrible was worse. His life was one trail of blood. His horrible excesses when he traveled to Nizhni-Novgorod, where he drove the unhappy nuns from their convent out onto the ice to drown, telling the monks that he had "a pleasant surprise for them," giving each a small knife with which to fight a huge bear. One of the monks, by the way, a man of almost superhuman strength, actually killed his bear with the small knife, then died of his wounds. A monster of cruelty was Ivan.

Later, somewhat milder Czars, with less Muscovite and more European blood, influenced by public opinion, were less brutal in punishment.

Prisoners were flogged to death with the knout sometimes, and many political prisoners were sent to the cold regions of Siberia, some to die, some to escape, as Lenin and Stalin did, to continue attacking the rule of the Czars.

There was nothing gentle about the old Czars; there is nothing gentle in the present Communist Government of Russia, according to unprejudiced travelers from the United States, and according to Miss Emma Goldman, professed Communist, who expected to find only human brotherhood under Communist Government in Russia. According to these and witnesses of other nationalities, Russia's present Communist Government has brought back ancient conditions that make the rule of the recent Czars seem mild by comparison.

The long lines of political prisoners still, in

phone and automobiles, makes escape, once easy, now infinitely more difficult, almost unknown.

In addition to the old dreaded punishment, exile in Siberia, modern Communist rule in Russia, as this picture shows, carries with it horrible death by STARVATION, not a few isolated deaths here and there, but death IN MILLIONS, entire populations wiped out, miserable farmers allowed to starve while wheat, cattle and other food that they have produced are taken from them to feed the Communist Army and the aristocrats of the Communist party.

Some, of a "pink" or fairly radical turn, may have believed that reports brought from Russia by travelers were based on so-called "capitalistic sympathies," that the travelers painted of Russia a picture as black as possible to discourage the glorious theories of Karl Marx, Lenin and Trotsky.

Let them consider, now, a few observations by Emma Goldman, selected from her interesting article in "The American Mercury" for April. She THOUGHT, until she saw Communist Russia, that she admired Lenin, Stalin and Trotsky. The latter, as you know, rose to rule the Russian Army until the more powerful Stalin, wishing no divided power in the "free and equal brotherly Communist State," threw Trotsky out, all the way from Moscow to Turkey.

Read fragments of the report that Emma Goldman makes after hurrying to her imaginary Russian "millennium" and hurrying back.

The quotations that follow are verbatim from Miss Emma Goldman's article in "The American Mercury" for April. First she gives her definition of Communism:

"Communism aims at a society where classes have been abolished as a result of common ownership of the means of production and distribution. It teaches that only in a classless, solidaric commonwealth can man enjoy liberty, peace and well-being."

"As a matter of fact, there is no Communism in the U.S.S.R. (Russia). Not a single Communist principle, not a single item of its teaching is being applied by the Communist party there."

"That is, it is based almost exclusively on governmental coercion, on violence. It is not the Communism of voluntary association. It is compulsory State Communism. This must be kept in mind in order to understand the method applied by the Soviet State to carry out such of its plans as may seem to be Communist."

"The first requirement of Communism is the socialization of the land and of the machinery of production and distribution. Socialized land and machinery belong to the people, to be settled upon and used by individuals and groups according to their needs. In Russia land and machinery are not socialized but nationalized. The term is a misnomer, of course. In fact, it is entirely devoid of content."

"All sources of existence are owned by the central government; foreign trade is its absolute monopoly; the printing presses belong to the State, and every book and paper issued is a government publication."

"In short, the entire country and everything in it is

more or less of a system of control and discipline there, and any attempt to carry it out is punished by death."

"This explains why Soviet Russia exported vast amounts of wheat and other grain while wide regions in the south and southeast of Russia were stricken with famine, so that more than two million of its people died of starvation (1832-1933)."

"I may mention that—in spite of countrywide hunger and lack of the most elemental necessities of life in Russia—the entire First Five-Year Plan aimed at developing that branch of heavy industry which serves, or can be made to serve, military purposes."

"... To call such a dictatorship, this personal autocracy more powerful and absolute than any Czar's, by the name of Communism seems to me the acme of imbecility."

"The essence of (real) Communism, even if the coercive kind, is the absence of social classes."

The best rations went to the "aristocrats" of the party—next best to the sailor:

"After him came the soldier, the Red Army man, who received a much smaller ration, even less bread. Below the soldier in the scale was the worker in the military industries; then came other workers, subdivided into the skilled, the artisan, the laborer, etc. Each category received a little less bread, fats, sugar, tobacco, and other products (whenever they were to be had at all). Members of the former bourgeoisie, officially abolished as a class and expropriated, were in the last economic category and received practically nothing. Most of them could secure neither work nor lodgings, and it was no one's business how they were to exist, to keep from stealing or from joining the counter-revolutionary armies and robber bands."

Miss Goldman heard the miserable Russian workers say:

"We don't mind working hard and going hungry. It's the injustice which we mind. If the country is poor, if there is little bread, then let us all share that little, but let us share equally. As things are now, it's the same as it used to be; some get more, others less, and some get nothing at all."

"The fundamental characteristic of Russia's Bolshevik psychology is distrust of the masses."

"Today the peasantry in Soviet Russia is entirely dispossessed of the land. The *soukhozi* are Government farms on which the peasant works as a hired man, just as the man in the factory. This is known as 'industrialization' of agriculture, 'transforming the peasant into a proletarian.' In the *kolkhoz* the land only nominally belongs to the village. Actually, it is owned by the Government. The latter can at any moment—and often does—commandeer the *kolkhoz* members for work in other parts of the country or exile whole villages for disobedience."

"In fact, the Soviet Government is on terms of friendship even with Mussolini and Hitler, those famous champions of liberty. It is helping capitalism to weather its economic storms by buying millions of dollars' worth of products and opening new markets to it."

"The Russian Government monopolized every phase of life. A bureaucratic machine was created, appalling in its inefficiency, corruption, brutality. The Revolution was divorced from the people and thus doomed to perish;

peasant villages by Bolshevik artillery—those 'communist' social and economic policies of Bolshevik Communism which resulted in the fearful famine in 1921."

"There are more classes in Soviet Russia today than in 1917, more than in most other countries in the world. The Bolsheviks have created a vast Soviet bureaucracy, enjoying special privileges and almost unlimited authority over the masses, industrial and agricultural. Above that bureaucracy is the still more privileged class of 'responsible comrades,' the new Soviet aristocracy. The industrial class is divided, and subdivided into numerous gradations."

"Need I emphasize that an economic arrangement based on the wage system cannot be considered as in any way related to Communism? It is its antithesis."

"Having grown up under the deadly monopoly of ideas and values, the youth in the U. S. S. R. knows hardly anything about Russia itself. Much less does it know of the world outside. It consists of blind fanatics, narrow and intolerant; it lacks all ethical perception; it is devoid of the sense of justice and fairness. To this element is added a class of climbers and careerists, of self-seekers reared on the Bolshevik dogma: 'The end justifies the means.'"

Thus Emma Goldman, for many years the leading Communist in the United States, tells of what she saw where Communism rules, and the rulers are Communists.

No amount of money would make Miss Goldman live in Russia. She prefers to remain in this capitalistic country and "talk" Communism than to live in REAL Communist Russia, where millions are starved in the name of Communist "brotherly love."

Had Emma Goldman remained longer in Russia, her hatred of Communism in action would have increased. She did not know of a million German Ukraine farmers, sent to Siberia, half of them dying of exposure and famine. She did see 135,000 Don Cossacks exterminated.

One who knows conditions in Communist Russia declares "many more have been sent to die in Siberia under Stalin than under the Czars." IN FACT, THE STALIN GOVERNMENT IS THE MOST CRUEL, THE MOST BRUTAL CLASS GOVERNMENT, AND LOWER CLASS GOVERNMENT THAT THE WORLD HAS EVER KNOWN.

The excesses of the French Revolution were so small in comparison that they are practically negligible.

Miss Emma Goldman concludes her argument against Russia:

"To be sure, hostages are nothing new in the U. S. S. R. They were already part of the terror when I came to Russia. Now, after seventeen years of Bolshevik rule, a new decree was thought necessary. It not only revives the taking of hostages; it even aims at cruel punishment for every adult member of the real or imaginary offender's family."

"SOVIET RUSSIA, IT MUST NOW BE OBVIOUS, IS AN ABSOLUTE DESPOTISM POLITICALLY AND THE CRASHEST FORM OF STATE CAPITALISM ECONOMICALLY."

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summary of Lecture] Emma Goldman in Farewell to City / Emma Goldman.—
(May 3, 1935, Emma Goldman Scrap Book).— 1 p. ; 22 × 5 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

EMMA GOLDMAN IN FAREWELL TO CITY

May 3/35 — 2472

Will Pursue Her Ideal of An- archy, She Tells Gather- ing of Friends

Emma Goldman, self-declared anarchist, bade good-bye to the New World for a space last night at a farewell dinner tendered her by friends and admirers who filled Tudor Hall and paid tribute to her and wished her godspeed and bon voyage.

Rabbi Stern hailed her as one of the great women of the age, whose qualities of mind and soul would be remembered long after she had gone. He recalled her struggle and endurance against hostility and the ignoble treatment that she had suffered in the pursuit of her ideal. George S. Mooney, H. M. Calserman, and Mrs. Schwartz added glowing tribute and many telegrams received from all over the continent were read. Several of these expressed regret that Miss Goldman's farewell dinner could not be held in the United States, one characterizing it as a shameful reflection on modern American democracy.

At the outset, Miss Goldman reminded her hearers that she had been allowed to speak only on literature and the drama in America; she had accordingly chosen the drama of Germany, and dealt freely with Fascism and Nazism. She paraphrased her ideals by quoting Olive Schreiner's "Dream of the Wild Bees," and freely stated she was an anarchist, that anarchism was her ideal—anarchism that included all of life, the arts, religion, beauty, the individual—and to that ideal she would consecrate the rest of her life. She could not hope that those present would agree with her, but she was too much of an anarchist to demand of them that they did, or to hold that they were against her because they were not with her.

She counselled her friends to shed no tears for Emma Goldman, although she was going to a troubled Europe and would doubtless be caught up in anti-war propaganda, and because, woman-like, she could not hold her tongue, she would speak out and expect trouble.

Incidentally in saying farewell, Miss Goldman intimated that she may be forced to spend a few more days here. Hoped to sail on the *Alexandria* today, she will be delayed but will refuse to sail on a "scab-loaded" ship. J. Gordon Whitehead was in the chair, and a programme of vocal and instrumental music interspersed the speeches.

The Emma Goldman Papers

Emma Goldman and Hearst / Emma Goldman. — p. 541 ; 28 cm. *In The Nation.*
— Vol. 140 (May 8, 1935).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

May 8, 1935]

The Nation

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Supreme Court judges kept asking him, "But what did he do to prove that he was organizing force and violence?"

What did I do to get a living-death sentence to the chain gang? About the middle of June, 1932, the State of Georgia closed down all relief stations. Even the official statements showed that this left more than 23,000 families to starvation. At the same time a drive was organized to send all the jobless "back to the farms." The reason for this was, so they said, that all funds for the unemployed had been completely exhausted. The officials also said that all those who were actually starving could come and present their cases to the commissioners of Fulton County.

At that time I was the organizer of the Unemployment Council in Atlanta. We decided to accept the officials' invitation. And more than a thousand unemployed, white and Negro together, marched to the offices of the city and county officials to present our demands for relief. It was very peaceful and orderly. When we got there we reminded them of the \$800,000 that the Community Chest had collected, of which not one cent had gone for relief. The next day \$6,000 was voted for relief.

About a week later, on July 11, 1932, I went to the post office to get my mail. I was arrested. I was held for eleven days without any charge against me. I was held incommunicado. On the fourth day the man who was in the cell with me died, and his corpse was left there for twenty-four hours.

Finally, after eleven days, the state returned an indictment against me charging me with "inciting to insurrection," under an old statute passed in 1861 when the Negro people were still chattel slaves. The statute read:

If any person be in any manner instrumental in bringing, introducing, or circulating within the state any printed or written paper, pamphlet, or circular for the purpose of exciting insurrection, revolt, conspiracy, or resistance on the part of slaves, Negroes, or free persons of color in this state, he shall be guilty of high misdemeanor which is punishable by death.

In the days of the Civil War that law had lain unused and almost forgotten. At the trial, which lasted for three days, the State of Georgia displayed the literature that had been taken from my room and read passages of it to the jury. They questioned me in great detail. Did I believe that the bosses of government ought to pay insurance to unemployed workers? Did Negroes should have complete equality with white people? I believe in the demand for the self-determination of the Black Belt—that the Negro people should be allowed to rule Black Belt territory, kicking out the white landlords and government officials? Did I feel that the working class could run the mills and mines and government?

I told them I believed all of that—and more.

The Reverend Solicitor Hudson loudly demanded the death penalty, but the jury recommended "mercy," and I was sentenced to from eighteen to twenty years on the chain gang. The two young Negro attorneys, Ben Davis, Jr., and John C. Ger, who had been retained by the I. L. D. to defend me immediately got to work on an appeal to the state Supreme Court. For twenty-six months I stayed in Fulton Tower jail.

I wrote letters, never knowing whether they would leave jail or not, and I read what books and papers I had, and waited. The day I heard that the International Labor Defense had had bail set for me, I packed up my belongings and was ready to go. The jailers laughed at me. "Bail set ain't raised," they said. But I knew I'd go. And I went. By penny the enormous sum of \$15,000 to get me out of jail was raised.

And now the decision is before the United States Supreme Court. If the verdict against me is upheld, it will mean much more than sending Angelo Herndon to die on the chain gang. It will mean upholding the right of the courts to take away

every civil right of the American people. It will mean justifying the use of anti-labor criminal-syndicalism laws against every worker who tries to organize in a union for better conditions and higher pay. That's what is really the most important factor in my case.

New York, April 25

ANGELO HERNDON

Emma Goldman and Hearst

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

I see much to my distress that the unscrupulous Hearst concern has made use of parts of my article on communism which appeared in the April *American Mercury*. I would like you and your readers to know that I had no truck with Hearst. That I never had in the past. Much less would I now have any with the black forces of which he is one of the worst in the United States. Permit me to explain that the article was ordered by Charles Angoff for the *Mercury* while that magazine was still owned by Alfred A. Knopf. Indeed, it was suggested by Mr. Angoff that I write on communism as conceived in Russia and from the anarchist point of view. Thereupon I wrote the article. The last chapter, which deals with anarchist communism, I naturally considered the most important as I didn't wish merely to give my critical opinion of the Russian brand. In addition, my title was *Two Communisms—Bolshevist and Anarchist*. It was agreed by Mr. Angoff that nothing was to be deleted from the article without my consent. Inasmuch as the proofs were read by a responsible person, Saxe Commins, I know that he didn't touch the last chapter. May I say here that the article was to appear last September or October. I don't know why it was delayed. Anyway, I was shocked beyond words to find the title changed and the last chapter left out entirely.

Now, as to Hearst. It is hardly necessary to point out that he did not make use of my article because he is interested in what is going on in Russia. Rather was it to bolster up his pernicious work in America. Unfortunately, there are many liberals and radicals who may not see the sinister motivation of Hearst's act. It is for this reason that I want the readers of *The Nation* to know that I have loathed Hearst and his papers ever since I can remember. It will amuse you to learn that in 1901 Mr. Hearst was willing to spend \$20,000 on a scoop interview in order to help put me in the electric chair. He probably would have spent another \$80,000 to achieve that worthy aim. It is therefore a travesty on human decency that he should use my work to back his own despicable designs. Frankly, I don't care so much about myself. It isn't the first or the last time that I have been charged with everything except kidnapping babies. But I do care intensely about the fight you are all making to rescue what few liberties America can still boast of. Keep up the good fight to stem the tide of the black forces let loose by Hearst and his clique.

Toronto, April 13

EMMA GOLDMAN

[I did not at any time "order" an article from Miss Goldman. She knows very well how her article reached me, and why she was paid for it. It is true that I kept the article for months. I refused to print it in the *Mercury* because I did not like it. It is true that her article, as it appeared in the April *Mercury*, was very different from the article as it originally reached me. But I am in no way responsible for the drastic cuts which were made in it. For them the present editor of the *Mercury* is alone responsible. I agree with Miss Goldman that the published form of her article does not present her point of view in its entirety, and I deplore the use which the Hearst papers made of it.—CHARLES ANGOFF.]

The Emma Goldman Papers

[A woman without a country. In Italian] Senza Patria [Part 1] / Emma Goldman. — pp. 4-5 ; 42 cm. In L'Adunata Dei Refrattari [New York]. — Vol. 14, no. 23 (June 8, 1935).

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ANNO XIV N° 23 p. 4-5
l'articolo prosegue e termina nel n° 24

L'ADUNATA DEI REFRATTARI

Sabato 8 Giugno 1935

SENZA PATRIA

Il titolo è forse inesatto perchè, in senso giuridico, io non sono una donna senza patria. Legalmente, sono un "suddito di Sua Maestà Britannica". Ma nel senso spirituale, più profondo, sono veramente senza patria, come cercherò di dimostrare in questo articolo.

Avere una patria comporta, anzitutto, una certa garanzia di sicurezza, la sicurezza di avere un angolo che si può chiamar proprio e che nessuno può togliervi. Tale è il senso fondamentale del concetto di patria, di cittadinanza. Senza di questo, non è che irrisione.

Fino alla Grande Guerra questa garanzia era infatti inerente al fatto della cittadinanza. Salvo occasionali eccezioni nei paesi più arretrati d'Europa, il cittadino di nascita o per naturalizzazione aveva la certezza che in un punto del globo egli poteva sentirsi in casa propria, nella sua terra, e che nessun rovescio di fortuna personale poteva togliergli il diritto di risiedervi. Inoltre egli aveva la libertà di visitare altri paesi, e dovunque si trovasse, sapeva di godere della protezione di questa cittadinanza.

La Guerra ha completamente cambiata la situazione. Insieme ad un numero ineccepibile di vite umane essa ha distrutto anche il diritto elementare di essere, di esistere in qualunque luogo con alcun grado di sicurezza. Questo stato di cose è stato generato da un'usurpazione d'autorità incredibile, quasi divina. Ogni governo si arroga oggi, il potere di stabilire chi possa o non possa continuare a vivere entro i propri confini, e, in conseguenza di questo arbitrio, si hanno migliaia, centinaia di migliaia, anzi, di esiliati. Costretti ad abbandonare il paese in cui vivono a un determinato momento, sono sbalzati pel mondo, alla mercé di qualche burocrate investito della autorità di decidere se possono essere ammessi nel "suo" paese. Il numero degli uomini e delle donne, dei fanciulli, si nanco, gettati dalla Guerra in questa terribile situazione, è grande. Cacciati di terra in terra, sospinti in ogni direzione alla ricerca di un angolo dove sia loro concesso di respirare, costoro non sono mai sicuri che da un momento all'altro non venga loro comandato di partire per altri luoghi.... dove li attende un futuro incerto. Vero è che molti di questi sfortunati vittime di una strana aberrazione della ragione umana che osa contestare il diritto all'esistenza!

Da ogni paese "civile" la polizia o il governo possono espellere uomini e donne a loro capriccio. Non sono soltanto gli stranieri in tal modo scacciati dalla superficie della terra. Dopo la Guerra anche i cittadini sono soggetti allo stesso trattamento. La cittadinanza è in fallimento: essa ha perduto il suo elementare significato, quella ch'era la sua garanzia d'una volta. Oggi il nativo non è

più sicuro nel "suo proprio" paese, di quel che non sia il cittadino di adozione. La confisca della cittadinanza, l'esilio, la deportazione sono in uso presso tutti i governi; sono diventati sistemi abituali. Questi procedimenti sono ormai così comuni che nessuno se ne maraviglia più, nè se ne indigna tanto da formulare alcuna protesta efficace. Eppure, ad onta della loro legalità la snazionalizzazione e lo spatrio sono tra le crudeltà più primitive e feroci.

La Guerra è costata un prezzo enorme in vite umane, in mutilazioni, cuori spezzati e famiglie distrutte. Ma le conseguenze di quell'olocausto sono anche più spaventose dei vivi. Esso ha abbruttito e rimbarbarito l'umanità, instillato il veleno dell'odio nei nostri cuori, sobillato i peggiori istinti, resa disprezzabile la vita, ridotta al minimo la considerazione della sicurezza e della libertà. L'intolleranza e la reazione inferiscono, e nulla ne mette in evidenza lo spirito distruttivo, più che il crescente dispotismo delle autorità pubbliche e il loro contegno autocratico verso ogni critica od opposizione. Un'ondata di dittatura politica sommerge l'Europa, portandovi i suoi mali inevitabili: l'arbitrio irresponsabile e l'oppressione. I diritti più elementari sono aboliti, le nozioni etiche più vitali, derise e schernite. Si distrugge il nostro patrimonio più prezioso, i valori spirituali che richiesero secoli per essere creati e sviluppati. La forza bruta è divenuta la sola legge, e il suo verdetto è accettato con silenzio servile, quando non anche con assenso.

Fino al 1917 gli Stati Uniti non furono implicati nella follia intestina che devastava il Vecchio Mondo. La guerra era molto impopolare, e l'opinione americana era quasi unanime contro l'immischiarsi nell'inibroglio Europeo. Poi, improvvisamente, la situazione cambiò: una nazione pacifica fu trasformata, dall'oggi al domani, per così dire, in manicomio bellico. Lo studio di quello strano fenomeno costituirebbe senza dubbio un contributo interessante alla comprensione della psicologia collettiva, ma l'argomento esula dal nostro assunto. Basti ricordare qui che, dopo avere eletto Woodrow Wilson perchè "ei aveva tenuti fuori della guerra", il popolo americano fu in qualche modo persuaso ad entrare nel conflitto Europeo. La decisione del Presidente, avallata mal volentieri da un Congresso non guerresco, ebbe l'effetto di cambiare completamente i sentimenti degli Stati Uniti. Il paese pacifico divenne sciovinista, una vampata d'intolleranza e di persecuzione s'impossessò del popolo. Le fonti del sospetto, dell'odio, della violenza coercitiva irruperono da ogni lato, levando gli uni contro gli altri, i fratelli contro i fratelli. Nelle aule parlamentari lo spirito militarista risorto si fondeva in leggi draconiane contro ogni dissenso o protesta.

L'acanita lotta Europea per la conquista di territori e di merenti, fu proclamata una santa crociata in difesa della libertà e della democrazia, e la coscrizione obbligatoria fu salutata come "la più genuina espressione della libertà civica". L'orgia guerresca mise in evidenza una psicosi di proporzioni nazionali, che non s'era mai veduta prima negli Stati Uniti. Al confronto, la momentanea aberrazione che seguì la morte violenta del Presidente McKinley, nel 1901, non fu che una ventata. Si ricorderà come in quella circostanza, il Governo Federale si affrettasse a far passare una legge speciale che puniva ogni sintomo di nonconformismo o di dissenso. Intendo dire la famosa legge anti-anarchica, con cui, per la prima volta nella storia degli Stati Uniti, si introduceva il principio di deportazione governativa. Chiunque fosse sospetto di tendenze anarchiche, di non eredere nel governo organizzato, non doveva essere ammesso negli Stati Uniti, la terra dei liberi; e se già vi fosse entrato poteva esserne espulso entro il periodo di tre anni. Con quella legge in vigore, ad uomini come Tolstoj e Kropotkin sarebbe stato negato il permesso di visitare gli Stati Uniti; oppure sarebbe stato imposto di partire dal territorio qualora già vi si trovassero.

Ma quella legge, frutto di un panico momentaneo, rimase virtualmente lettera morta. Se non che la psicosi guerresca risuscitò le dimenticate leggi anti-anarchiche allargandole fino ad includere chiunque fosse persona non grata ai poteri costituiti, e senza limitazioni di tempo. Incominciò allora una caccia agli "indesiderabili". Uomini e donne furono arrestati a centinaia, nelle strade, sul lavoro, per essere deportati in via amministrativa, senza giudizio o processo, spesso a cau-

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8 Giugno 1935

sa soltanto del loro aspetto esotico; dello sciallo o della cravatta che portavano.

Il ciclone guerresco, dopo aver pereorsa l'Europa, attinse in America l'apice della sua furia. Il movimento inteso a salvare il mondo per la democrazia e per la libertà, solidamente appoggiato dall'elemento intellettuale "liberale" dal pulpito e sulla stampa, fece degli Stati Uniti il luogo più pericoloso per i democratici e per i libertari. Sul paese regnava il terrore ufficiale, e migliaia di giovani furono letteralmente spinti nell'esercito e nella marina dalla paura dei propri vicini e dallo stigma di "slacker" buttato su chiunque non vestisse la divisa militare — gettato specialmente da signore oziose ed eleganti che si pavoneggiavano per le strade al servizio della causa dell'"umanità". Chiunque osasse mettersi contro la corrente della follia guerresca era fischio e malmenato come un nemico, un anarchico, un pericolo pubblico. Si riempirono le prigioni di uomini e di donne destinati alla deportazione. La maggior parte di costoro si trovava da molti anni nel paese di adozione, attendendo in pace alle loro occupazioni; altri avevano passata in America quasi tutta la vita. Ma né la lunghezza del soggiorno né l'utilità delle occupazioni erano prese in considerazione. Il grande Governo degli Stati Uniti giunse perfino al sotterfugio di privare in segreto cittadini naturalizzati della loro cittadinanza, onde poterli deportare quali "stranieri indesiderabili".

Gli storici dell'avvenire resteranno attoniti davanti al fenomeno della psicologia di guerra dell'America: mentre l'Europa sperimentava la peggiore reazione in conseguenza della guerra, gli Stati Uniti — in omaggio alla massima indigena di "arrivar prima" — raggiunsero il massimo di reazione prima di entrare in guerra. Senza indugio, rinnegarono tutte le loro tradizioni rivoluzionarie ed abitudini; e introdussero apertamente, senza ritegno le pratiche più odiose del Vecchio Continente. Senza esitazione, furono trapiantati in America sistemi autoeratici che avevano richiesto secoli per svilupparsi in Europa e si inaugurarono l'espatrio, l'esilio, la deportazione su grande scala, senza riguardo per la giustizia o per il senso di umanità.

Naturalmente, gli intellettuali pacifisti che preparavano l'America alla guerra, proclamavano con solennità che tale sommaria abrogazione dei diritti e delle libertà costituzionali era un espediente temporaneo reso ineluttabile dalle esigenze della situazione, e che tutta la legislazione di guerra sarebbe stata abolita non appena la democrazia fosse stata salvata nel mondo. Più di dieci anni sono ormai passati ed invano ho io cercato nei giornali e nelle riviste americani un indizio che attestasse del promesso ritorno alla normalità. E' più facile far leggi che abolirle, e le leggi oppressive sono particolarmente note per longevità.

Emma Goldman

(Continua)

N. D. R. — Traduciamo il presente articolo dall'antologia "Free Vistas" edita nel 1933 da Joseph Ishill — "Orlale Press". Berkeley Helghts, New Jersey.



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ANNO XIV n° 24

Sabato 15 Giugno 1935

L'ADUNATA DEI REFRATTARI

3

SENZA PATRIA

Con la sua impetuosità (l'America) superò il Vecchio Mondo infiacchito nella "preparazione" bellica. La grande democrazia di Thomas Jefferson, la terra di Paine e di Emerson, l'antica ribelle contro lo Stato e la Chiesa, divenne perseguitatrice di tutte le proteste sociali. La rivendicatrice storica del principio rivoluzionario, "Nessuna tassazione senza rappresentanza", costruì il suo popolo a combattere in una guerra intrapresa senza il suo consenso. Il rifugio dei Garibaldi, dei Kossuth, degli Shurzes, iniziò la deportazione degli eretici. L'America, le cui cerimonie ufficiali incominciano sempre con preghiere rivolte al Nazareno, il quale aveva comandato: "Non ammazzare", imprigionò e sottopose a tortura uomini colpevoli solo di farsi scrupolo d'uccidere i propri simili, e diede la caccia a quanti invocavano "pace e buona volontà tra gli uomini". Asilo, un tempo, ai perseguitati e agli oppressi d'altri paesi, gli Stati Uniti hanno, da allora in poi, chiuse le proprie porte in faccia a quanti chiedevano un riparo dalla tirannia. Nuovo Golgotha del secolo ventesimo, nei propri Sacco e Vanzetti "stranieri", ridgono al silenzio i propri "indesiderabili" nativi, i Mooney, i Billings, seppellendoli vivi nei patri ergastoli. Glorificano i Lindbergh volanti, ma ne condannano i padri pensanti. Crucifiggono la virilità e proserivono il pensiero.

La pratica della deportazione mette l'America, dal punto di vista culturale, molto al di sotto del livello Europeo. C'è, infatti, meno libertà di pensiero negli Stati Uniti, che nel Vecchio Continente. Pochi paesi sono nati sicuri per chi pensi con indipendenza. Nessun delitto vi è più aborrito di un atteggiamento eterodosso; qualunque reato vi può essere condonato, fuorché quello di un'idea disapprovata. L'eretico è anatemato, l'ecodoclasta il peggiore dei colpevoli. Nei grandi Stati Uniti non v'è posto per gente siffatta. Questo paese accoppia in una maniera singolare l'iniziativa industriale e l'indipendenza economica con un quasi assoluto ostracismo della libertà morale e dell'espressione culturale. La morale e la condotta sono prescritte da una censura draconiana, e guai a chi osi allontanarsi dai binari. Sostituendo la legge della deportazione, alla sua legge fondamentale, l'America si è dimostrata profondamente reazionaria. Ha innalzato barriere formidabili alla propria espansione culturale e al proprio progresso. Giacché, in ultima analisi, questi sistemi interdicono al popolo i valori più alti e le aspirazioni più nobili. La massa lavoratrice ne è, naturalmente, la vittima più immediata. Si mira a soffocare il malcontento industriale, ad eliminare gli interpreti del disagio popolare, a sottomettere le moltitudini inarticolate alla volontà dei padroni.

Disgraziatamente i lavoratori medesimi sostituiscono il principale sostegno della reazione. Nessuna organizzazione di lavoratori, in nessun paese, è mentalmente arretrata ed economicamente inconsapevole quanto l'American Federation of Labor. L'orizzonte dei suoi capi è pietosamente limitato; la loro miopia sociale addirittura infantile. La parte da essi sostenuta nella Guerra Mondiale fu compassionevole e subordinata alla gara con cui ciascuno di essi cercava di emergere nel servire la sanguinosa carneficina. Troppo stolti per non comprendere che sarebbero impiegate dopo la guerra come arma dei padroni contro i lavoratori, essi propugnarono le leggi più reazionarie. Non hanno imparato nulla dalle passate esperienze; ed hanno dimenticato la lezione della Sherman Law che, passata in seguito alle pressioni del lavoro per frenare i monopoli industriali, fu poi applicata dai tribunali americani contro le organizzazioni operaie per indebolirle e svilizzarle. Con l'era da prevedersi, la legislazione "temporanea" del periodo bellico che aveva il favore dell'American Federation of Labor, viene oggi impiegata nei conflitti in-

Fridolf Nansen, il celebre esploratore, fu uno dei primi che compresero le profonde conseguenze della psicosi di guerra in relazione al fuoruscitismo. Egli introdusse il passaporto speciale che porta il suo nome, e che mira a garantire almeno un minimo di sicurezza al crescente numero dei rifugiati. La Società delle Nazioni fu indotta ad approvare il suo progetto e ad istituire il cosiddetto passaporto Nansen, in omaggio ai grandi servizi che il Nansen aveva reso, organizzando l'assistenza di milioni di fanciulli orfani e

senza tetto, durante la guerra. Pochi paesi, tuttavia, riconoscono la validità di questo passaporto; quelli che lo riconoscono lo fanno a malincuore, e, in ogni caso, coloro che ne sono in possesso non sono al sicuro dall'esilio e dalla deportazione. Ma il solo fatto della sua esistenza testimonia della confusione portata dagli sviluppi del dopo-guerra in materia di cittadinanza, e della sciagurata condizione in cui si trovano migliaia di espatriati e di senza patria.

Non si deve supporre che questi consistano principalmente di rifugiati politici. Nell'esercito immenso degli esiliati i più sono persone apolitiche, uomini e donne che lo ingordigia territoriali della "pace" di Versailles hanno privato della patria. La maggior parte di costoro non riceve neanche il beneficio del passaporto Nansen, poiché questo è inteso soltanto per rifugiati politici di certe nazioni. In tal modo molte migliaia di persone si trovano sprovviste di documenti legali, e non possono perciò stabilirsi in alcun luogo. Una giovane donna di mia conoscenza, per esempio, una persona che non si è mai interessata di politica, si trova in questo momento e in questo nostro mondo Cristiano, in balia del caso, priva del diritto di stabilirsi in un qualunque paese, senza patria e senza tetto, alla mercé della polizia dei passaporti. Benché nata in Germania, le è negata la cittadinanza di quel paese perché suo padre (ora defunto) era austriaco. L'Austria, d'altro canto, non la riconosce come cittadina perché suo padre era nato in un luogo che, sebbene appartenesse all'Austria al tempo della sua nascita, fu dal trattato di Versailles assegnato alla Rumania. La Rumania, infine, ritiene la cittadinanza a questa giovane donna perché non è nata nel suo territorio, non vi ha mai abitato, non vi ha parenti e non ne conosce la lingua. La poveretta è letteralmente senza patria, priva del diritto di vivere in qualsiasi punto della terra, a meno di non essere temporaneamente tollerata da qualche funzionario della polizia dei passaporti.

L'esistenza del vasto esercito di rifugiati ed esiliati politici è anche più rischiosa. Essi vivono nella continua toma di essere deportati; e la deportazione equivale per essi ad una condanna di morte quando siano restituiti, come troppo spesso avviene, a paesi soggetti a dittatura. Poco tempo addietro un uomo che io conosco fu arrestato nel luogo di sua residenza e condannato ad essere deportato nel suo paese di origine, che è l'Italia. Se l'ordine di deportazione fosse stato eseguito, sarebbero state per lui la tortura e la morte. Io conosco numerosi casi di rifugiati politici ai quali non fu permesso di restare nei paesi dove s'erano rifugiati e furono deportati in Spagna, Ungheria, Rumania o Bulgaria dove la loro vita è minacciata. Il braccio della reazione è lungo. La Polonia ha recentemente ordinata, in parecchi casi, la deportazione di rifugiati politici Russi al loro paese d'origine, dove i carnefici della Ceka erano pronti a riceverli. Si deve soltanto all'intervento di amici influenti se costoro e le loro famiglie poterono essere salvati da morte sicura. Il dispotismo Europeo si protende al di là del mare, negli Stati Uniti e nell'America Latina, donde i politici d'origine Spagnola e Italiana furono spesso deportati come atto di "cortesia" verso una potenza amica.

Non si tratta di casi eccezionali. In questa situazione si trova un grande numero di rifugiati. Senza contare le migliaia di non politici, snazionalizzati e spatriati rimasti senza domicilio. In Turchia e in Francia, per non nominare che due paesi, si trova attualmente più di un mezzo milione di vittime della Guerra Mondiale, del Fascismo, del Bolscevismo, dei mutamenti territoriali conseguiti alla guerra e della mania di esiliare e di deportare. I più sono semplicemente tollerati, per momento, e sono sempre soggetti all'ordine di "camminare" — verso altri paesi. Un numero minore, ma tuttavia importante, è sparso per altre parti del mondo, specialmente nel Belgio, in Canada, Germania ed altri paesi dell'Europa meridionale.

Nulla di più tragica della sorte di questi uomini e donne buttati alla mercé del nostro mondo Cristiano. So per esperienza personale che cosa vuol dire essere strappati dal mondo in cui si è vissuti tutta la vita, essere sradicati dal suolo in cui si sono fatte le proprie radici, costretti ad abbandonare il lavoro al quale si sono votate tutte le proprie energie, ed essere separati da coloro che sono più intimi e più cari. Gli effetti di questi espatrii violenti sono particolarmente di-

sastrosi per le persone mature, quali erano in gran parte quelle deportate dall'America. La gioventù può più facilmente adattarsi ad un ambiente nuovo, acclimatarsi ad un mondo straniero. Ma per quelli che sono più avanti con gli anni, questa trapiantamento è un vero calvario. Occorrono anni di applicazione per riuscire a padroneggiare la lingua, i costumi, le abitudini di un paese nuovo, e molto di più per prendervi radice, contrarre nuove relazioni, assicurarsi l'esistenza materiale, — per non parlare dell'angoscia mentale e dello strazio che soffre una persona sensibile dinanzi all'arbitrio e alla mancanza di senso umano.

In quanto me, nel senso profondo dei valori spirituali, io sento che gli Stati Uniti sono "la mia patria". Non, s'intende, gli Stati Uniti del Ku Klux Klan, dei censori morali al potere o non, dei persecutori e reazionari d'ogni risma. Non l'America della Tammany o del Congress, della banalità rispettabile, dei più alti grattacieli o delle più capaci casseforti. Non gli Stati Uniti del gretto provincialismo, del nazionalismo ottuso, del materialismo vapo e dell'esagerazione ingenua. Esiste, per fortuna, un'altra America, la terra di Walt Whitman di Lloyd Garrison, di Thoreau, di Wendell Phillips. La patria della giovane America della vita e del pensiero, dell'arte e delle lettere; l'America della nuova generazione che batte alla porta, di uomini e di donne professanti idee; aspiranti ad un giorno migliore; l'America delle ribellioni sociali e delle promesse spirituali, dei gloriosi "indesiderabili" contro i quali sono puntate tutte le leggi d'esilio, di espatrio, di deportazione.

Ed è a questa America che io mi considero fiera di appartenere.

Emma Goldman

Questa è la conclusione di un articolo contribuito da Emma Goldman all'antologia "Free Vistas" (Oriola Press, Berkeley Heights, New Jersey) col titolo: "A Woman Without a Country".

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Red Emma Forecasts New Russian Revolt / Emma Goldman. — (Sept. 19, 1935, Emma Goldman Scrap Book). — 1 p. ; 30 × 14 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

RED EMMA FORECASTS NEW RUSSIAN REVOLT

"Communism There is State Capitalism"

FROM OUR LONDON CORRESPONDENT

Fleet-street, Tuesday.

AGED 66, plump and motherly—didn't the Robesons love her coffee and pie?—Emma Goldman asked if she might sit nearer the fire.

Southern France's summer sun and central heating had made her nesh, she confessed.

"Ah! That's better!"

So this was the famous Red Emma, fiery Anarchist, ex-political prisoner. Red Emma, whom the American Government deported and an American

When we had fussily arranged ourselves in the straightback chairs of this Gloders Green dining-room, Emma Goldman began to talk.

"The world's most dangerous woman," as she has been wrongly called, talked brilliantly—and to the point.

In Story-book Style

"Long before your birth," she began in the old story-book style, "I was sent to prison. In 1893 I was the second woman political prisoner in America—the first was an alleged necessary to Lincoln's assassination.

"I was leading a big strike of the textile workers and I quoted Cardinal Manning, who said a hungry man had a right to share his neighbour's bread.

"For this I was sent to prison for a year. Many times I was arrested afterwards, but I was always released. In 1916 they gave me an option of a fine or a fortnight for propagating birth-control. I took the fortnight—I had some lectures to prepare.

"During the war I went up and down the country voicing my opposition to it.

"But when America entered the war I was arrested. I had been opposing conscription and suggesting that statesmen should be called up first.

"That brought me two years' imprisonment and then deportation.

"It was at the time of the revolution and they deported 240 Russians. I was born in Russia but had become an American citizen.

"Some deportees are communists. Others had no political allegiance, but they were cooped up in the Red raids.

Russians' Lost Faith

"With high hope I went to Russia, but I found there was a terrible gap between the Revolution and the Government. I left Russia after 20 months because I could not live with dictatorship. I found the Government—

even some of the Government—

in Russia," she

ment, but it has nothing to do with the aims and purposes of the Revolution.

"Russian people have lost their faith in what passes as Communism there. It is not Communism. It is State capitalism.

"Stalin does not enjoy greater benefits than anybody else but all the power to distribute whatever blessings there are. When you depend on one man or a group

"I am convinced there will be another revolution.

Spends Time Writing

"In 1925 I became a British citizen through my marriage to Daniel Colton. He is a Scot, but he has been living and working in the mines in South Wales. It is three years since I was here.

In my little place in the South of France I do a lot of writing, much of it critical work on literature and drama."

I asked Emma Goldman if she could give me a modern definition of anarchism but her explanation of her creed was—the classical case for this most misunderstood of political philosophies.

"Misrepresentation of us gave the impression that anarchism means throwing bombs and using daggers which Fascist countries have used with much greater success," she said.

"I find anarchism is the only social philosophy which has not compromised, and will not recognise the coercion of the individual.

"I have never propagated violence but I have tried to understand the causes which have led individual anarchists into violence. They have been too sensitive to wrongs to be able to sit and philosophise about them.

Anarchists in England

"You have some anarchists here," she told me. "Most of them were carried into Communism by the Russian Revolution, but they are breaking away. You will meet some of them if you come to my lectures."

Emma Goldman has wisely not tried to go back to Russia since she left, but she has been back to America.

"President Roosevelt issued a general amnesty in Christmas, 1934, for all who did anti-war work and I returned," she told me as I was leaving.

This little woman laughed at her thoughts.

"They told me," she said, "my being in America was not desired. You see, Congress was sitting."

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Personal
ARBCOMMUNISM; vs BOLSHEVIST AND ANARCHIST / ~~A COMPARISON~~

A COMPARISON

By EMMA GOLDMAN

Bolshevism, Communism is now on everybody's lips. Some talk of it with the exaggerated enthusiasm of a new convert, others fear and condemn it as a social menace. But I venture to say that neither its admirers -- the great majority of them -- nor those who denounce it have a very clear idea of what Bolshevik Communism really is.

I have been particularly surprised at the confusion of ideas I found on this subject in the United States, a confusion far greater than I have met in intelligent circles in Europe. Communism has become fashionable with a certain class of liberals in this country. But the lack of real understanding of Bolshevism is as great among its friends as among its enemies.

Speaking generally, Communism is the ideal of human equality and brotherhood. It considers the exploitation of man by man as the source of all slavery and oppression. It holds that economic inequality leads to social injustice and is the enemy of moral and intellectual progress. Communism aims at a society where classes have been abolished as a result of the common ownership of the means of production and distribution. It teaches that only in a classless, solidaric

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commonwealth, can man enjoy liberty, peace and well-being.

It must be ^{borne in mind} ~~mentioned~~ that the Communist idea did not originate, as some people seem to think, with the Bolsheviks or with the Russian Revolution. Indeed, not even with Karl Marx. Soviet Russia is the first country in modern times ^{to be} which is credited ^{on} (wrongly, ~~as~~, as I shall show later) with the introduction of Communism on a large scale. But the idea of Communism is very old. Communism in one form or another found advocates in almost every age and every country, beginning with ~~Zoroaster~~ and the Stoics ^{and} perhaps even long before them. Greatly as the various Communist philosophies differed from one another, they all had a common origin: deep dissatisfaction with existing conditions and the realization that private possession results in inequality and injustice. But they did not limit themselves to purely economic problems. As a matter of fact all of them involved the complete reorganization of society: economic, political, social and cultural. Various methods of achieving their aims were advocated.

The remarkable comprehensiveness of Plato's ideal society, described with such minuteness and eloquence in his Republic, is well known. With similar conviction and zeal Thomas More, centuries later, elaborated his philosophy of human brotherhood in Utopia. Various Communist teachings appeared in the period between the Reformation and the French Revolution.

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Gerald Winstanley and his disciples ^{had} already in the 17th century enunciated the ^{basic} principle ^{of Communism} "from each according to his power, to each according to his needs." Louis Blanc, Saint-Simon, Fourier, William Godwin, Robert Owen, Proudhon, Bakunin, Kropotkin ^{and other social thinkers} visualised a new society of human brotherhood and equality. ^{But it was partially Peter Kropotkin who stressed the idea of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs" as the social foundation of anarchism.} ~~It would be interesting, but it is outside the scope of this article to examine in detail the diverse forms of Communism advocated at one time or another, or their application in Communist experiments of more recent times, as by the Perfectionists of Oneida, for instance, by the Communists, the Reds, and other Communist societies.~~

^{Most} Some of the Communist philosophies ^{of the past} had an ethical or religious tendency, but the ^{most} significant feature ^{common to} of ~~all of them~~ ^{all} ~~both in theory and practice~~ was their basic State idea. With few exceptions ^{and in modern times the opponents of Anarchist Communism} (preeminently ^{zero} among the ancients, the state zero) who advocated an entirely free, libertarian Communism) ~~as did Kropotkin in his theory~~ their fundamental principle was the subordination of the individual to the ^{interest} "welfare of the community". ^{They} It demanded unquestioning obedience to elders and chiefs, to authority and government; ~~it~~ ^{they} created rulers and ruled and divided the ^{society} ~~commune~~ into classes. In some cases the ^{various} ~~supremacy~~ of the State, the "welfare of society", imposed even common ownership of women and children, as in Plato's Republic, or as ⁱⁿ ~~practised~~ by the Oneida Perfectionists ^{Colony} under the name of "complex marriage".

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Few indeed were the thinkers of Communist tendency ^{that} who succeeded in emancipating themselves from the State idea. Thomas More, who was revolutionary ^{and} and vastly in advance of his time, yet ^{believed} thought that slavery must exist in his ideal society alongside "the most absolute personal political and religious freedom". ^{Scarcely} Slavery for life was made a substitute for capital punishment, ^{this creating a class of menials} The slave class was to serve the special purpose of performing "all the uneasy and sordid services". Great thinker though he was, More was no prophet. He could not foresee that man's genius would some day invent machinery that will not only make his slave class superfluous but almost all labor unnecessary. No more could Malthus and his followers realize the potentialities of human effort. Malthus feared that the earth could not support its increasing population. I wonder what he would say today at the sight of ^{the world-wide} our universal economic crisis ~~because~~ of too great production! The idea that slavery, subjection, exploitation in one form or another is necessary for the "welfare of society" runs all through the past. It is the ^{characteristic feature of almost all the theories and} philosophy of social ^{imprudence} ~~wellbeing~~. Even the most daring did not dream of man's ^{potential} possible achievements in the industrial and economic life. Unfortunately the same lack of vision, with its resultant lack of faith in "human nature", dominates people today, and ^{still} ~~there are all our so-called philosophers, economists and sociologists. Few of them can get away from the primitive fear of individual and social "impossibility". All our institutions are founded on that fear; it is inherent in monarchy as in~~

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democracy. It is the basis of every State idea, the essence of all government. ~~The primitive mind forever fears that~~
~~"man cannot govern himself; he must have a master."~~ The average person fears nothing more than freedom, individual liberty, popular initiative and activity. This fear ~~is~~ ~~pregnates all past ideas of Communism. The same fear under-~~
~~lies the Communism of the Bolsheviks.~~

X A X

of this essay *practical interpretation*
My purpose ~~is~~ ^{of this essay} to compare Communism with its ~~application~~ ^{practical interpretation} in Soviet Russia. But on closer examination I find it an impossible task. For as a matter of fact there is no Communism in ^{the} U.S.S.R. ~~I hope I shall not shock my readers by saying that not a single Communist principle, not a single~~ ^{for not} ~~item of its teaching~~ is being applied by the Communist Party in Russia.

To some this statement may appear as entirely false; others may think it ^{greatly} ~~vastly~~ exaggerated. Yet I feel sure that an objective examination of conditions in presentday Russia will convince the unprejudiced reader that I speak with entire truth.

It is necessary to consider ~~here~~ ^{first} first of all, the fundamental idea underlying the alleged Communism of the Bolsheviks. It is admittedly of the centralised, authoritarian kind. That is, it is based almost exclusively on governmental coercion, on

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violence. It is not the Communism of voluntary association, of community of interests. It is compulsory "State Communism". It is necessary to bear this in mind in order to understand the methods ^{of the Soviet Government in} ~~applied by the Soviet State~~ to carry out such of its plans which may seem to be Communist.

The first requirement of Communism is the socialization of the land and of the machinery of production and distribution. Socialized land and machinery belong to the people, to be settled upon and used by individuals or groups according to their needs. In Russia land and machinery are not socialized but nationalized. The term is a misnomer, of course; in fact, it is entirely devoid of content. In reality there is no such thing as "national wealth". A nation is too abstract a term to "own" anything. Ownership may be by an individual, or by a group of individuals; in any case by some quantitatively defined reality. When a certain thing does not belong to an individual or group, it is either "nationalized" or socialized. If it ~~is~~ is nationalized, it belongs to the State; that is, the Government has control of it and may dispose of it according to its wishes ^{will} and views. But when a thing is socialized, every individual has free access to it and may use it without interference from anyone.

In Russia there is no socialization either of land or of production and distribution. Everything is "nationalized"; it belongs to the Government, exactly as does the Post Office in America or the railroads in Germany and other European countries. There is nothing of Communism about it.

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No more Communistic than the land and means of production is any other ^{part} ~~phase~~ of the Soviet economic structure. All sources of existence are owned by the central Government; foreign trade is its absolute monopoly; the printing presses belong to the State, and every book and paper issued is a Government publication. In short, the entire country and everything ^{in it} is the property of the State, as in ancient days it used to be the property of the Crown. The few things not yet nationalised, as some old ramshackle houses in Moscow, for instance, or ^{a few} ~~some~~ dingy little stores with a pitiful stock of cosmetics, exist on sufferance only, with the Government having the undisputed right to confiscate them at any ~~moment~~ moment by simple decree.

Such a condition of affairs may be called State capitalism, but it would be fantastic to consider it in any sense Communistic.

Let us now turn to production and consumption, the levers of all existence. May be in them we shall find some degree of Communism that will justify us in calling life in Russia Communistic, to some extent at least.

I have already pointed out that the land and the machinery of production are owned by the State. The methods ^{and means} of production, the amounts ^{and quality} to be manufactured by ^{the various} every industry, ~~in fact, in~~ each and every mill, shop and factory, are determined by the State, by the central Government -- by Moscow -- through its ^{official} ~~various~~ organs.

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Now!
~~Now~~ Russia is a country of vast extent, covering about one sixth of the earth's surface. It is peopled by a mixed population of 165 millions. It consists of a number of large republics, of various races and nationalities, each region having its own particular interests and needs. No doubt industrial and economic planning is vitally necessary for the well-being of a community. True Communism -- economic equality as between man and man and between communities -- requires the best and most efficient planning by each community, based upon its local ^{needs} requirements and possibilities. The ^{success} basis of such planning ^{depends on} must be the complete freedom of each community to produce according to its ^{abilities} needs and to dispose of its products according to its judgment: to exchange its surplus with other similarly independent communities without let or hindrance by any external authority.

That is the ^{social} essential ~~political~~ economic nature of Communism. It is neither workable nor possible on any other ^{principle} basis. It is ^{inherently} necessarily libertarian, Anarchistic, ~~in its very essence~~.

There is no trace of such Communism -- that is to say, of ~~any~~ Communism -- in Soviet Russia. ^{Indeed} ~~In fact~~, the mere suggestion of such a system is considered criminal there, and any attempt to carry it out is punished by death.

Industrial planning ^{for the entire country, as well as all} ~~and all the processes of~~ production and distribution are in the hands of the central Government. Its Supreme Economic Council is subject only to the authority of the Communist Party. It is entirely independent of the will

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or wishes of the peoples comprising the Union of ^{the} Socialist Soviet Republics. Its work is directed by the policies and decisions of the Kremlin. It is this that explains why Soviet Russia has been exporting vast amounts of wheat and other grain while wide regions in the South and South-east of Russia were stricken with famine, so that ~~more than~~ ^{several} ~~two~~ ^{her} million of ~~its~~ people died of starvation. (1932-1933).

There were "reasons of State" for it. The euphonious term has from time immemorial masked tyranny, exploitation, and the determination of every ruler to prolong and perpetuate his rule. Incidentally I may mention that -- in spite of country-wide hunger and lack of the most elemental necessities of life in Russia -- the entire first five-year plan aimed at developing that branch of heavy industry which serves or can be made to serve military purposes.

As with production, so also with distribution and every other form of activity. Not only individual cities and towns, but the constituent parts of the Soviet Union are entirely deprived of independent existence. Politically mere vassals of Moscow, their whole economic, social and cultural activity is planned, cut out for them and ruthlessly controlled by the "proletarian dictatorship" in Moscow. More: the life of every locality, of every individual even, in the so-called "Socialist" republics is managed in the very last detail by the "general line" laid down by the "center". ^{That is to say,} In other words, by the Central Committee.

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^{the} and ~~polibureau~~ of the Party, both of them controlled absolutely by one man, Stalin. To call such a dictatorship, this personal autocracy more powerful and absolute than any Tsar's, by the name of Communism seems to me the acme of imbecility.

Let us ^{examine} see now how Bolshevik "Communism" affects the ~~lives of the millions, of the masses and of the individual.~~

There are naive people who believe that at least some features of Communism have been introduced into the lives of the Russian people. I wish it were true, for that would be a hopeful sign, a promise of potential development along that line. But the ~~raw~~ truth is that ^{whether in the social or} ~~in no phase of soviet life,~~ ^{in the} ~~no more social~~ than in individual relations, has there even been any attempt to apply Communist principles in any shape or form. And here I do not speak of libertarian, Anarchist Communism. As I have already stated, the very suggestion of free, voluntary Communism is taboo in Russia; ^{it is denounced} ~~and is regarded~~ as counter-revolutionary and high treason against the infallible Stalin and the holy "Communist" Party.

What I assert is that there is not the least sign in Soviet Russia even of authoritarian, State Communism. ~~Soviet Russia~~ Let us glance at the actual facts of everyday life there.

The essence of Communism, even of the coercive kind, is the absence of social classes. The introduction of economic equality is its first step. ~~As I have said in the beginning of this article,~~ this has been the basis of all Communist philosophies, however they may have differed in other respects. The purpose common to all of them was to secure social justice; and all of them agreed that it

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was not possible without establishing economic equality. Even Plato, in spite of the "intellectual and moral" strata in his Republic, provided for absolute economic equality, for the ruling classes were not to enjoy greater rights or privileges than the lowest social unit.

Even at the risk of condemnation for telling the whole truth, I must state unequivocally and unconditionally that the very opposite is the case in Soviet Russia. Bolshevism has not abolished the classes in Russia: it has merely reversed their former relationship. As a matter of fact, it has multiplied the social divisions which existed before the Revolution.

When I arrived in Soviet Russia, in January, 1920, I found 14 economic categories, based on the food rations they received from the Government. The sailor was getting the best ration, superior in quality, quantity and variety to the food issued to the rest of the population. He was the aristocrat of the Revolution: economically and socially he was universally considered as belonging to the new privileged classes. After him came the soldier, the Red Army man, who received a much smaller ration, even less bread. Below the soldier in the scale was the worker in the military industries; then came other workers, subdivided into the skilled, the artisan, the laborer, etc. Each category received a little less bread, fats, sugar, tobacco, and other products (whenever they were to be had at all). Members of the former bourgeoisie, officially abolished as a class and expropriated, were in the last economic category, receiving

at the bottom of the
Caddy

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practically nothing. Most of them could secure neither work nor lodgings, and it was no one's ^{concern} business how they were to exist, to keep from stealing or from joining the counter-revolutionary armies and robber bands. The possession of a red card, proving membership in the Communist Party, placed one above all these categories. It entitled its owner to a special ration, enabled him to eat in the Party ~~stolevaya~~ (messroom), and procured, particularly if supported by recommendations from Party members higher up, warm underwear, leather boots, a fur coat, or other articles. Prominent Party men had ~~their own~~ their own dining rooms, to which the ordinary members had no access. In the Smolny, for instance, then the headquarters of the Petrograd Government, there were two different dining rooms. One for Communists in high position, the other for the lesser lights. Zinoviev, ^{at the time} then Chairman of the Petrograd Soviet and virtual autocrat of the Northern District, and other Government heads took their meals at home, in the Astoria, ^{formerly the fashionable} the best hotel in the city, where they lived with their families.

Later on I found the same situation in Moscow, Kharkev, Kiev, Odessa ---- everywhere in Soviet Russia.

It was the Bolshevik system of "Communism". What dire effects it had in causing dissatisfaction, resentment and antagonism throughout the country, resulting in industrial and agrarian sabotage, in strikes and revolts -- of this further on. It is said that man does not live by bread alone. True, but we cannot live at all without it. To the average man, to the masses in

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^{inequality of}
 Russia, the ~~14~~ different rations established in the country for the liberation of which they had bled, was the symbol of the new régime. It is signified to them the great lie of Bolshevism, the broken promises of freedom, for freedom meant to them social justice, economic equality. The instinct of the masses seldom goes wrong; in this case it proved prophetic. What wonder, then, that the universal enthusiasm over the Revolution soon turned into disillusionment and bitterness, to opposition and hatred. How often Russian workers complained to me: "We don't mind working hard and going hungry. It's the injustice which we mind. If the country is poor, if there is little bread, then let us all share that little, but share equally. As things are now, it's the same as it used to be: some get more, others less, and some get nothing at all."

The Bolshevik system of privilege and inequality was not long in producing its inevitable results. It created and fostered social antagonisms; it alienated the masses from the Revolution, paralysed their interest in it and their energies, and thus defeated ^{thus} all the purposes of the Revolution. Indeed, it proved fatal to it.

The same system of privilege and inequality, strengthened and perfected, is in force today.

The Russian Revolution was in the deepest sense a social upheaval: its fundamental tendency was libertarian, its essential aim economic and social equality. Long before the October

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days (1917) the city proletariat began taking possession of the mills, shops and factories, while the peasants expropriated the big estates and turned the land to communal use. The continued development of the Revolution in its anti-authoritarian, Communist direction depended on the unity of the revolutionary forces and the direct, creative initiative of the laboring masses. The people were enthusiastic in the great object before them; they eagerly applied their energies to the work of social reconstruction. Only they who had for centuries borne the heaviest burdens could through free and ^{cooperative} systematic effort find the road to a new, regenerated society.

But Bolshevik dogmas, "Communist" Statism and methods, ^{a disastrous} ~~were~~ proved a fatal handicap on the creative activities of the people. The fundamental characteristic of Bolshevik psychology is distrust of the masses. Their Marxist theories, centering all power in the exclusive hands of their Party, quickly resulted in the destruction of revolutionary cooperation, in the arbitrary and ruthless suppression of all the other political parties and movements. Bolshevik tactics encompassed the systematic eradication of every sign of dissatisfaction, stifling all criticism and crushing ~~independent~~ independent opinion, popular initiative and effort. Communist dictatorship, with its extreme mechanical centralisation, paralysed the economical and industrial activities of the country. The great masses were deprived of the opportunity to shape the policies of the Revolution or to take part in the administration of their ^{communal} ~~own~~ affairs. The labor

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unions were governmentalised and turned into mere transmitters of the orders of the State. The people's cooperatives -- that vital nerve of active solidarity and mutual ~~help~~ help between city and country -- were liquidated. The Soviets of peasants and workers were castrated and transformed into obedient Communist Committees. The Government monopolised every phase of life. A bureaucratic machine was created appalling in its parasitism, inefficiency and corruption. The Revolution was divorced from the people and thus doomed to perish, and ever all hung the dreaded sword of Bolshevik terrorism.

That was the "Communism" of the Bolsheviks in the first stages of the Revolution. Everyone knows that it brought ^{the} complete paralysis of industry, agriculture and transport. It was the period of "military Communism", of agrarian and industrial conscription, of the razing of peasant villages by Bolshevik artillery -- those "constructive" social and economic policies of Bolshevik Communism which resulted in the fearful famine of 1921.

And today? Has that "Communism" changed its nature, is it actually different from the "Communism" of 1921? To my regret I must state that in spite of all widely advertised changes and new economic policies, Bolshevik "Communism" is essentially the same as it was in 1921.

Today the peasantry in Soviet Russia is entirely expropriated of the land. The ~~sovkhozes~~ are Government farms on which the

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peasant works as a hired man, just as the man in the factory. This is known as "industrialisation" of agriculture, "transforming the peasant into a proletarian". In the ~~kolkhoz~~ ~~kolkhoz~~ the land only nominally belongs to the village. Actually it is owned by the Government. The latter can at any moment -- and often does -- commandeer the ~~kolkhoz~~ members for work in other parts of the country or exile whole villages for disobedience. The ~~kolkhozi~~ are worked collectively, but the Government "control" of them amounts to expropriation. It taxes them at its own will; it sets whatever price it chooses to pay for ^{wheat} ~~grain~~ and other products, and neither the individual peasant nor the village Soviet has any say in the matter. Under the mask of numerous levies and compulsory Government loans, ^{the Gov't} ~~it~~ appropriates the products ^e of the ~~kolkhozi~~, and for some actual ^{alleged} ~~or pretended~~ offenses ^e punishes them by taking away all their grain.

The fearful famine of 1921 was admittedly due chiefly to the ~~razverstka~~, the ruthless expropriation practiced at the time. It was because of it, and of the rebellion that resulted, that Lenin decided to introduce the NEP -- the new economic policy which limited State expropriation and enabled the peasant to dispose of some of his surplus for his own benefit. The NEP immediately improved economic conditions, throughout the land. The famine of 1932-1933 was due to similar "Communist" methods of the Bolsheviks: to enforced collectivisation.

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The same result as in 1921 followed. It compelled Stalin to revise his policy somewhat. He realized that the welfare of a country, particularly of one predominantly agricultural as Russia is, depends primarily on the peasantry. The motto was proclaimed: the peasant must be given opportunity *for* to greater "well-being". This "new" policy is admittedly only "a breathing spell" for the peasant. It has no more of Communism in it than the previous agrarian policies. From the beginning of Bolshevik rule to this day it has been nothing but expropriation in one form or another, now and then differing in degree but always the same in kind -- a continuous process of State robbery of the peasantry, of prohibitions, violence, chicanery and reprisals, exactly as in the worst days of Tsarism and the World war. The present policy is but a variation of the "military Communism" of 1920-1921, with more of the military and less of the Communist element in it. Its "equality" is that of a penitentiary; its "freedom" that of a chain gang. No wonder the Bolsheviks declare that liberty is a bourgeois prejudice.

Soviet apologists insist that the old "military Communism" was justified in the initial period of the Revolution, in the days of the blockade and military fronts. *more than fifteen years* But fifteen years have passed since. There are no more blockades, no more fighting fronts, no more counter-revolution. Soviet Russia has secured the recognition of all the great governments of the world. It emphasizes its "good will" toward the bourgeois

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States, solicits their "cooperation", and is doing a large business with them. In fact, the Soviet Government is on the terms of "friendship" even with Mussolini and Hitler, these famous champions of liberty and Communism. It is helping effete capitalism to weather its economic storms by buying millions of dollars' worth of products and opening new markets to it.

This is, in the main, what Soviet Russia has accomplished ^{over the last decade} during ~~16~~ years since the Revolution. But as to Communism, that is another matter. In this regard, the Bolshevik Government has followed exactly the same course as before, and worse. It has made some superficial changes politically and economically, but fundamentally it has remained exactly the same State, based on the same principle of violence and coercion and using the same methods of terror and compulsion as in the ~~period of~~ ^{period} 1920. It has in fact ~~deepened the social contrasts and multiplied the class divisions~~ deepened the social contrasts and multiplied the class divisions. It has done everything to make them more permanent, and has developed a new ideology to justify their continued existence.

There are more classes in Soviet Russia today than in 1917, more than in any other country ^{of} the world. The Bolsheviks have created a vast Soviet bureaucracy ^{which} enjoying special privileges and almost unlimited authority over the ~~masses~~ ^{people}, industrial and agricultural. Above that bureaucracy is the still more privileged class of "responsible comrades", the new Soviet aristocracy. The ^{peasants and agricultural} industrial class ~~is~~ divided and subdivided into numerous gradations. There are the ~~ndariki~~, the ~~shek~~

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troops of labor, entitled to various privileges; the "specialists", the artisans, the ordinary workers and laborers. There are the factory "cells", the shop committees, the pioneers, the ~~komsomolists~~ the Party members, all enjoying material advantages and authority. There is the large class of ~~lishchiki~~, persons deprived of civil rights, the greater number of them also of a chance to work, of the right to live in certain places, practically cut off from all means of existence. The notorious "pale" of Tsarist times, which forbade Jews to live in certain parts of the country, has been revived for the entire population by the introduction of the new Soviet passport system. Over and above all these classes is the dreaded G.P.U. secret, powerful and arbitrary, ~~which is the most powerful and arbitrary~~ a government within the Government. The G.P.U., in its turn, ^{also} has its own class divisions. It has its own armed forces, its own commercial and industrial establishments, its own laws and regulations, and a vast slave army of convict labor. Aye, even in the Soviet prisons and concentration camps there are various classes with special privileges.

In the field of industry the same kind of "Communism" prevails as in agriculture. A Sovietised Taylor system is in vogue throughout Russia, combining a minimum standard of production and piece work -- the highest degree of exploitation and human degradation, involving also endless differences in wages and salaries. Payment is made in money, in rations, in reduced charges for rent, lighting, ^{etc.} not to speak of the special

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rewards and premiums for udarniki. In short it is the
WAGE SYSTEM which is in operation in Russia.

Need I emphasize that an economic arrangement based on
the wage system cannot be considered as in any way related to
Communism? It is its antithesis.

Soviet Russia is an absolute despotism politically and
the crassest form of State capitalism economically.

The distinctive characteristics of State capitalism
are its inherent social antagonisms. These are not even
formally abolished in Soviet Russia. They exist and are more
deepseated now than before. The exploitation of labor, the
enslavement of the worker and peasant, the cancellation of
the citizen as a human being, as a personality, and his
transformation into a microscopic part of the universal econo-
mic mechanism owned by the Government; the creation of privi-
leged classes and groups favored by the State; the system of
compulsory labor service and its punitive organs -- these
are the essential features of State capitalism.

All these features are to be found in the present Soviet
system. It is unpardonable naïveté, or still more unpardonable
hypocrisy, to pretend -- as the Bolshevik apologists do --
that the compulsory labor service in Russia is "the self-
organization of the masses for purposes of production".

Strange to say, I have met ^{apparently} ~~seemingly~~ intelligent persons
who claim that by such methods the Bolsheviks "are building
a society"

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Evidently Communism". Apparently they believe that "building" consists in ruthless destruction, physically and morally, of the best values of mankind. There are others who pretend *claim* to think that the road to freedom and cooperation leads through labor slavery, moral degradation and intellectual suppression. According to them, to instill the poison of hatred and envy, of universal espionage and terror, is the best "preparation" for manhood and the fraternal spirit of Communism.

But I do not think so. I think that there is nothing more pernicious than to degrade a human being into a cog of a ~~mind~~ soulless machine, turn him into a serf, into a spy or the victim of a spy. There is nothing more corrupting than slavery and despotism.

There is a psychology of political absolutism and dictatorship common to all forms of them: the means and methods used to achieve a certain end in the course of time themselves become the end. The ideal of Communism, of Socialism, has long ago ceased to inspire the Bolshevik leaders as a class. Power and the strengthening of it has become their sole object. So far as the people are concerned, the great masses, abject subjection, exploitation and degradation ^{are} developing a new psychology in them also. ~~The young generation in Russia is~~ ~~mostly the product of Bolshevik methods and principles. It~~ ~~is Jesuitic in the worst sense. It is a generation of~~

See page 22 #1

See p. 22

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The young generation in Russia is the product of Bolshevik principles and methods. It is the offspring of two decades of official opinion, the only opinion permitted in the land. Having grown up under the deadly monopoly of ideas and values, the youth of the U.S.S.R. knows hardly anything at all about Russia herself, and still less about the world outside. It consists mostly of blind fanatics, narrow and intolerant; it lacks all ethical perception and is devoid of the sense of justice and fairness. To this element is added a class of climbers and careerists, of self-seekers reared on the Bolshevik ~~maxim~~ dogma, "The end justifies the means". Yet it would be wrong to deny the exceptions in the ranks of the Russian youth, for there are a goodly number of sincere and heroic idealists who see and feel the farce of the loudly professed party ideals. They realise that the Revolution and the masses have been betrayed, and they suffer deeply under the cynicism and callousness toward every human emotion. The fact that numerous young Communists and komsomoltsy are in Soviet political prisons, concentration camps and exile proves

that the young generation does not consist entirely of ~~stupid~~ cringing adherents. No, not all of Russia's youth has been turned into willess puppets, obsessed bigots, or worshipers at Stalin's shrine and Lenin's tomb.

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~~blind fanatics, narrow and intolerant, devoid of idealism,~~
~~lacking all ethical quality, justifying the lowest methods~~
~~of corruption and dishonesty.~~ *He is a man of justice*
farmers
To this element is added a
class of climbers and careerists, of self-seekers and rascals
on the Bolshevik slogan: "The end justifies the means." *2)*

9/ Already the ~~Khrushchev~~ dictatorship has become an absolute necessity for the continuation of the régime. For where there are classes and social inequality, there the State must resort to force and suppression. The ruthlessness of such a situation is always in proportion to the bitterness and antagonism *felt by* the masses. That is why there is more governmental terrorism in Soviet Russia than anywhere else in the civilized world today. ~~Here even than in Hitlerite Germany,~~ *in fact* for Stalin has to conquer and enslave a stubborn peasantry of a hundred millions. It is popular bitterness and antagonism which explain the stupendous industrial sabotage in Russia; the disorganization of the transport after *almost 12 years* of virtually military "management"; the terrific famine in the South and Southeast, notwithstanding favorable natural conditions and in spite of the *draconic* ~~harsh~~ measures to compel the peasants to sow and reap, in spite even of wholesale extermination and of the deportation of more than a million peasants to forced labor camps. Bolshevik dictatorship is an absolutism which must constantly be *growing* ~~made~~ more relentless in order to survive. Therefore also the complete suppression of independent opinion and criticism within the Party, within even its highest and most exclusive

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circles. It is a significant feature of this situation that official Bolshevism and its paid and unpaid agents are constantly assuring the world that "all is well in Soviet Russia and getting better." It is of the same

~~quality~~ quality as Hitler's persistent emphasis on how greatly he loves peace while he is feverishly preparing for war.

Far from "getting better" the Dictatorship is daily growing more barbarous. The recent decree against so-called counter-revolutionists, or traitors to the Soviet State, should convince even the most ardent apologists of Russia about the true state of affairs there. The decree strengthens the already existing laws against everyone who can not or will not swear by the infallibility of the holy trinity, Marx, Lenin and Stalin; and it provides drastic punishment ^{for} every member of the culprit's family. To be sure, hostages are nothing new in the U.S.S.R. They were part of the terror when I first came to Russia. Peter Kropotkin and Vera Figner had protested in vain against this black spot on the escutcheon of the Revolution. Now, after nearly two decades of Bolshevik rule, a new decree was thought necessary. It defines "treason" as

"any act committed by citizens of the U.S.S.R. detrimental to the military forces of ~~the U.S.S.R.~~ ^{Soviet} Russia, her independence or the inviolability of her territory, such as espionage, betrayal of military or State secrets, going over to the side of the enemy, fleeing to a foreign country, or flight (this time the word ~~the enemy~~ ^{airplane} used means flight) to a foreign country."

Traitors or alleged traitors have of course always been shot in Russia. What makes the new decree so vicious is the principle of holding an offender's relatives responsible for his acts. Though they may have had no connection whatever with, or were even entirely ignorant of, his doings, they are to be imprisoned, exiled, perhaps even shot. At the least, they are to lose their civil

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rights and forfeit everything they own. In practice the new decree sets a premium on informers and spies who, to save their own skins or to ingratiate themselves with the G.P.U., will readily turn over the unfortunate kin of the offenders to the Soviet henchmen.

The most significant feature of the new Soviet laws is the departure from the pretense of internationalism and proletarian class interests. This old tune has now been changed to the paean song of the FATHERLAND. The loudest in the chorus is the ever servile, ~~bringing~~ ^{farmer} Soviet press. The love for the proletariat that had burned in its heart is now blazing for the FATHERLAND and is voiced in ultra-revolutionary international appeals:

"To collective farmers, proletarians and honest Soviet specialists nothing is dearer, nothing closer to their hearts, than their native soil freed of the yoke of landowners and capitalists. Defense of the Fatherland is the supreme law of life, and he who raises his hand against the Fatherland, who betrays it, must be destroyed."

So much for things "getting better" in the U.S.S.R.

ANARCHIST COMMUNISM

The principle, "To each according to his need, from each according to his ability", is the only possible foundation of real Communism. But such a social condition in its very essence negates all government, for political authority inevitably means power, privilege, and a class that can dispense privilege -- the State.

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I consider no Communism possible -- or even desirable -- outside of ~~libertarian~~ libertarian, Anarchist Communism. No other form of Communism can exist in freedom, and no freedom, peace, or ~~and~~ social justice can co-exist with coercive authority.

Anarchism is a political condition under which the individual is free from compulsion and invasive authority. Communism is its economic expression. ~~They~~ ^{The} ~~One~~ ^{absolutely} necessary to the other: they complement each other. The Communist Party in Russia ~~has~~ has done its utmost to divorce the two. As a result the Revolution failed and died. Reason as well as experience proves that compulsory Communism cannot prosper, cannot exist, except as ~~an~~ ^a ~~absolute~~ slave State. That is also the reason why Communist experiments of the past never succeeded. They were all built on authority, on coercion. No State, no government can abolish classes; on the contrary, it inevitably creates them. No dictatorship, no police terrorism can build the new, free society. Only the solidaric cooperation of labor -- of the proletariat, the peasantry, the intelligentsia; in short, the workers of brain and brawn -- can construct the bridge from capitalist exploitation to Communism. Organically, from life itself, must grow the mutual understanding and free effort of the united industrial, agrarian, scientific and cultural associations. Only on such a foundation can humanity hope ever to emancipate ^{ate} itself by freeing man for social unity, ~~and~~ solidarity and liberty.

People often ask me: "What form will distribution and production take in an Anarchist society?"

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I do not presume to prophesy or plan the life program under Anarchist Communism, but I feel sure that, released from the arbitrary and harmful restraints and limitations imposed by political authority, man would soon develop the forms best suited to his welfare and growth. I think it probable that various modes of economic life might be tried in the different communities, but I have no doubt that experience and common sense will in the long run choose the economic system productive of the greatest social well-being. And I may add that I feel convinced that the voluntary Communist method would quickly show its advantages and that the example of free Communist cooperation would ultimately be followed by those living under different economic arrangements.

Freedom of choice being given to the individual and the community, I am certain the most useful and rational way would be developed. In free Communism I see the most practical economic system, as well as the one guaranteeing greatest individual liberty and social justice.

Incidentally, do not let us underestimate the quality of justice. All modern scepticism notwithstanding, there is a strong innate sense of justice and fair play in human nature. Acts of injustice are resented, even if not always actively. The popular mind, though born and reared in the capitalist system, senses its injustice. For that reason I believe that Socialist Collectivism would soon manifest itself as unjust and impractical.

Collectivism means remuneration according to one's labor. In modern industry it is an impossible proposition. All labor is social, and the result of labor is a social product. You cannot

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measure the actual value of the stonemason's work, for instance, in a house built by a score of different trades. Nor can the value or worth of anything be measured by the "time" used for its production. Even if ~~it~~ it could be so measured, is the carpenter's hour of work to be paid for at the same rate as that of the surgeon, the inventor, or the poet?

It is sufficient to pose the matter in this form to show the absurdity of remuneration according to "hours of work" and the impossibility of determining the amount of "value" put in by an individual worker in a social product. The tendency to determine such "value" is in itself a manifestation of the capitalist attitude. The abolition of monopoly in land and natural resources would do away with the need of such capitalist schemes. The Collectivist method would therefore hardly appeal to a free community. Not to mention that a Collectivist economic system would require a vast army of statisticians, calculators and measurers to determine one's "earnings", and the fact that unequal remuneration would before long result in economic inequality and lead to some form of capitalism.

Its alternative, free Communism, eliminates all such inequality and the social injustice which inevitably proceeds from it. There is no reason -- human or social -- why the physically weaker or mentally less gifted citizen should not enjoy the same opportunities for satisfying his needs as his more fortunate neighbor. The only excuse for such a state of affairs -- though a very unworthy excuse -- might be lack of things to go around. But to produce sufficient for all human needs has long ceased to be a problem in modern times. On the contrary, the problem of capitalism is how to consume "over-product-

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ion". Anarchist Communism solves that problem: to each according to his needs, from each according to his ability. It is a system at once practical, simple and just. After all, one cannot eat more than he can, and it would be just as reasonable to deprive him of the necessities of life as of the air his lungs require.

Superficial minds object to the "lack of incentive" under Anarchist Communism. What incentive, I would ask them, what personal interest has the factory hand in the product he helps to manufacture? The member of a Communist community would feel himself ^apartner in the general undertaking. Such social coöperation would transform human existence from a conflict of individuals and classes, fighting for antagonistic interests, to a friendly rivalry in the pursuit of a good common to all. A new social atmosphere creates new conceptions and new values. The chances are that in a free Communist society the cleaning of a dirty street will be considered more "honorable" than being President, or more "patriotic" than donning a uniform and killing a man wearing a uniform of a different color.

It is impossible within the scope of this essay to go into the details of the new life that would open to man under Anarchist Communism, or to enlarge upon the vistas of growth and development that would open under a condition of liberty and economic security. The capitalist and authoritarian mentality can bring numerous objections to a condition of Anarchist Communism, most of them based on what is supposed to be ~~impossible~~ "possible" or "impossible" to "human nature". As if we knew what human nature is, or what it is capable of! But to that mentality I would reply with the words of one who was not a Communist yet who saw capitalism and its effects with clear eyes. Said John Stuart Milton: "If the choice

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were to be made between Communism with all its chances and the present state of society with all its sufferings and injustices; if the institution of private property necessarily carried with it as a consequence that the produce of labor should be apportioned as we now see it, almost in an inverse ratio to the labor -- the largest portions to those who never have worked at all, the next largest to those whose work is almost nominal, and so in a descending scale, the remuneration dwindling as the work grows harder and more disagreeable, until the most fatiguing and exhausting bodily labor cannot count with certainty on being able to earn even the necessities of life; if this or Communism were the alternative, all the difficulties, great and small, of Communism would be but as dust in the balance".

I can visualise the day when life, under Anarchist Communism, will assume a meaning entirely different from what it has today. It will cease to be a struggle between classes or nations for a little more bread or territory. Mankind will attain to new values; and living will become an art, a joy. Political strife, economic misery and internecine quarrels of nations will be remembered only as mental aberrations of a dark historic age. Life will mean the striving for greater culture, for higher attainments in the art of living. Work will be relegated to its proper place as the means to leisure, to the understanding and enjoyment of life -- and man will thus enter upon the road to true civilisation.

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THE SUNDAY CHRONICLE. NOVEMBER 24, 1935

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Most Dangerous Woman—A Nice Old Lady

Women Burst into Tiers

BREAKING
HER
MARRIAGE
CHAINS

HER LOVE OF HUMANITY GOT HER
IN TROUBLE IN A LIFE OF THRILLS

STRIKE CHANGED HER FATE

THEIR TEACHER SEES TROUBLE!

RED EMMA GOLDMAN, for nearly fifty years reputed to be one of the world's most dangerous women anarchists, has arrived in Britain.

When she was a girl in her teens she became a leader in the anarchist movement, and her exploits provided the world with a series of sensations.

She looks like a retired schoolmistress. Her manner is almost timid and the voice that once inflamed multitudes is now gentle and quavering.

Sitting in the lounge of a West End hotel Emma Goldman discussed with a Sunday Chronicle representative some of her adventures in America and Europe.

"If you want a life of thrills try helping your fellow men. Love humanity passionately enough and you will never be out of trouble," she said.

Emma is 64 years old. She was a young girl of 20 when she adopted a career that was to prove as wildly hazardous as that of any living woman.

"I emigrated from Russia to the United States when still in my teens," she said. "I got work as a factory hand in a town near New York."

"I do not think I was very different from the other girls around me who were working ten hours a day for ten dollars a week."

"I shared all their joys and troubles. My aspirations, like theirs, were limited to the desire for a home of my own and babies with a man I could love."

"Then, like a thunderbolt, came the event that changed the whole course of my life."

"There was a great strike in Chicago. The police charged the strikers, killing some, and injuring many."

Bomb Was Thrown

"A protest meeting was called. Suddenly a large force of police appeared at the meeting and ordered the chairman to disperse it. The meeting is quite orderly," protested the chairman.

"Something flashed and there was a deafening explosion. When the smoke cleared away a number of police were lying dead, and many were wounded."

"They never found out who was the man in the crowd who threw the bomb. So they arrested eight of the men who had organised the meeting."

"Four were hanged. One took his own life. Two were sentenced to life imprisonment. The other got 15 years."

"I was horrified by the injustice of this wholesale condemnation for the act of a man who had no part in the judgment."

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Emma Goldman.

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It was
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"And there I met the man with whom I was fated to share a life of toil and peril. A bond was created between Alexander Bergman and myself which was destined to transcend our affection for each other.

Strikers Fired On

"Soon after that came the vast steel strike at Homestead. The strikers were starving.

"The steel men and their families—including women in confinement—were evicted from the houses owned by the company.

"Carnegie was in Scotland. H. C. Frick, the company manager, resolved upon a desperate plan to smash the strike.

"In the dead of night a large packed with strike-breakers and Pinkerton detectives stole up the Monongahela river to Homestead.

"The steel men somehow got wind of the attempt. They fired the bank in hundreds. They were maimed, and wished merely to protest in the strike-breakers.

"As the large draw near the bank the Pinkerton men opened fire without the slightest warning. Several strikers were killed. Many were badly wounded.

"Bergman and I decided that Frick must die. We shrank from taking human life. We had no grudge against Frick the man, only Frick the official.

"I was to have killed Frick myself, but eventually Bergman had to go.

"He walked into Frick's private office in the great steel works and talked away at him without a word.

"Frick recovered, but Bergman was given 22 years.

Attempt to Escape

"Bergman managed to smuggle out to me details of a plan to escape by digging a tunnel under the prison.

"I took a house two hundred feet away from the main gates of the prison, and our friends began tunnelling.

"We finished the tunnel, and sent word to Bergman that the time was ripe for a getaway.

"Bergman broke from the cells, and rushed to the appointed spot in the yard. Then he found escape was impossible.

"A new building was being constructed for the prison, and they had chosen the part over the opening to dump bricks and stone.

"When America entered the war I ran a campaign for peace. Bergman had been freed—then suddenly both of us were arrested because of our activities.

"We were fined and sent to prison. On our release we were deported to Russia. Yes, I have lived dangerously. And I have no regrets for the choice I made."

SURNAMES REPLIES

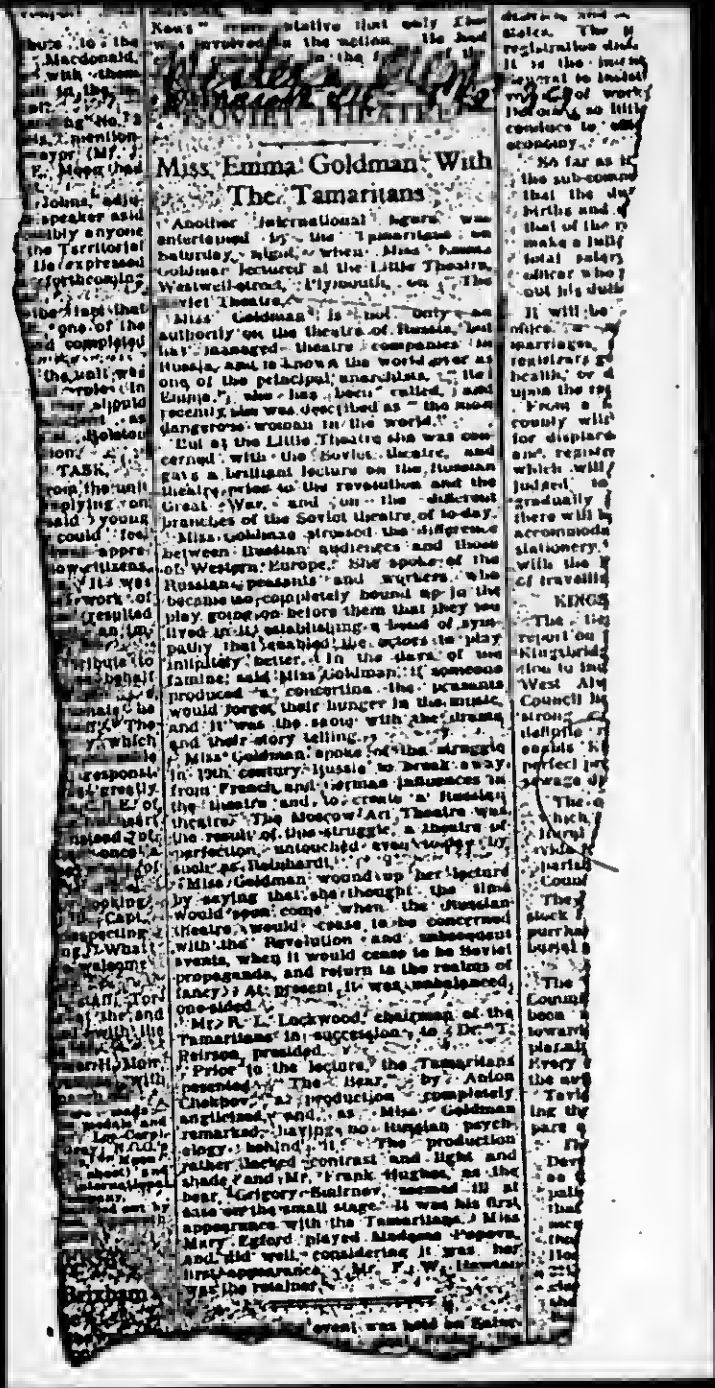
HERE are the answers to the surnames questions on Page Nine:—

1. Walter Greenwood
2. Walt Disney
3. Sir Walter Raleigh
4. Walter Winchell
5. Walter Hume
6. Walter de la Mare
7. Sir Walter Scott
8. Walter Hazen
9. Walter Elliot
10. Walter B. Sickert, painter
11. Sir Walter Lanyon
12. Walter L. Odum
13. Walt Whitman
14. Walter Huston

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(For STALIN AND THE WORLD.)

THE STAYING POWER OF A MYTH.

The glad tidings from Moscow under date of November 27th about the pact between the Soviet Trade Unions and the International Federation of Trade Unions (Amsterdams International) shows once more the staying power of a myth.

The Soviet Trade Unions have long ago ceased to exist as a living body, as have indeed all other organizations that have played their part in the Russian Revolution. As long ago as 1921, they had been degraded into a mere cog in the wheel of the Soviet machinery. Nor was it Stalin who had shown the Soviet Trade Unions of their place. It was Lenin who in the famous controversy about the functions of Trade Unionism under the Dictatorship had declared that the only function of the Trade Unions was to be a school for communism. One of his many opponents upon the old exists at the time was Rozanov. He insisted that Trade Unionism must continue to safeguard the rights of the workers. For living expression to such "heresies," he was promptly suspended from all participation in the Soviet Trade Unions.

A year later Lenin - yes, and Trotsky - upbraided in no mistoken terms the first Labour opposition led by Kolontay and Shliapnikov. Their opposition was mainly against the bureaucracy, particularly in the Soviet Trade Unions. As punishment for this offence, Shliapnikov, as a "proved Communist" (the actual term used by Lenin in regard to him), was exiled to the Caucasus for a "cure", while Kolontay was at first put under "house arrest" and subsequently given a diplomatic job outside of Russia, as likely to render her less troublesome than if she were allowed to stay on in the so-called Republic. The rank-and-file of that pioneer opposition were among the first of the Bolsheviks to begin the weary tramp to the newly created concentration camps.

After Lenin's death, Stalin continued the process of emasculation of the Trade Unions. It must be admitted he had no easy task. Rozanov, Tolstoy and a few others fought to maintain the rights of the workers within their Trade Unions. They tried, again and again, to infuse new

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2

life into them, and to wrest from Stalin the right to direct the affairs of the labour organizations. But the iron master proved stronger than they were. Rozanov, at the age of 60, was exiled, and all his interpretations of Marx were destroyed. Tomorrow, as is generally known, was quite recently driven to suicide, — no doubt preferring it to execution. Numerous other champions of the principle of independence for the Soviet Trade Unions suffered the same fate. Since then all life has been squeezed out of the trade unions, till they became mere corpses, or a shadow of their former selves, only to be revived and trailed out for show on those occasions when Trade Unionists from other countries come on a visit to the Soviet Republic.

As far as the Socialist Republic itself is concerned, however, the Trade Unions have to all intents and purposes ceased to exist.

It is possible that Jorjans, Citrine and the rest are unaware of this state of affairs in regard to the Russian Trade Unions. Or can it be that they have become a party to this outrageous deception as to the condition of the Trade Unions in Soviet Russia? Whatever it is, Jorjans, Citrine and the others have, it would appear, fallen into Stalin's trap. He will tie them to the "corpse" and will not let them go until the whole of the Trade Union ranks are infested with its putrid odour.

The "pact" is supposed to aim at the workers' unity against Nazism and Fascism. Very commendable indeed. The question only is: "What war? and what kind of Fascism?" Is the united front a just war also to include Stalin's Imperialist designs? And is his Dictatorship (which only differs from Hitler's and Mussolini's by its colour) to be included in the struggle against Fascism? Far from it. In point of fact, Stalin is willing to make a pact with the very people whom he dropped behind the lines not so long ago. What is a pact with "social patriots", "counter-revolutionists" and other such fancy "denominations" compared with Stalin's broken reversal of all revolutionary values worth? On top of the betrayal of the Russian Revolution, the savage extermination going on continuously of the old Bolshevik guard, now follows the sacrifice of the Spanish Revolution and the Anti-Fascist struggle, and last but by no means least the sacrifice of his own carefully built up Chinese Army. The outcry and lies about a few trade union leaders is mere child's play — Stalin knows what he is about: in making the Citrines, Jorjans, the Schevenels

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and the rest believe that the Trade Unions in Soviet Russia still have living fibre, he hopes eventually to get these leaders to act as recruiting agents not merely against Capitalist war but also of the "holy" war in defence of his Empire and bloodstained Dominion which can well compare with Hitler's and Mussolini's.

A myth has tremendous staying power. For twenty years the Russian myth has benumbed the minds and blunted the sensibilities of the intelligentsia and of many of the workers. The corpse that has now been propped up to appear as a living body is an additional proof that the myth goes on. All the more reason to cry out against the deception and to show it up as the delusion and snare which is Soviet Russia. Only when the workers in every country will realize this will real unity be achieved — real unity in the struggle against every shade of fascism and for the only war worth fighting for — the defence of the Social Revolution.

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IN 1936, EMMA GOLDMAN WROTE ON THE
THE
OF "THE PRIEST AND THE DEVIL."

"HELLO, YOU LITTLE FAT FATHER! THE
DEVIL SAID TO THE PRIEST. 'WHAT MADE YOU
LIE SO TO THOSE POOR, MISLED PEOPLE? WHAT
TORTURES OF HELL DID YOU DEPICT? DON'T
YOU KNOW THEY ARE ALREADY SUFFERING THE TOR-
TURES OF HELL IN THEIR EARTHLY LIVES? DON'T
YOU KNOW THAT YOU AND THE AUTHORITIES OF THE
STATE ARE MY REPRESENTATIVES ON EARTH? IT
IS YOU THAT MAKE THEM SUFFER THE PAINS OF
HELL WITH WHICH YOU THREATEN THEM. DON'T
YOU KNOW THIS? WELL, THEN, COME WITH ME!"

"THE DEVIL GRABBED THE PRIEST BY THE
COLLAR, LIFTED HIM HIGH IN THE AIR, AND

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THEY DOOR THE HEAVY, HEAVY AIR AND THE HEAT

becomes, stifling

~~THE TOO MUCH FOR THE PRIEST.~~ WITH TEARS

IN HIS EYES, HE PLEADS WITH THE DEVIL:

'LET ME GO! LET ME LEAVE THIS HELL!'

"OH, MY DEAR FRIEND, I MUST SHOW YOU

MANY MORE PLACES.' THE DEVIL GETS HOLD OF

HIM AGAIN AND DRAGS HIM OFF TO A FARM.

THERE HE SEES *peasants* WORKMEN THRESHING THE GRAIN.

the burning sun THE DUST AND ~~HEAT~~ ARE INSUFFERABLE. THE

OVERSEER, CARRIES *just* A KNOUT AND UNMERCIFULLY

BEATS ANYONE WHO FALLS TO THE GROUND OVERCOME

exhaustion BY ~~HARD TOLL OR HUNGER.~~

"NEXT THE PRIEST IT TAKEN TO THE HUTS

peasants WHERE THESE SAME WORKERS LIVE WITH THEIR

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THE DEVIL IS AT HOME
HERE.

"'WELL, ISN'T THIS ENOUGH?' HE ASKS.

AND IT SEEMS AS IF EVEN HE, THE DEVIL, PITIES

THE PEOPLE. THE PIOUS SERVANT OF GOD CAN

HARDLY BEAR IT. WITH UPLIFTED HANDS HE

BEGS: 'LET ME GO AWAY FROM HERE. YES.

YES! THIS IS HELL ON EARTH!'

"'WELL, THEN, YOU SEE. AND YOU STILL

PROMISE THEM ANOTHER HELL. YOU TORMENT

THEM, TORTURE THEM TO DEATH MENTALLY WHEN

THEY ARE ALREADY ALL BUT DEAD PHYSICALLY!

COME ON! I WILL SHOW YOU ONE MORE HELL--

ONE MORE, THE VERY WORST.'

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HUMAN FORMS, DEVOID OF ALL HEALTH AND ENERGY,

LYING ON THE FLOOR, ~~BEING~~ *Bein*

~~THESE WERE DEVOURING THEIR POOR, HUNGRY EMACIATED~~

BODIES.

*caused more rays
of light to reach
garments*
"TAKE OFF YOUR SILKEN CLOTHES," SAID

THE DEVIL TO THE PRIEST, "PUT ON YOUR ANKLES

HEAVY CHAINS SUCH AS THESE UNFORTUNATES

WEAR; LIE DOWN ON THE COLD AND FILTHY FLOOR --

AND THEN TALK TO THEM ABOUT A HELL THAT

STILL AWAITS THEM!"

"NO, NO!" ANSWERED THE PRIEST, "I

CANNOT THINK OF ANYTHING MORE DREADFUL THAN

THIS. I ENTREAT YOU, LET ME GO AWAY FROM

HERE!"

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IT? DID YOU NOT KNOW THAT THESE MEN AND
WOMEN WHOM YOU ARE FRIGHTENING WITH THE
PICTURE OF A HELL HEREAFTER -- (DID YOU NOT
KNOW THAT THEY ARE IN HELL RIGHT HERE, BEFORE
THEY DIED?"

THIS WAS WRITTEN 86 YEARS AGO IN DARK
RUSSIA, ON THE WALL OF ONE OF THE MOST
HORRIBLE PRISONS. ~~YET WHO CAN DENY~~ *does not*
know ~~THE SAME APPLIES WITH EQUAL FORCE TO THE~~
PRESENT TIME, TO MOST PRISONS.

(WITH ALL OUR BOASTED REFORMS, OUR GREAT
SOCIAL CHANGES, AND OUR FAR-REACHING DIS-
COVERIES, HUMAN BEINGS CONTINUE TO BE SENT TO
THE WORST OF HELLS, WHEREIN THEY ARE OUTRAGED,
DEGRADED, AND TORTURED, THAT SOCIETY MAY BE

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THOSE WHO HAVE MADE A SERIOUS STUDY OF
CRIME AND PUNISHMENT EITHER AS CRIMINAL
PSYCHOLOGISTS, HUMANITARIANS, OR FROM
PERSONAL EXPERIENCE WILL NOT DENY THAT
DOSTOYEVSKY'S PRISON CONDITIONS OF 86 YEARS
AGO DO NOT ALSO APPLY TODAY. (PRISONS
CONTINUE TO BE TORTURE CHAMBERS AND UNIVER-
SITIES OF CRIME. THEY NEVER HAVE OR CAN
DETER PEOPLE FROM COMMITTING CRIME.

(I WILL DEAL WITH THE CONDITION AND FAILURE
OF PRISONS WHEN I COME TO DISCUSS PUNISHMENT.
NOW I WANT FIRST TO DISCUSS THE MEANING,
NATURE, AND CAUSE OF CRIME. MORE AND MORE
THINKING PEOPLE ARE COMING TO SEE THAT
PRISONS DO NOT DETER. BUT ABOUT THAT LATER

OR.

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CRIME . . . REPRESENTS A PERVERSION OF
HUMAN IMPULSES MOST OF WHICH WHEN PROPERLY
SOCIALIZED ARE AN ASSET TO SOCIETY . . .
THE CRIMINAL, THEN, IS CHIEFLY A PRODUCT
THAT RESULTS WHEN OUR SOCIALIZING PROCESSES
FAIL EITHER BECAUSE OF FAULTS IN THE RAW
HUMAN NATURE PRESENTED OR BECAUSE OF THE
TREATMENT GIVEN . . . SOCIETY IN ITS TASK
OF PREVENTING CRIME MUST LARGELY SALVAGE THE
POTENTIAL CRIMINAL BY TURNING HIS IMPULSES,
WHEN FIRST THEY SHOW A TENDENCY TOWARD UN-
SOCIAL CONDUCT, INTO SAFE AND EVEN USEFUL
EXPRESSION."

*In other words crime
is misdirected energy*

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~~THE CRIMINAL PERSONALITY~~
~~IS A PRODUCT OF HEREDITY AND SOCIAL INFLUENCES~~
~~JUST AS ANY OTHER HUMAN BEING IS~~
~~NO INDIVIDUAL SUCCEEDS PERFECTLY IN MEETING~~
~~HIS TRIALS.~~
~~EARLY INTEGRATED AS IT IS, BECOMES MORE~~
~~INEFFICIENT AS HIS CONDITION OF MALADJUSTMENT~~
~~CONTINUES THROUGH THE YEARS. EVERY ACT OF~~
~~ANTI-SOCIAL NATURE, PRACTICALLY IF NOT~~
~~ABSOLUTELY EVERY PUNISHMENT FOR SUCH ACTS,~~
~~REPRESENTS A FURTHER STEP IN SOCIAL MALADJUSTMENT,~~
~~FROM WHICH IT BECOMES MORE AND MORE DIFFICULT~~
~~TO RESCUE THE CRIMINAL.~~

*In other words, when
we are forced, "GROVE" DECLARES.*

EXPLAIN CRIMINAL CONDUCT AS WE EXPLAIN ANY
OTHER CONDUCT. THE CRIMINAL PERSONALITY
IS A PRODUCT OF HEREDITY AND SOCIAL INFLUENCES
JUST AS ANY OTHER HUMAN BEING IS
NO INDIVIDUAL SUCCEEDS PERFECTLY IN MEETING
HIS TRIALS.

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REPRESENT A CERTAIN PHYSICAL TYPE
DIFFERENT AND DISTINCT FROM NORMAL HUMAN
BRINGS. (HE EVEN WENT SO FAR AS TO PRO-
CLAIM DEFINITE PHYSICAL TRAITS WHEREBY THE
POLITICAL OFFENDER COULD EASILY BE ASCERTAINED.
(POOR LAMBROSA WAS THEN CONFRONTED WITH THIS
TYPE OF CRIMINAL IN HIS OWN FAMILY. (HIS
DAUGHTER BECAME A VERY ARDENT AND MILITANT
SOCIALIST.

HOWEVER, SUBSEQUENT RESEARCHES COMPLETELY
DEMOLISHED LAMBROSA'S THEORIES.

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THOUSANDS OF CONVICTS CHOSEN AT RANDOM.

DATA SHOWED THAT A CRIMINAL IS NOT PHYSICALLY

DIFFERENTIATED BECAUSE HE IS A CRIMINAL, BUT

BECAUSE OF DIFFERENCES EITHER IN AGE, STATURE,

INTELLIGENCE, OR THE SOCIAL CLASS FROM WHICH

HE IS DRAWN. HE ASSERTS EMPHATICALLY THAT

THERE IS NO SUCH THING AS A PHYSICAL CRIMINAL

TYPE.

ADDED TO THIS IS THE TESTIMONY OF PROF.

PARSONS' INVESTIGATIONS.

HE TELLS US:

"WE HAVE EXHAUSTIVELY COMPARED, WITH

REGARD TO MANY PHYSICAL CHARACTERS, DIFFERENT

KINDS OF CRIMINALS WITH EACH OTHER, AND

CRIMINALS, AS A CLASS, WITH THE LAW-ABIDING

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POLIGISTS. THEY CHALLENGE THEIR EVIDENCE

AT ALMOST EVERY POINT. (IN FACT, BOTH WITH

REGARD TO MEASUREMENTS AND THE PRESENCE OF

PHYSICAL ANOMALIES IN CRIMINALS, OUR

STATISTICS PRESENT A STARTLING CONFORMITY

WITH SIMILAR STATISTICS OF THE LAW-ABIDING

CLASS. OUR INEVITABLE CONCLUSION MUST BE

THAT THERE IS NO SUCH THING AS A PHYSICAL

CRIMINAL TYPE."

ONE INTERESTING FINDING OF THIS STUDY

WAS THAT THERE WAS ABOUT THE SAME DIFFERENCE

IN CRANIAL MEASUREMENTS BETWEEN THE

GRADUATES OF CAMBRIDGE AND THE GRADUATES OF

OXFORD AS BETWEEN THE CRIMINALS AND THE LAW-

ABIDING PEOPLE.

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TYPE OF CRIME IS ALSO INFLUENCED BY THE ENVIRONMENT

FROM THE NOTION THAT CRIME IS A STATIONARY
THING AND REPRESENTS THE SAME NATURE IN ALL
TIMES AND COUNTRIES.

PROP. PARSONS QUOTES BECCACIA WHO CALLED
centuries
ATTENTION MANY GENERATIONS AGO TO THIS IDEA:

"WHOSOEVER READS WITH A PHILOSOPHIC EYE
THE HISTORY OF NATIONS AND THEIR LAWS WILL
GENERALLY FIND THAT THE IDEAS OF VIRTUE AND
VICE, OF A GOOD OR A BAD CITIZEN, CHANGE
WITH THE REVOLUTION OF AGES." HE CONTINUES,
"WE WILL FREQUENTLY OBSERVE THAT THE PASSIONS
AND VICE OF ONE AGE ARE THE FOUNDATIONS OF
THE MORALITY OF THE FOLLOWING; THAT VIOLENT
PASSION, THE OFFSPRING OF FANATICISM, AND

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WORLD TO AN IDEALITY.

PROGRESS OF THE AGE.

THE NATURE OF CRIME CHANGES WITH THE
ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS, OR THE
INTERESTS OF THE VARIOUS GROUPS IN SOCIETY.
CERTAIN IT IS, THAT EVEN IN OUR OWN DAY THE
ONE AND THE SAME ACT RECEIVES QUITE DIFFERENT
TREATMENT IN COURT AND PRISON.

EXAMPLES ARE NOT LACKING. BUT LEST
YOU HAVE ANY DOUBTS THAT THERE ARE DIFFERENT
SETS OF LAWS FOR DIFFERENT OFFENCES. THE
STRIKER, THE UNEMPLOYED, OR THE POOR MAN
NEED BUT TO BE COMPARED WITH THE RICH OFFENDER.

marked
for instance
have used the
method
generally

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TO THE VERY HEAVENS BUT IN EVERY COUNTRY.

(TAKE THE INSULL CASE. (HE RUINED

HUNDREDS OF FAMILIES BY DELIBERATE FRAUDS.

OR THE CASE OF BILLINGS AND MOONEY, OR SUHR

AND FORD, TWENTY YEARS IN PRISON FOR LEADING

~~THE~~ STRIKE IN WHEATLAND, CALIF. OR THE

~~CASE OF O'NEAL~~, OR THE SCOTTSDORO BOYS

and recent cases
of several banks
including Harry

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HAVELOCK ELLIS DIVIDES THEM INTO

THREE: THE POLITICAL, THE PASSIONAL,

THE INSANE, AND THE OCCASIONAL. HE TELLS

US THAT THE POLITICAL CRIMINAL IS THE VICTIM

OF AN ATTEMPT OF A MORE OR LESS DESPOTIC

GOVERNMENT TO PRESERVE ITS OWN STABILITY.

HE IS NOT NECESSARILY GUILTY OF AN UNSOCIAL

OFFENCE; HE SIMPLY TRIES TO OVERTURN A

CERTAIN POLITICAL ORDER WHICH MAY ITSELF BE

ANTI-SOCIAL. THIS TRUTH IS RECOGNIZED ALL

OVER THE WORLD, EXCEPT IN AMERICA AND ENGLAND

WHERE THE FOOLISH NOTION STILL PREVAILS THAT

IN A DEMOCRACY AND A CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY

THERE IS NO PLACE FOR POLITICAL CRIMINALS.

YET CHRIST WAS A POLITICAL CRIMINAL.

SO WERE SAGGIO AND VANZETTI.

CONSEQUENTLY SAYS HAVELOCK ELLIS, THE

POLITICAL CRIMINAL OF OUR TIME OR PLACE MAY

BE THE HERO, MARTYR, SAINT OF ANOTHER AGE.

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THAT THE USAGES ARE NOT THE SAME

INNOVATIONS ARE FREQUENTLY MANIPULATIONS

OF THE FACT THAT CHANGES ARE TAKING PLACE IN

THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE WHICH ARE NOT YET PER-

CEIVED BY THE SOCIAL BODY. IN SUCH CASES

EITHER ONE OF TWO THINGS HAPPENS;

((THE POWER OF CONSERVATIVE ATTITUDE TO
THE EXISTING SOCIETY IS SO STRONG THAT THE
CHANGES ARE NOT COMPLETED, OR THE CHANGES
ARE GRADUALLY ACCEPTED BY THE GROUP AND THE
PROHIBITIONS AGAINST THEM ARE REMOVED OR BECOME
OBSOLETE AND UNENFORCED. PRACTICALLY ANY
ACT MAY BE MADE RIGHT OR WRONG BY THE GROUP
IN POWER.

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"THE INSANE CRIMINAL REALLY CAN BE
MORE BE CONSIDERED A CRIMINAL THAN A CHILD.
SINCE HE IS MENTALLY IN THE SAME CONDITION
AS AN INFANT OR AN ANIMAL."

THE LAW ALREADY RECOGNIZES THAT, BUT
ONLY IN RARE CASES OF A VERY FLAGRANT NATURE.
OR WHEN THE CULPRIT'S WEALTH PERMITS THE
LUXURY OF CRIMINAL INSANITY. IT HAS BECOME
QUITE FASHIONABLE TO BE THE VICTIM OF PARANOIA.
BUT ON THE WHOLE THE "SOVEREIGNTY OF JUSTICE"
STILL CONTINUE. TO PUNISH CRIMINALLY INSANE
WITH THE WHOLE SEVERITY OF ITS POWER.

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STATISTICS SHOWING THAT IN

AND SIX HUNDRED, OUT OF ONE HUNDRED AND

FOUR CRIMINALLY INSANE, WERE CONDEMNED TO

SEVERE PUNISHMENT.

THIS APPLIES WITH THE

SAME FORCE TO MOST COUNTRIES.

now, all of Germany
has been turned
into a mad house
W.H. Luntz

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tion.

VAST ARMY OF THE HUMAN RACE TO LIVE IN

CRIME, TO PREPARE THE HIDEOUS LIFE WITHIN

PRISON WALLS TO THE LIFE OUTSIDE? CERTAINLY

THAT CAUSE MUST BE AN IRON MASTER, WHO LEAVES

ITS VICTIMS NO AVENUE OF ESCAPE, FOR THE

MOST DEPRAVED HUMAN BEING LOVES LIBERTY.

all can be

I DO NOT MEAN TO DENY THE PSYCHOLOGIO

FACTORS CONDITIONING CRIME; BUT THERE IS

more dominating
HARDLY AN ADVANCED CRIMINOLOGIST WHO WILL

NOT CONCEDE THAT THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC

INFLUENCE ARE THE MOST POWERFUL, THE MOST

POISONOUS GERMS OF CRIME. GRANTED EVEN

THAT THERE ARE INNATE CRIMINAL TENDENCIES,

(IT IS NONE THE LESS TRUE THAT THESE TENDENCIES

FIND RICH NUTRITION IN OUR SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT.

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THE PRISON IS A STATE OF MENTALITY, WITH NO LOOK

AT THE PRISONER, BUT ONLY AT THE PRISONER AND

THE PRISON OF ALCOHOL, BETWEEN CRIMES AGAINST

PROPERTY AND THE PRISON OF WEALTH. (HE

QUOTES QUETELET AND LACASSAGNE, THE FORMER

LOOKING UPON SOCIETY AS THE PREPARER OF

CRIME, AND THE CRIMINALS AS INSTRUMENTS

THAT EXECUTE THEM. THE LATTER FINDS THAT

"THE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT IS THE CULTIVATION

MEDIUM OF CRIMINALITY; THAT THE CRIMINAL

IS THE MICROBE, AN ELEMENT WHICH ONLY BECOMES

IMPORTANT WHEN IT FINDS THE MEDIA WHICH

CAUSES IT TO FERMENT; EVERY SOCIETY HAS THE

CRIMINALS IT DESERVES." (THE CRIMINAL)

THE MOST "PROSPEROUS" INDUSTRIAL PERIOD

MAKES IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE WORKER TO EARN

ENOUGH TO KEEP UP HEALTH AND VIGOR. AND

AS PROSPERITY IS, AT BEST, AN IMAGINARY CON-

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FROM EAST TO WEST, FROM SOUTH TO NORTH,
THIS VAST ARMY TRAMPS IN SEARCH OF
FOOD, AND ALL THEY FIND IS THE WORKHOUSE
OR ~~THE GALLERY~~. (THOSE WHO HAVE A SPARK OF
SELF-RESPECT LEFT, PREFER OPEN DEFIANCE,
PREFER CRIME TO THE EMACIATED, DEGRADED
POSITION OF POVERTY.

EDWARD CARPENTER ESTIMATED THAT FIVE-
SIXTHS OF INDICTABLE CRIMES CONSIST IN SOME
VIOLATION OF PROPERTY RIGHTS; BUT THAT IS
TOO LOW A FIGURE. A THOROUGH INVESTIGA-
TION WOULD PROVE THAT NINE CRIMES OUT OF
TEN COULD BE TRACED, DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY,
TO OUR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL INIQUITIES, TO
OUR SYSTEM OF REMORSELESS EXPLOITATION.

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Quote on
to professional
Committee
member of
at national
level in the

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CRIMINALS ARE ONLY TOO EASILY DRIVEN BY A

SOCIETY THAT DRIVES HIM TO CRIME.

MILANESE THIEF SAID TO LOMBROSO:

"I DO NOT ROB, I MERELY TAKE FROM THE

RICH THEIR SUPERFLUITIES; BESIDES, DO NOT

Be not
ADVOCATES AND MERCHANTS ROB?"

A MURDERER WROTE: "KNOWING THAT THREE-

FOURTHS OF THE SOCIAL VIRTUES ARE COWARDLY

VICES, I THOUGHT AN OPEN ASSAULT ON A RICH

MAN WOULD BE LESS IGNOBLE THAN THE CAUTIOUS

COMBINATION OF FRAUD."

ANOTHER WROTE:

"I AM IMPRISONED FOR

STEALING A HALF DOZEN EGGS. MINISTERS

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IN EDUCATING THE PEOPLE FOR THE
THE LAWS OF SOCIETY ARE FRAMED FOR THE
PURPOSE OF BRINGING THE WEALTH OF THE WORLD
TO POWER AND CALCUATION, THEREBY DEPRIVING
THE LARGER PORTION OF MANKIND OF ITS RIGHTS
AND CHANCES. WHY SHOULD THEY PUNISH ME
FOR TAKING BY SOMEWHAT SIMILAR MEANS FROM
THOSE WHO HAVE TAKEN MORE THAN THEY HAD A
RIGHT TO?"

THE SAME MAN ADDED: "RELIGION ROBS
THE SOUL OF ITS INDEPENDENCE; PATRIOTISM IS
THE STUPID WORSHIP OF THE WORLD FOR WHICH
THE WELL-BEING AND THE PEACE OF THE INHABI-
TANTS WERE SACRIFICED BY THOSE WHO PROFIT
BY IT, WHILE THE LAWS OF THE LAND, (IN
RESTRAINING NATURAL DESIRES, WERE WAGING WAR
ON THE MANIFEST SPIRIT OF THE LAW OF OUR

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... CONCLUDED.
... (THE CRIMINAL)

... THERE IS GREATER KNOWLEDGE IN THIS
PHILOSOPHY THAN IN ALL THE LAW AND MORAL
BOOKS OF SOCIETY.

Reason

ECONOMIC STATUS THE MAJORITY OF

CONVICTED CRIMINALS BELONG TO THE POORER

CLASSES. JUST HOW MUCH THE PROPORTIONS

WOULD BE AFFECTED IF WE WERE ABLE TO CATCH

AND CONVICT THE MANY MORE INTELLIGENT

CRIMINALS WHO NOW ESCAPE THE LAW IT IS IM-

POSSIBLE TO SAY. (THE FACT REMAINS, HOWEVER,

THAT THE POOR HAVE GREATER INDUCEMENTS TO

CRIME THAN THE WELL-TO-DO, BY REASON OF

ECONOMIC NECESSITY AND BECAUSE OF THE

PAUCITY OF DIVERSIONS AND THE LACK OF

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RATINGS OF ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF HOMES OF JUVENILE DELINQUENTS IN CHICAGO AND WOMEN DELINQUENTS IN NEW YORK STATE.

<u>HOME CONDITIONS</u>	<u>CHICAGO</u> (741 CASES)	<u>NEW YORK STATE</u> (420 CASES)
VERY POOR	44.7	41.4
POOR	34.8	45.0
FAIR	18.3	13.1
GOOD	1.6	.5

POVERTY IN THE MODERN CITY GENERALLY
MEANS SEGREGATION IN LOW RENT SECTIONS,
WHERE PEOPLE ARE ISOLATED FROM MANY OF THE

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POVERTY GENERALLY MEANS A LOW STANDARD OF
LITTLE TO LOSE, LITTLE TO RESPECT, LITTLE
BE PROUD OF, LITTLE TO SUSTAIN EFFORTS TO
IMPROVE. IT GENERALLY MEANS BAD HOUSING
CONDITIONS, LACK OF SANITATION IN THE VICINITY,
AND LACK OF ATTRACTIVE COMMUNITY INSTITUTIONS.
IT GENERALLY MEANS BOTH PARENTS AWAY FROM HOME
FOR LONG HOURS WITH THE FATIGUE, LACK OF
CONTROL OF CHILDREN, AND IRRITATION THAT
GO WITH THESE. IT GENERALLY MEANS WITH-
DRAWAL OF THE CHILD FROM SCHOOL AT AN EARLY
AGE AND THE BEGINNING OF MECHANICAL LABOR
WITH WEAKENING OF THE HOME INFLUENCES,
THE DEVELOPMENT OF ANTI-SOCIAL FEELINGS
AND A LACK OF CULTURAL CONTACTS.

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THE METHODS OF DEALING WITH CRIME HAVE
NO EXACTLY DEFINITE HISTORICAL REASONS, BUT
MAINLY IN A THEORETIC SENSE. IN PRACTICE.
SOCIETY HAS RETAINED THE PRIMITIVE MOTIVE IN
DEALING WITH THE OFFENDER, THAT IS, REVENGE.
IT HAS ALSO ADOPTED THE THEOLOGIC IDEA;
NAMELY, PUNISHMENT; WHILE THE LEGAL AND
"CIVILIZED" METHODS CONSIST OF DETERRENCE OR
TERROR, AND REFORM. WE SHALL PRESENTLY
SEE THAT ALL FORMER MODES HAVE FAILED UTTERLY,
AND THAT WE ARE TO-DAY NO NEARER A SOLUTION
THAN IN THE DARK AGES.

THE NATURAL IMPULSE OF THE PRIMITIVE
MAN TO STRIKE BACK, TO AVENGE A WRONG, IS
OUT OF DATE. INSTEAD, THE CIVILIZED MAN,
STRIPPED OF COURAGE AND DARING, HAS DELEGATED
TO AN ORGANIZED MACHINERY THE DUTY OF
AVENGING HIS WRONGS, IN THE FOOLISH BELIEF

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THAT THE STATE IS JUSTIFIED IN DOING THAT

WE NO LONGER HAVE THE SANCTION OF CONSCIENCE

TO DO.

THE "MAJESTY OF THE LAW" IS A REASONING

THING; IT WOULD NOT STOOP TO PRIMITIVE

INSTINCTS. ITS MISSION IS OF A "HIGHER"

NATURE. TRUE, IT IS STILL STEEPED IN THE

THEOLOGIC MUDDLE, WHICH PROCLAIMS PUNISHMENT

AS A MEANS OF PURIFICATION, OR THE VICARIOUS

ATONEMENT OF SIN. BUT LEGALLY AND SOCIALLY

THE STATUTE EXERCISES PUNISHMENT, NOT MERELY

AS AN INFLICTION OF PAIN UPON THE OFFENDER,

BUT ALSO FOR ITS TERRIFYING EFFECT UPON OTHERS.

WHAT IS THE REAL BASIS OF PUNISHMENT,

HOWEVER?

and the greater
THE NOTION OF A FREE WILL, THE

IDEA THAT MAN IS AT ALL TIMES A FREE AGENT

FOR GOOD OR EVIL; IF HE CHOOSES THE LATTER,

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HE MUST BE MADE TO PAY THE PRICE. ALTHOUGH

THIS METHOD HAS LONG BEEN EMPLOYED, AND

THROWN UPON THE DUSTHEAP, IT CONTINUES TO BE

APPLIED DAILY BY THE ENTIRE MACHINERY OF

GOVERNMENT, TURNING IT INTO THE MOST CRUEL

AND BRUTAL TORMENTOR OF HUMAN LIFE. THE

ONLY REASON FOR ITS CONTINUANCE IS THE STILL

MORE CRUEL NOTION THAT THE GREATER THE

TERROR PUNISHMENT SPREADS, THE MORE CERTAIN

ITS PREVENTATIVE EFFECT.

SOCIETY IS USING THE MOST DRASTIC

METHODS IN DEALING WITH THE SOCIAL OFFENDER.

WHY DO THEY NOT DETER? ALTHOUGH A MAN

IS SUPPOSED TO BE CONSIDERED INNOCENT UNTIL

PROVEN GUILTY, THE INSTRUMENTS OF LAW, THE

POLICE, CARRY ON A REIGN OF TERROR, MAKING

INDISCRIMINATE ARRESTS, BEATING, CLUBBING,

BULLYING PEOPLE, USING THE BARBAROUS METHOD

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OF THE "THIRD DEGREE" SUGGESTING THAT

UNFORTUNATE VICTIMS OF THE LAW ARE

STATION HOUSE, AND THE STILL FOULER LAN-

GUAGE OF ITS GUARDIANS. THE CRIMES ARE

RAPIDLY MULTIPLYING AND SOCIETY IS PAYING

THE PRICE.

ON THE OTHER HAND, IT IS AN OPEN

SECRET THAT WHEN THE UNFORTUNATE CITIZEN

HAS BEEN GIVEN THE FULL "MERCY" OF THE LAW,

AND FOR THE SAKE OF SAFETY IS HIDDEN IN

WORST OF HELLS, HIS REAL GALVARY BEGINS.

ROBBED OF HIS RIGHTS AS A HUMAN BEING,

DEGRADED TO A MERE AUTOMATON WITHOUT WILL

OR FEELING, DEPENDENT ENTIRELY UPON THE

MERCY OF BRUTAL KEEPERS, HE DAILY GOES THROUGH

A PROCESS OF DEHUMANIZATION, COMPARED WITH

WHICH SAVAGE REVENGE WAS MERE CHILD'S PLAY.

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THESE ARE THE PRISON INSTITUTIONS
OF REFORMATION IN THE WORLD WHERE MEN ARE
NOT TORTURED "TO BE MADE GOOD", BY MEANS OF
THE BLACK-JACK, THE GLOBE, THE STRAIT-JACKET,
THE WATER-CURE, AND ~~AN AMERICAN~~ THE "HUMMING
BIRD" (AN ELECTRICAL CONTRIVANCE RUN ALONG
THE HUMAN BODY), THE SOLITARY, ~~THE~~ BULL-
RING, STARVATION DIET, AND THE LASH IN ~~AMERICA~~
IN THESE INSTITUTIONS HIS WILL IS BROKEN,
HIS SOUL DEGRADED, HIS SPIRIT SUBDUED BY
THE DEADLY MONOTONY AND ROUTINE OF PRISON
LIFE.

IN VARIOUS STATES IN AMERICA, IN OHIO,
ILLINOIS, PENNSYLVANIA, MISSOURI, AND IN
THE SOUTH, THESE HORRORS HAVE BECOME SO
PLAGUANT AS TO REACH THE OUTSIDE WORLD,
WHILE IN MOST OTHER PRISONS, THE SAME CHRISTIAN
METHODS STILL PREVAIL. ~~THE~~ PRISON WALLS

*But maintenance of law
since 1914
have often*

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~~RARELY ALLOW THE CRIMINALS OF THE~~

~~THEIR OWN HANDS TO BE THE CAUSE OF THEIR OWN DESTRUCTION.~~

~~THEY DULL THE SENSE.~~

SOCIETY MIGHT WITH GREATER IMMUNITY

ABOLISH ALL PRISONS AT ONCE, THAN TO HOPE

~~FOR PROTECTION FROM THESE TWENTIETH-CENTURY~~

CHAMBERS OF HORRORS.

YEAR AFTER YEAR THE GATES OF PRISON

HELLS RETURN TO THE WORLD AN EMACIATED,

DEFORMED, WILL-LESS, SHIP-WRECKED CREW OF

HUMANITY, WITH THE CAIN MARK ON THEIR FORE-

HEADS, THEIR HOPES CRUSHED, ALL THEIR NATURAL

INCLINATIONS THWARTED. WITH NOTHING BUT

HUNGER AND INHUMANITY TO GREET THEM, THESE

VICTIMS SOON SINK BACK INTO CRIME AS THE

ONLY POSSIBILITY OF EXISTENCE. IT IS NOT

AT ALL AN UNUSUAL THING TO FIND MEN, AND

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WOMEN WHO HAVE SPENT HALF THEIR LIVES, -

MAY, ALMOST THEIR ENTIRE EXISTENCE - IN

PRISON.

I KNEW A WOMAN ON BLACKWELL'S ISLAND,

WHO HAD BEEN IN AND OUT THIRTY-EIGHT TIMES;

AND THROUGH A FRIEND I LEARN THAT A YOUNG

BOY OF SEVENTEEN, WHOM HE HAD NURSED AND

CARED FOR IN THE PITTSBURG PENITENTIARY,

HAD NEVER KNOWN THE MEANING OF LIBERTY.

FROM THE REFORMATORY TO THE PENITENTIARY HAD

BEEN THE PATH OF THIS BOY'S LIFE, UNTIL

BROKEN IN BODY, HE DIED A VICTIM OF SOCIAL

REVENGE.

*Warden Pittsburg
N.Y. State Penitentiary
2 163 died at 4/6
Prisoners dying in
Columbia Island
Victim Nelson
He was used by the
Prisoners*

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21428

A MONUMENTAL WORK BY ALEX. BERKMAN WHO HAS
SPENT 14 YEARS IN ONE OF AMERICA'S TERRIBLE
PRISONS. ~~AND AS YOU READ THE WORK YOU~~
WILL NEVER AGAIN BELIEVE IN PRISONS AS A
PLACE OF REDEEMING PEOPLE.

ALEXANDER BERKMAN DESCRIBES THE HORRORS
OF SOLITARY CONFINEMENT IN THE WESTERN
PENITENTIARY IN PENNSYLVANIA AND THE FEDERAL
PRISON OF ATLANTA. (READ THE WORK AND IT
WILL MAKE YOU REALIZE WHAT ^{is} ~~is~~ GOING ON IN
PRISONS AND WHY THEY DO NOT DETER.

OR THE WORK OF PETER KROPOTKIN, A GREAT
AND BEAUTIFUL SOUL. WRITING ON PRISONS
TURNING OUT FULL-FLEDGED CRIMINALS HE GOES
ON TO SAY:

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ITS EFFECT ON A HIGHLY STRONG TEMPERAMENT

IS THUS DESCRIBED BY A YOUNG WOMAN WHO HAD

SERVED A LONG TERM OF PENAL SERVITUDE.

IT IS LIKE NOTHING ELSE IN THE
WORLD - IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO DESCRIBE IT;

NO WORDS CAN PAINT ITS MISERIES, NOTHING THAT

I CAN SAY WOULD GIVE ANY IDEA OF THE HORRORS

OF SOLITARY CONFINEMENT - IT MADDENS ONE

EVEN TO THINK OF IT. NO ONE WHO HAS NOT

BEEN THROUGH IT CAN CONCEIVE THE AWFUL ANGUISH

ONE ENDURES WHEN SHUT UP IN A LIVING TOMB.

THROWN BACK UPON YOURSELF . . . THE OVERPOWERING

SENSATION IS ONE OF SUFFOCATION. (YOU FEEL

YOU MUST AND CAN SMASH THE WALLS, BURST OPEN

THE DOORS, KILL YOURSELF! . . ."

*many
do kill themselves
naturally persons
do not push
themselves
succeed*

unending torture

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26 DAYS ON BREAD AND WATER BECAUSE THEY COULD

NOT MAKE THE EXACTING TASK FORCED UPON HELPLESS

CONVICTS BY THE PRISON CONTRACT SYSTEM.

I HAVE BEEN IN AMERICAN PRISONS SEVERAL

TIMES SO I KNOW WHEREOF I SPEAK WHEN I ASSURE

YOU THAT NO ONE LEAVES A PRISON OR CAN GO

OUT A BETTER WOMAN OR MAN.

GIVE EXAMPLE OF WARDEN PILLSBURY,

OPPENHEIM CASE.

AND MY PERSONAL EXPERIENCES ARE SUBSTAN-

TIATED BY EXTENSIVE DATA GIVING OVERWHELMING

PROOF OF THE UTTER FUTILITY OF PRISONS AS A

MEANS OF DETERRANCE OR REFORM.

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The Plan of April 5
states Governor
McNutt of
Indiana as saying
that he U S
spends 1 500 000
a year for
imprisonment
and only 1 400 000
to educate
26 million
school children
He has an

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the danger
of education being
to do away with
crime. It
depends on
the kind of
education
Regulation of
the city is
the real criminal

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REGULATION TO RESTORE SOME MORE TO THE PRISONER

THE POSSIBILITY OF BECOMING A HUMAN BEING.

COMMENDABLE AS THIS IS, I FEAR IT IS

IMPOSSIBLE TO HOPE FOR GOOD RESULTS, FROM

POURING GOOD WINE INTO A MUSTY BOTTLE.

NOTHING SHORT OF A COMPLETE RECONSTRUCTION

OF SOCIETY WILL DELIVER MANKIND FROM THE

CANCER OF CRIME.

STILL, IF THE DULL EDGE OF OUR SOCIAL

CONSCIENCE WOULD BE SHARPENED, THE PENAL

INSTITUTIONS MIGHT BE GIVEN A NEW COAT OF

VARNISH. BUT THE FIRST STEP TO BE TAKEN

IS THE RENOVATION OF THE SOCIAL CONSCIOUS-

NESS, WHICH IS IN A RATHER DILAPIDATED CONDITION.

IT IS SADLY IN NEED TO BE AWAKENED TO THE FACT

THAT CRIME IS A QUESTION OF DEGREE, THAT WE

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~~ALL HAVE THE SUBSTITUTION OF THE INDIVIDUAL~~

~~OR LATER, ACCORDING TO THE INDIVIDUAL~~

~~AND SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT, AND THAT THE INDIVI-~~

~~DUAL CRIMINAL IS MERELY A REFLEX OF THE~~

~~TENDENCIES OF THE AGGREGATE.~~ *summarizing*

Anna

WITH THE SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS AWAKENED,

THE AVERAGE INDIVIDUAL MAY LEARN TO REFUSE

THE "HONOR OF BEING THE BLOODHOUND OF THE

LAW." HE MAY CEASE TO PERSECUTE, DESPISE,

AND MISTRUST THE SOCIAL OFFENDER, AND GIVE

HIM A CHANCE TO LIVE AND BREATHE AMONG HIS

FELLOWS. INSTITUTIONS ARE, OF COURSE,

HARDER TO REACH. THEY ARE COLD, IMPENE-

TRABLE, AND CRUEL; STILL, WITH THE SOCIAL

CONSCIOUSNESS QUICKENED, IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE

TO FREE THE PRISON VICTIMS FROM THE

BRUTALITY OF PRISON OFFICIALS, GUARDS AND

KEEPERS. PUBLIC OPINION IS A POWERFUL

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WEAPON: KEEPERS OF THE PRISON

A LITTLE HUMANITY. ESPECIALLY IF THEY

REALIZE THAT THEIR JOBS DEPEND UPON IT.

BUT THE MOST IMPORTANT STEP IS TO

DEMAND FOR THE PRISONER THE RIGHT TO WORK

WHILE IN PRISON, WITH SOME MONETARY RECOMPENSE

THAT WOULD ENABLE HIM TO LAY ASIDE A LITTLE

FOR THE DAY OF HIS RELEASE, THE BEGINNING

OF A NEW LIFE.

Greater humanity
often shown by
prisoners than
people outside of
prison

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THE MODERN PRISON IN DOBB'S FERRY.

THE LIFER IN COLORADO WHO WAS ALLOWED
TO GO TO DENVER TO PLEAD HIS OWN CASE.

THE CASE IN ST. QUENTIN PRISON.
MOOR THE DANGEROUS CRIMINAL.

Math
Em
AR

THE CASE OF THE SING SING PRISONERS WHO
ON SIGHT OF TWO DROWNING BOYS RUSHED TO
THEIR RESCUE AND WERE HELD BACK BY THE
BRUTAL GUARDS.

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I HAVE THIS ELEMENT THAT THOUSANDS
OF MEN AND WOMEN, WITHOUT A TRACE
WITHOUT SHADE OF CONSCIENCE, ARE YEARLY
TURNED BACK INTO THE SOCIAL FOLD. THESE
MEN AND WOMEN MUST LIVE, FOR EVEN AN EX-
CONVICT HAS NEEDS. PRISON LIFE HAS MADE
THEM ANTI-SOCIAL BEINGS, AND THE RIGIDLY
CLOSED DOORS THAT MEET THEM ON THEIR RELEASE
ARE NOT LIKELY TO DECREASE THEIR BITTERNESS.

THE INEVITABLE RESULT IS THAT THEY FORM
A FAVORABLE NUCLEUS OUT OF WHICH ~~SCANDALS~~
DETECTIVES, AND POLICEMEN ARE DRAWN, ONLY
TOO WILLING TO DO THE MASTER'S BIDDING.
THUS ORGANIZED LABOR, BY ITS FOOLISH OPPOSI-
TION TO WORK IN PRISONS DEFEATS ITS OWN
ENDS. IT HELPS TO GREAT OBSTACLES WHICH
PREVENT EVERY ATTEMPT FOR ECONOMIC BETTERMENT.

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OF THE CONVICT TO HOME. WE SHOULD MEET

HIM AS A BROTHER. TAKE HIM INTO HIS ORGANI-

ZATION, AND WITH HIS AID TURN AGAINST THE

SYSTEM WHICH GRINDS THEM BOTH.

LAST, BUT NOT LEAST, IS THE GROWING

REALIZATION OF THE BARBARITY AND THE

INADEQUACY OF THE DEFINITE SENTENCE.

THOSE WHO BELIEVE IN, AND EARNESTLY AIM AT,

A CHANGE ARE FAST COMING TO THE CONCLUSION

THAT MAN MUST BE GIVEN AN OPPORTUNITY TO

MAKE GOOD.

FIFTEEN, OR TWENTY YEARS' IMPRISONMENT BEFORE

HIM? THE HOPE OF LIBERTY AND OF OPPOR-

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21459

THE ONLY INCENTIVE TO LIFE,

ESPECIALLY THE PRISONER'S LIFE.

HAS SINNED SO LONG AGAINST HIM - IT OUGHT

AT LEAST TO LEAVE HIM THAT

Emma Goldman

"THOSE WHO WILL HOLD THE BALANCE BETWEEN

THE BENEFITS THUS ATTRIBUTED TO LAW AND PUNISH-

MENT AND THE DEGRADING EFFECT OF THE LATTER

ON HUMANITY; THOSE WHO WILL ESTIMATE THE

TORRENT OF DEPRAVITY POURED ABROAD IN HUMAN

SOCIETY BY THE INFORMER, FAVORED BY THE JUDGE

EVEN, AND PAID FOR IN GLINKING CASH BY

GOVERNMENTS, UNDER THE PRETEXT OF AIDING TO

UNMASK CRIME; THOSE WHO WILL GO WITHIN

PRISON WALLS AND THERE SEE WHAT HUMAN BEINGS

BECOME WHEN DEPRIVED OF LIBERTY, WHEN SUBJECTED

TO THE CARE OF BRUTAL KEEPERS, TO COARSE,

CRUEL WORDS, TO A THOUSAND STINGING,

PIERCING HUMILIATIONS, WILL AGREE WITH ME

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MAY THE CRUEL JUDGMENT OF PRISON AND
PUNISHMENT IS AN ASSASSINATION WHICH OUGHT TO
BE BROUGHT TO AN END."

AFTER EIGHTEEN MONTHS OF HORROR IN AN
ENGLISH PRISON, OSCAR WILDE GAVE TO THE WORLD
HIS GREAT MASTERPIECE, "THE BALLAD OF READING
GOAL":

THE VILEST DEEDS, LIKE POISON WEEDS,
BLOOM WELL IN PRISON AIR;
IT IS ONLY WHAT IS GOOD IN MAN
THAT WASTES AND WITHERS THERE.
PALE ANGUISH KEEPS THE HEAVY GATE,
AND THE WARDER IS DESPAIR.

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THIS NAME SHOULD BE FOR THE CAUSE OF
THEY ARE NOT OF THEM ONLY THEIR
CRIMES UNDER CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH ARE LARGELY
RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ACT. THERE ARE CIRCUM-
STANCES UNDER WHICH ALMOST ANY PERSON WOULD
COMMIT CRIME. FORTUNATELY FOR THE MOST
OF US, SUCH COMBINATIONS OF CIRCUMSTANCES DO
NOT OCCUR IN OUR LIVES.

millions

BUT THERE ARE THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE IN
WHOSE LIVES, POVERTY, DISTRESS, UNEMPLOYMENT,
HOPELESSNESS DO EXIST. AND THESE PERSONS
WHEN THEY COMMIT CRIME CAN HARDLY BE DIS-
TINGUISHED FROM THE RANK AND FILE OF THE
LAW-ABIDING EXCEPT BY THIS SINGLE FALL FROM
GRACE.

PERSONS WHO KNOW THEM IN PRIVATE AND
PUBLIC LIFE AND THOSE WHO DEAL WITH THEM IN

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PRISON KNOW THAT THEY ARE ORDINARY OR NORMAL

HUMAN BEINGS. FROM THESE WE MADE INTER-

CEPTIBLY INTO GROUPS IN WHICH THE INDUCING

CAUSE OF CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR IS SO SUBTLE AND

IN CONSPICUOUS THAT IT CAN BE DETECTED ONLY

BY THE MOST CAREFUL CLINICAL STUDY. THIS

DEVIATION FROM THE NORMAL MAY INDUCE CRIMINALITY

ONLY ONCE IN A CAREER. (THERE ARE OTHER

TROUBLED SOULS WHO ARE CONSTANTLY ON THE

VERGE OF CONFLICT WITH SOCIETY WHO MANAGE

LARGELY THROUGH THE AID OF GOOD LUCK TO

ESCAPE THE COMMISSION OF A CRIME.

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INTERESTING.

IT SEEMS EVIDENT THAT TO AN

THE INCREASED CRIMINALITY OF THE PERIOD

HEAT OF 85 DEGREES AND ABOVE."

Prof. Dextel

ATMOSPHERIC PRESSURE

THE SAME STUDY

REVEALED THE FACT THAT THE NUMBER OF ARRESTS

ROSE AS THE BAROMETER FELL. DEXTER INTER-

PRETED THIS AS HAVING NOTHING TO DO WITH THE

ACTUAL WEIGHT OF THE ATMOSPHERE BUT ATTRIBUTED

THE INCREASED CRIMINALITY TO THE INFLUENCE

OF LOW PRESSURE PERIODS PRECEDING STORMS,

WHICH AFFECT MANY PERSONS AND INDUCE BELLI-

GERENCY IN SOME. THE SEXES APPEARED TO BE

ABOUT EQUALLY AFFECTED IN THIS PARTICULAR.

HUMIDITY.

LOW HUMIDITY WAS FOUND TO

BE ACCOMPANIED BY EXCESSIVE ASSAULTS AND

HIGH HUMIDITY SEEMED TO EXERCISE A RESTRAINING

EFFECT.

"DAYS OF HIGH HUMIDITY ARE NOT

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HE OVERLAP WITH NOW, SOCIALLY VALUABLE HABITS

ONLY BY THE GREATEST EFFORT.

THERE WAS A CASE OF A WOMAN IN DETROIT

SENT UP FOR LIFE AS A HABITUAL CRIMINAL.

SHE MARRIED AT THE AGE OF 15. IS NOW 39

YEARS OF AGE AND HAS 12 CHILDREN. THIS

WOMAN EXPLAINED THAT IT IS ONLY DURING PREG-

NANCY THAT SHE IS SEIZED BY AN IRRESISTABLE

FORCE TO STEAL. CLEARLY, THIS IS A CASE

FOR A PSYCHIATRIST AND NOT A JUDGE. YET,

THIS WOMAN IS SENT UP FOR LIFE. WHO, THEN,

IS THE REAL CRIMINAL? THE WOMAN OR THE JUDGE?

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21452

CANDY FOR HIS FRIENDS WITH THE STOLEN MONEY.

DR. HEALY TRACES THE ORIGIN OF THE BOY'S

LATER FLIGHT TO "HIS DISCOMFITURE AND SHAME

AND FEELING OF INFERIORITY AT SO BREAKING

WITH FAMILY CONFIDENCES AND STANDARDS OF

HONESTY, HOWEVER INDEFINITE HIS APPRECIATION

OF SUCH THINGS MAY HAVE BEEN AT THAT EARLY AGE."

*must have been a so-called normal
person and a good person
in the case of Emma*

SUCH A CASE, AND MYRIAD COMMON EXPERIENCES,

PROVE THE PSYCHOLOGICAL FALSITY OF THE

INSPIRED DOCTRINE THAT HUMAN BEINGS CAN CHOOSE

FREELY AND AT ALL TIMES BETWEEN RIGHT AND

WRONG. (EARLY INFLUENCES AND THE ACCUMU-

LATION OF HABITUAL RESPONSES CANNOT BE IGNORED.

THEY ARE THE PREDOMINANT FACTORS IN ALL

CONDUCT. THE TRAGEDY IS THAT RECOGNITION

OF THE ORIGINS OF CRIMINALITY COMES LONG

AFTER THE FACT. DEEP IN THE NERVOUS SYSTEM,

ESTABLISHED HABITS SINK IN AN EVER-DEEPER

GROOVE. THEY ARE NEVER OBLITERATED, AND CAN

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21467
A PRISON WAS, AND MUST HAVE, A DEGRADING
EFFECT ON ITS INMATES. TAKE A MAN FROM THE
STREET, BROUGHT TO A GOAL. THE MOMENT HE ENTERS
THE HOUSE HE IS NO MORE A HUMAN BEING; HE
IS "NUMBER 30 AND 30." HE MUST HAVE NO
MORE WILL OF HIS OWN. THEY PUT HIM IN
A FOOL'S DRESS TO UNDERLINE HIS DEGRADATION.
THEY DEPRIVE HIM OF EVERY INTERCOURSE WITH
THOSE TOWARDS WHOM HE MAY HAVE AN ATTACHMENT,
AND THUS EXCLUDE THE ACTION OF THE ONLY
ELEMENT WHICH COULD HAVE A GOOD EFFECT UPON
HIM.

THEN HE IS PUT TO LABOR, BUT NOT TO A
LABOR THAT MIGHT HELP TO HIS MORAL IMPROVEMENT.
PRISON WORK IS MADE TO BE AN INSTRUMENT OF
DARK REVENGE. WHAT MUST THE PRISONER THINK
OF THE INTELLIGENCE OF THESE "PILLARS OF
SOCIETY" WHO DEFEND BY SUCH PUNISHMENTS TO

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A PRISONER WAS, AND MUST HAVE, A DEGRADING
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AND THUS EXCLUDE THE ACTION OF THE ONLY
ELEMENT WHICH COULD HAVE A GOOD EFFECT UPON
HIM.

THEN HE IS PUT TO LABOR, BUT NOT TO A
LABOR THAT MIGHT HELP TO HIS MORAL IMPROVEMENT.
PRISON WORK IS MADE TO BE AN INSTRUMENT OF
BANE'S REVENGE. WHAT MUST THE PRISONER THINK
OF THE INTELLIGENCE OF THESE "PILLARS OF
SOCIETY" WHO INTEND BY SUCH PUNISHMENTS TO

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ROUGH DRAFT for correction.

(Page 1)

SIMION KOLDOFSKY, the FRIEND.

I first met Koldofsky in Moscow in 1920, during the so-called military Communism. Life was cruelly hard and the struggle bitter....Russia, surrounded by four fronts, -- blockaded by all the European powers -- was not in the mood for sociability. In the face of hunger, epidemics and death, the life of everyone was grim and self-centered; no-one cared for the tragedy of the other.

My old pal, Alexander Berkman, and I, had been in Russia only a short time. We naturally felt the tragedy of the Revolution that was being played in the day-by-day struggle. We missed close comradeship and the fellowship that had been ours for many years, in the United States. It was then that Simion Koldofsky appeared on the scene; he had come to Russia as the representative of the Joint Board. He brought help and support for thousands of Jews who at that time were even more devoid of the means of subsistence than many of the Gentiles. Koldofsky worked day and night alleviating the hunger and the misery confronting him at every step. Yet he did not overlook the needs of individual people in the welter of the mass devastation. He came to us with generous feeling and willingness, thus bringing into our lives some of the warmth and companionship we had known in the past. He did more; he helped in a measure to save the health of Alexander Berkman.

My comrade became ill almost immediately after we landed in Russia. He developed ulcers of the stomach because of the black

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(Simion Koldofsky).

bread which he could not digest. It was necessary to find some kind of nourishment that would help to restore him to his former strong physical condition. It was our newly-found friend, Simion Koldofsky, who brought the relief. However, it was not only the material side of the assistance we received from our friend. It was more his kindness and his fellowship, which went a long way to keep up our morale in the first period of our experience in Russia.

It was some years before I met Simion Koldofsky again. It was at a Reception given me on my return to London in '32. I did not know that my good friend was among the people who had come to greet me. When he was called upon to speak, I at once visualised our small room in Moscow and the many interesting talks we had with (Koldofsky ?) as well as the hope and cheer he had always brought with him. I was deeply moved by his fine tribute to me and my work and by the same friendliness which had not changed during 12 years.

I was living under very trying conditions in London during a bitter winter in a room that had a temperature below zero, and with all sorts of difficulties which made it extremely hard to reach people interested in my work here. It was Simion Koldofsky and his lovely wife, Liza, who came to my rescue. They invited me to their house, as if I were flesh of their flesh and blood of their blood and they fairly lavished on me their friendship and their

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devotion. Both came like a ray of light from a dark sky. I had never felt acclimatized in England nor was I ever able to take root in this country. The struggle to be here was often beyond my power of endurance; but it was the devotion of my friends, Simion and Lisa) that raised my spirit many times when it was quite in the depths.

Since that time, our friendship has continued until this day without the least shadow. Always I found their home open to me, and always I returned to them as to my own.

November 1935, I again returned to England and again enjoyed the hospitality of the Koldofskys. It was during my stay there that Simion became so violently ill. Like all proletarians, he continued on his feet and at his task as a journalist until he collapsed. I felt then (as I have since) that if our friend had been in a position to give up his job, go to a Southern climate and take the necessary leisure to "invite his soul", he would now be a stronger and healthier man. But he is one of the many in our world, bound by economic necessity to work when his health is so poor. Fortunately, he is blessed with a partner in life who by her love and consecration has helped our friend over the gravest moments of his illness.

There are few people who retain their interest in others and their friendship, when they themselves are physically stricken. Most sick people are frightfully self-centered; the rest of the world and its tragedies and comedies cease to exist for them. They live in their own world, limited by their physical ailments and

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exclusive of the world at large.

Simion Koldofsky is among the few great exceptions. In all the months of my stay in Koldofsky's house, close to his sick-room, at the time when he suffered such agonies as would break the strongest will, Simion Koldofsky never ceased to be the same gracious host and friend; never permitted his own illness to exclude his concern and his interest in the desperate struggle that was going on in the outside world. For his own sake, it would be better if he quite retired from his activities in the social and Humanitarian world - but it would be very unlike Simion Koldofsky whose whole life has been dedicated to the masses whose hopes and aspirations he had always shared.

The workers were never more in need of such devoted spirits as Simion Koldofsky. Time on end, they have been neglected - often betrayed - by their so-called friends and leaders. It is therefore inspiring to know the few who remain staunch through all the years of disappointments, disillusionments and vicissitudes.

Let us rejoice, therefore, that Simion Koldofsky has never failed the workers, never failed the social struggle for human betterment, kept up whether by Jew or Gentile.

For myself, I greet Simion Koldofsky, the Friend, the Comrade, ever ready to encourage and sustain one at all times. I wish him renewed strength and complete recovery. We need you, Simion Koldofsky. We need your continued work, we need you as our Friend!

-----oOo-----

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[Durruti is dead, yet living. In French] Durruti n'est pas mort! / Emma Goldman. — pp. 27-29 ; 29 cm. In Buenaventura Durruti. — Barcelona : C.N.T.-F.A.I., 1936. Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

*Services Officiels de Propagande de la
CNT-FAI, Barcelone, 1936 (~~1937~~)*

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

*Confederación nacional del
"trabajo" (CNT)*



*Buenaventura
Durruti*

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Durruti n'est pas mort!

Durruti, que je vis il y a un mois pour la dernière fois, est mort en luttant dans les rues de Madrid.

Je connus ce grand batailleur du mouvement anarchiste et révolutionnaire en Espagne par ce que j'avais lu de lui.

Lorsque j'arrivai à Barcelone, j'entendis beaucoup d'anecdotes au sujet de Durruti et de sa colonne. Ce qui fit que j'eus le grand désir d'aller au front d'Aragon, front où était l'esprit dirigeant des vaillantes milices qui luttèrent contre le fascisme.

A la tombée de la nuit, j'arrivai à l'Etat-Major de Durruti, complètement épuisée par le long voyage effectué en voiture par un chemin accidenté. Quelques minutes avec Durruti me servirent de grand réconfort, de rafraîchissement et d'encouragement. Homme muscle, comme ciselé dans la pierre à coups de marteau, Durruti représentait nettement la figure la plus dominante parmi les anarchistes que j'avais rencontrés depuis mon arrivée en Espagne. Son énorme énergie m'impressionna, comme cela paraissait produire le même effet sur chacun de ceux qui l'approchaient.

Je trouvai Durruti dans une véritable activité de ruche. Des hommes allaient et venaient, le téléphone appelait constamment Durruti et, en même temps, ne s'interrompait pas un formidable brouhaha que produisaient les ouvriers occupés à construire une charpente en bois pour son Etat-Major.

A travers cette activité bruyante et continue, Durruti restait serein et patient. Il me reçut comme si toute sa vie il m'avait connue. L'entrevue cordiale et chaleureuse de cet homme, résolu à une lutte à vie ou à mort contre le fascisme, était pour moi quelque chose d'inespéré.

J'avais beaucoup entendu parler de la forte personnalité et du prestige de Durruti dans la colonne qui portait son nom. J'eus la curiosité de savoir par quels moyens, d'autant plus que ce n'était pas grâce aux militaires, qu'il était arrivé à concentrer 10.000 volontaires sans aucune expérience ni aucun entraînement. Durruti parut surpris de ce que moi, vieille militante anarchiste, je lui fis une telle demande.

J'ai été anarchiste toute ma vie, me répondit-il, et j'espère continuer de l'être. C'est pourquoi je considérerais qu'il me serait très désagréable de me convertir en général et de commander mes hommes avec la discipline stupide à esprit militaire. Ils sont venus à moi par leur propre volonté, disposés à donner leur vie pour notre lutte antifasciste. Je crois, comme je l'ai toujours cru, en la liberté. La liberté comprise dans le sens de la responsabilité. Je considère la discipline indispensable, mais celle-ci doit

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être auto-discipline, mue par un idéal commun et un fort sentiment de camaraderie. Il avait capté la confiance et le sentiment de ses hommes, parce qu'il ne s'était jamais considéré supérieur à eux. Il était l'un d'entre eux. Il mangeait, dormait comme eux. Souvent il renouçait à sa part, au bénéfice d'un malade ou d'un faible plus nécessitenx que lui. Il partageait le danger avec eux dans toutes les batailles. Ceci n'était que l'un des secrets du succès de Durruti avec sa colonne. Ses hommes l'adoraient. Non seulement ils obéissaient à tous ses ordres, mais ils étaient toujours disposés à le suivre dans les actions les plus dangereuses pour conquérir les positions du fascisme.

J'arrivai la veille d'une attaque que Durruti avait préparée pour le jour suivant. A l'heure indiquée, Durruti, comme le reste de ses miliciens, avec le Mauser pendu à l'épaule, ouvrait la marche. Ensemble il fit rebrousser 4 Km. de chemin à l'ennemi. Il réussit aussi à prendre un nombre considérable d'armements que l'ennemi abandonna dans sa fuite.

L'exemple de la simple égalité morale n'était sans doute pas l'unique explication de l'influence de Durruti. Il y en avait une autre: sa grande capacité pour faire entendre aux miliciens la profonde signification de la guerre antifasciste. La signification qui avait dominé son existence et qu'il avait enseignée au plus pauvre et au plus incapable.

Durruti me parla des difficiles problèmes que lui posaient ses hommes quand ils lui demandaient une permission au moment où ils étaient le plus nécessaires au front. Il est évident qu'ils connaissaient leur dirigeant; qu'ils connaissaient sa décision, sa volonté de fer. Mais, aussi, ils connaissaient la sympathie et la gentillesse cachées dans son sein. Comment résister quand les hommes lui parlaient de maladies et de souffrances dans leur foyer, de leur père, de leur épouse, de leurs enfants.

* * *

Durruti fut poursuivi comme une bête féroce dans tous les pays avant les journées glorieuses de juillet 1936. Il était continuellement emprisonné comme un criminel. Il fut même condamné à mort. Lui, l'anarchiste, répudié, haï par la trinité sinistre, la Bourgeoisie, l'Etat et l'Eglise, ce vagabond sans foyer, était incapable de posséder les sentiments dont l'odieux capitalisme le chargeait, en donnant des preuves de leur méconnaissance de Durruti. Combien peu ils comprenaient son coeur, toujours prêt à verser l'amour! Jamais il ne sut rester indifférent aux besoins de ses compagnons. Maintenant, il était entré dans une lutte désespérée contre le fascisme pour la défense de la Révolution. Il était nécessaire que chacun occupe son poste. A mon point de vue il avait vraiment une occupation difficile. Il écoutait patiemment les histoires de douleur, cherchait leurs causes, et pro-

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posait les remèdes dans tous les cas où un mal moral ou physique s'emparait du malheureux. Excès de travail, nourriture insuffisante, manque d'air pur, et défaut de la joie de vivre.

«Tu ne vois pas, camarade, que la guerre que toi, moi, et nous autres tous nous soutenons c'est pour sauver la Révolution, et que la Révolution se fait pour mettre fin aux misères et aux souffrances des hommes? Nous devons battre notre ennemi fasciste. Nous devons gagner la guerre. Tu es une part essentielle de celle-ci. Tu ne le vois pas, camarade?» Les camarades de Durruti, sans que généralement ils s'aperçoivent de cela, restaient.

Quelquefois, un camarade se refusait à entendre ces raisons. Il insistait pour abandonner le front. «Très bien, lui disait Durruti, mais tu t'en iras à pied, et quand tu arriveras à ton village tout le monde saura que tu as manqué de courage, que tu as déserté l'accomplissement du devoir que toi-même tu t'étais imposé.» Ces paroles produisaient de magnifiques résultats. L'homme demandait à rester. Aucune sévérité militaire, aucune imposition, aucun châtiment disciplinaire pour soutenir la colonne de Durruti au front. Il n'y avait que la grande énergie de l'homme qui les poussait et les faisait sentir à l'unisson avec lui.

* * *

Un grand homme, l'anarchiste Durruti. Un prédestiné pour diriger, pour enseigner. Un affable et cordial camarade. Tout en un. Et maintenant Durruti est mort. Son cœur ne soupire plus. Son corps imposant s'est abattu comme un arbre géant. Pourtant, Durruti n'est pas mort. Les centaines de milliers qui, le dimanche 22 novembre 1936, rendirent leur dernier hommage à Durruti, en témoignent.

Non, Durruti n'est pas mort. Le feu de son esprit ardent illumina tous ceux qui le connurent et l'aimèrent. Jamais il ne s'éteindra. Déjà les masses levèrent la torche qui tomba des mains de Durruti. Triomphalement elles sont en train de la porter sur le sentier que Durruti illumina pour de nombreuses années. Le sentier qui conduit au sommet de l'idéal de Durruti. Cet idéal, c'est l'anarchisme — la grande passion de la vie de Durruti — auquel il se consacra en entier. Il fut fidèle jusqu'à son dernier soupir! Non, Durruti n'est pas mort!

EMMA GOLDMANN

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The dead hero

DURRUTI IS DEAD, YET LIVING

Durruti, whom I saw but a month ago, lost his life in the street-battles of Madrid.

My previous knowledge of this stormy petrel of the Anarchist and revolutionary movement in Spain was merely from reading about him. On my arrival in Barcelona I learned many fascinating stories of Durruti and his column. They made me eager to go to the Aragon front, where he was the leading spirit of the brave and valiant militias, fighting against fascism.

I arrived at Durruti's headquarters towards evening, completely exhausted from the long drive over a rough road. A few moments with Durruti was like a strong tonic, refreshing and invigorating. Powerful of body as if hewn from the rocks of Montserrat, Durruti easily represented the most dominating figure among the Anarchists I had met since my

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arrival in Spain. His terrific energy electrified me as it seemed to effect everyone who came within its radius.

I found Durruti in a veritable beehive of activity. Men came and went, the telephone was constantly calling for Durruti. In addition was the deafening hammering of workers who were constructing a wooden shed for Durruti's staff. Through all the din and constant call on his time Durruti remained serene and patient. He received me as if he had known me all his life. The graciousness and warmth from a man engaged in a life and death struggle against fascism was something I had hardly expected.

I had heard much about Durruti's mastery over the column that went by his name. I was curious to learn by what means other than military drive he had succeeded in welding together 10,000 volunteers without previous military training and experience of any sort. Durruti seemed surprised that I, an old Anarchist should even ask such a question.

"I have been an Anarchist all my life", he replied, "I hope I have remained one. I should consider it very sad indeed, had I to turn into a general and rule the men with a military rod. They have come to me voluntarily, they are ready to stake their lives in our antifascist fight. I believe, as I always have, in freedom. The freedom which rests on the



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sense of responsibility. I consider discipline indispensable, but it must be inner discipline, motivated by a common purpose and a strong feeling of comradeship". He had gained the confidence of the men and their affection because he had never played the part of a superior. He was one of them. He ate and slept as simply as they did. Often even denying himself his own portion for one weak or sick, and needing more than he. And he shared their danger in every battle. That was no doubt the secret of Durruti's success with his column. The men adored him. They not only carried out all his instructions, they were ready to follow him in the most perilous venture to repulse the fascist position.

I had arrived on the eve of an attack Durruti had prepared for the following morning. At daybreak Durruti, like the rest of the militia with his rifle over his shoulder, led the way. Together with them he drove the enemy back four kilometers, and he also succeeded in capturing a considerable amount of arms the enemies had left behind in their flight.

The moral example of simple equality was by no means the only explanation of Durruti's influence. There was another, his capacity to make the militiamen realize the deeper meaning of the antifascist war - the meaning that had dominated his

Funeral
procession



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own life and that he had learned to articulate to the poorest and most undeveloped of the poor.

Durruti told me of his approach to the difficult problems of the men who come for leave of absence at moments when they were most needed at the front. The men evidently knew their leader - they knew his decisiveness - his iron will. But also they knew the sympathy and gentleness hidden behind his austere exterior. How could he resist when the men told him of illness at home - parents, wife or child?

Durruti hounded before the glorious days of July 1936, like a wild beast from country to country. Imprisoned time on end as a criminal. Even condemned to death. He, the hated Anarchist, hated by the sinister trinity, the bourgeoisie, the state and the church. This homeless vagabond incapable of feeling as the whole capitalistic *puck* proclaimed. How little they knew Durruti. How little they understood his loving heart. He had never remained indifferent to the needs of his fellows. Now however, he was engaged in a desperate struggle with fascism in the defense of the Revolution, and every man was needed at his place. Verily a difficult situation to meet. But Durruti's ingeniousness conquered all difficulties. He listened patiently to the story of woe and then held forth on the cause of illness among the poor. Overwork, malnutrition, lack of air, lack of joy in life.

"Don't you see comrade, the war you and I are waging is to safeguard our Revolution and the Revolution is to do away with the misery and suffering of the poor. We must conquer our fascist enemy. We must win the war. You are an essential part of it. Don't you see, comrade?" Durruti's comrades did see, they usually remained.

Sometimes one would prove abdurate, and insist on leaving the front. "All right", Durruti tells him, "but you will go on foot, and by the time you reach your village, everybody will know that your courage had failed you, that you have run away, that you have shirked your self-imposed task". That worked like magic. The man pleads to remain. No military brow-beating, no coercion, no disciplinary punishment to hold the Durruti column at the front. Only the volcanic energy of the man carries everyone along and makes them feel as one with him.

A great man this Anarchist Durruti, a born leader and teacher of men, thoughtful and tender comrade all in one. And now Durruti is dead. His great heart beats no more. His powerful body felled down like a giant tree. And yet, and yet - Durruti is not dead. The hundreds of thousands that turned out Sunday, November 22nd, 1936, to pay Durruti their last tribute have testified to that.

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No, Durruti is not dead. The fires of his flaming spirit lighted in all who knew and loved him, can never be extinguished. Already the masses have lifted high the torch that fell from Durruti's hand. Triumphant they are carrying it before them on the path Durruti had blazoned for many years. The path that leads to the highest summit of Durruti's ideal. This ideal was Anarchism - the grand passion of Durruti's life. He had served it utterly. He remained faithful to it until his last breath.

If proof were needed of Durruti's tenderness his concern in my safety gave it to me. There was no place to house me for the night at the General-Staff quarters. And the nearest village was Pina. But it had been repeatedly bombarded by the fascists. Durruti was loathe to send me there. I insisted it was alright. One dies but once. I could see the pride in his face that his old comrade had no fear. He let me go under strong guard.

I was grateful to him because it gave me a rare chance to meet many of the comrades in arms of Durruti and also to speak with the people of the village. The spirit of these much-tried victims of fascism was most impressive.

The enemy was only a short distance from Pina on the other side of a creek. But there was no fear or weakness among the people. Heroically they fought on. "Rather dead, than fascist rule", they told me. "We stand and fall with Durruti in the antifascist fight to the last man".

In Pina I discovered a child of eight years old, an orphan who had already been harnessed to daily toil with a fascist family. Her tiny hands were red and swollen. Her eyes, full of horror from the dreadful shocks she had already suffered at the hands of Franco's hirelings. The people of Pina are pitifully poor. Yet everyone gave this ill-treated child care and love she had never known before.

The European Press has from the very beginning of the antifascist war competed with each other in calumny and vilification of the Spanish defenders of liberty. Not a day during the last four months but what these satraps of European fascism did not write the most sensational reports of atrocities committed by the revolutionary forces. Every day the readers of these yellow sheets were fed on the riots and disorders in Barcelona and other towns and villages, free from the fascist invasion.

Having travelled over the whole of Catalonia, Aragon and the Levante, having visited every city and village on the way, I can testify that there is not one word of truth in any of the bloodcurdling accounts I had read in some of the British and Continental press.

The Emma Goldman Papers

Durruti Is Dead, Yet Living / Emma Goldman. — pp. 13-18 ; 29 cm. *In* Buenaventura Durruti. — Barcelona : C.N.T.-F.A.I., 1936.

Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

A recent example of the utter unscrupulous news-fabrication was furnished by some of the papers in regard to the death of the Anarchist and heroic leader of the antifascist struggle, Buenaventura Durruti.

According to this perfectly absurd account, Durruti's death is supposed to have called forth violent dissension and outbreaks in Barcelona among the comrades of the dead revolutionary hero Durruti.

Whoever it was who wrote this preposterous invention he could not have been in Barcelona. Much less know the place of Buenaventura Durruti in the hearts of the members of the CNT and FAI. Indeed, in the hearts and estimation of all regardless of their divergence with Durruti's political and social ideas.

In point of truth, there never was such complete oneness in the ranks of the popular front in Catalonia, as from the moment when the news of Durruti's death became known until the last when he was laid to rest.

Every party of every political tendency fighting Spanish fascism turned out en masse to pay loving tribute to Buenaventura Durruti. But not only the direct comrades of Durruti, numbering hundreds of thousands and all the allies in the antifascist struggle, the largest part of the population of Barcelona represented an incessant stream of humanity. All had come to participate in the long and exhausting funeral procession. Never before had Barcelona witnessed such a human sea whose silent grief rose and fell in complete unison.

As to the comrades of Durruti - comrades closely knit by their ideal and the comrades of the gallant column he had created. Their admiration, their love, their devotion and respect left no place for discord and dissension. They were as one in their grief and in their determination to continue the battle against fascism and for the realization of the Revolution for which Durruti had lived, fought and had staked his all until his last breath.

No, Durruti is not dead! He is more alive than living. His glorious example will now be emulated by all the Catalan workers and peasants, by all the oppressed and disinherited. The memory of Durruti's courage and fortitude will spurn them on to great deeds until fascism has been slain. Then the real work will begin - the work on the new social structure of human value, justice and freedom.

No, no! Durruti is not dead! He lives in us for ever and ever.

EMMA GOLDMAN

The Emma Goldman Papers

Sanctions and the Working Class / Emma Goldman. — pp. 10-11 ; 29 cm. In Vanguard [New York]. — Vol. 2 ; no. 6 (Jan.-Feb., 1936).

Obtained from Shields Library, the University of California, Davis. Institutional Location: Department of Special Collections.

had plenty of nerve to drive up in front of the house and talk to me in a taxi cab, let alone coming into the house.' MacNevin said 'Ed got a great kick out of it when I told him how the testimony of that big honest cattleman went over with the Jury,' I told Ed when Oxman finished testifying I turned and said to all of the jurors within hearing in the Jury box, 'who could doubt the word of that big honest cattleman and they all nodded their heads in approval.'"

Denton, said to MacNevin, "I will not be a party to this outrageous and unlawful thing with knowledge of it in my possession, to which MacNevin retorted, "everything is all fixed, if anyone 'squawks,' they will be declared insane and sent to Napa."

(Reprinted from the "INDUSTRIAL WORKER")

Sanctions and The Working Class

By EMMA GOLDMAN

(EDITORS NOTE:—The following is a small portion of a letter written to us by comrade Goldman dealing with a variety of matters. She says, among other things, "I have received the October-November issue (of VANGUARD) and I consider it a vast improvement on the previous issues though they were by no means bad—If only you can all hold out VANGUARD ought to grow into an important voice of our ideas." Comrade Goldman writes that she was unable to discuss, at any length, the situation in England, because she had not been there very long and therefore could not speak authoritatively on this subject. Desiring to convey more than mere surface impressions, she promises to contribute to "Vanguard" in the very near future on the aforementioned subject. We are sure that our readers will more than welcome her highly illuminating writings.)

Once again the Anarchist position in regard to the incompetency of all government has been proven correct. Could any non-governmental group of people have made such a mess as the Laval-Hoare combine? Mr. Baldwin is like Wilson. He too promised his electors to "keep them out of war" only to plunge them to the very brink of it, soon to kick them over altogether. What is a new world slaughter if British interests in Abyssinia are at stake? Human lives were never cheaper and Colonial possessions more than ever valuable. Indeed so valuable that the British Government can well afford to make a scapegoat of a foreign minister or two, if need be. On the other hand is France terrorized by the Italian bully? Why should not the Premier be ready to satisfy his megalomania for expansion and power? Politicians and statesmen never learn anything. Else the Lavals, the Hoares and the Baldwins, and the masters whom they serve would not have taken it for granted that they can fool the masses as easily as their pre-war confreres did. Not that it will make the post-war gang in government seats wiser now that the people in England have so unanimously forced the Baldwins and Hoares to admit their criminal blunder in regard to the Italo-Abyssinian "peace" offers. But it is none the less encouraging to find the masses up in arms against the attempted gangsters deal.

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For myself, I consider the whole business of sanctions a fake devised largely by this country to safeguard its own Imperialist designs. Shaw spoke wisely when he said that the English first find a principle and then nail it to the mast of ships heavily laden with whiskey and ammunition to make the savage heathens accept that principle. A fat lot England cares for the Abyssinians. It does care a great deal though to safeguard Fascism for Mussolini. It is therefore the height of stupidity to believe that Great Britain or any other strong government has any intention of enforcing sanctions. Yet the Labour Party in this country and the Communists have fallen for the bait, instead of calling upon the workers to declare an international boycott against Mussolini. That, alone, would spoil that madman's campaign and inspire the Italian masses to get rid of him and his black regime. The British transport workers have proven the force of such a stand when they refused to transport arms for the interventionists in Russia. And I am certain the same could have been achieved and more, had the British Labour Party and the French Syndicalists remained true to their claims.

As to the Communists, they must abide by Moscow's decision. And Moscow now prefers co-operation with the great powers to any support it might get from international labour. Such is the bitter irony of the Russian Revolution guillotined by "our great our wonderful our precious leader and teacher, Stalin".

London, December 24, 1935.

The Transitional Period

(Concluded)

As it was pointed out in the previous issue of "Vanguard", the realization of libertarian communism is not a matter of instantaneous social change. Great as the creative powers of the revolution might be, they cannot go beyond laying the foundation of the framework of a new society. The building up and completion of such a framework belongs already to the post-revolutionary epoch, the period of transition necessary for the purposes of reeducating the young generation, liquidating the coercive functions within society and integrating agriculture and industry into higher structural units.

This, however, is by no means equivalent to the Marxist idea of dictatorship of the proletariat. The idea of a transitional period demands, first of all, a consistent application to the entire field of revolutionized social relationships, while the Marxist scheme exempts from such application the all important sphere of political life. For it is one thing to admit the gradual nature of the process of eradication of authoritarian forms from the post-revolutionary social order, and quite another to pursue the policy of utmost strengthening such authoritarian forms in the utopian hope of their automatic dissolution in a new economic order. To consider the extreme authoritarian forms of political life implied in the Marxist scheme of dictatorship of the proletariat as transitional links between the rough political framework produced by the revolution and the ultimate stage of a non-authoritarian society, is to misconstrue entirely the idea of the transitional period.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] "The Revolt of Youth" / Emma Goldman. — 31 cm. In The Southend Times [London]. — (Jan. 22, 1936).

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

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Changes In the
Year
Times Jun 22
England

Contributions

for a further twelve months after the end of the free insurance period:—

If they had previously been continuously insured as employed contributors for at least four years and paid 100 contributions.

Under the old rules, if a voluntary contributor became insurably employed, and did not register in that employment 104 weeks, he could not legally re-enter voluntary insurance.

The new Act alters that. A former voluntary contributor can revert to voluntary insurance after a period of insurable employment regardless of the time the insurable employment lasted.

And Deposit Contributors

The free and extended insurance periods apply to deposit contributors as well as to members of societies.

And under the new Act they will have rights to medical benefit after the age of sixty-five for which hitherto they have not been eligible.

(Continued from Column 6).

is in the ranks of a Mussolini, of a Hitler, is less sincere than those who are in left wing movements. I know that it is true that in the ranks of Fascism there are thousands there purely for a career, but it would be wrong also to shut our eyes to the fact that there are careerists on the left wing, those who wave the flag and say great sounding things. But revolutions do not mean a circus performance. Revolutions mean and demand preparation, a mental, social and ethical preparation of every human being who wants to fit himself for great fundamental change.

"It is not enough to pull down; it is necessary to know how to build and it is necessary to know what to put in place of what you have pulled down."

"I welcome the rebellion of youth. To-day it is reaping the benefit of what great men of the past have done. Certain ideas have been accepted whether the ruling classes have liked it or no. In my young days it was considered the most dreadful thing to be a socialist and to be a communist was the last word.

"The Best Career"

"Since I have been in England I have come to the conclusion that the best career anyone can make is to get into the House of Commons, for sooner or later you will get a knighthood and you will be accepted by the Tories, the lords and ladies and by royalty. It is quite respectable to be a socialist these days; in fact it is nearly as respectable to be a Communist. I hope it will never be respectable to be an Anarchist because I shall have to cease to be an anarchist. (Laughter)."

"Every generation contributes to the changes going on in our nature and social fabric. In its own way this revolt is putting a new stone to the structure, and I believe that the only way that we of the older generation can still be of service to humanity and to the working class, is to make common cause with the young generation wherever it really has revolutionary spirit and tendency."

A textile made entirely from metal which glistens with rainbow colours will be shown at the British Industries Fair next month.

"THE REVOLT OF YOUTH"

EMMA GOLDMAN AT
SOUTHEND

REVOLUTION NOT A CIRCUS PERFORMANCE

"Red" Emma, American anarchist of international reputation, spoke at Southend on Sunday. A quiet woman of 70 years of age is this Miss Emma Goldman, who was for 16 years banned from her native U.S.A., and has spent her life travelling all over the world preaching her philosophy of individual autonomy and the abolition of all man-made forms of organised government.

Her visit to Southend was to address a League of Youth meeting in the Labour Hall, over which Mr. Sidney Warr, chairman of the Southend Labour Party presided. Her subject was "The Revolt of Youth."

"Red" Emma's own life has been one of a struggle and revolt against the existing form from its early days, and hard as many of her experiences may have been, she has retained the youthful vigour that marks her whole personality and composure. A buoyancy of spirit was reflected in her remark that she had been happiest in prison. There she had had the time to read and write and had not to pay any rent.

She said that the revolt of youth was as old as humanity itself. In every generation and in every period youth had gone through, what the great poet Goethe had said was the "period of stress and storm."

The Young Generation

"The young generation of to-day have seen all the old conceptions all the old conventions exposed as shams. They know now how all those people who shouted themselves hoarse for the war, were in a conspiracy in a league to sacrifice them."

Miss Goldman declared that when those that were left of the young generation returned from the war there were only a few alternatives before them, haunted as they were by the ghastly horrors in which they had faced death a hundred times. Either they could throw themselves into a wild drunken orgy, commit suicide, or go into a mad-house."

To-day they were again confronted with a new generation, one that had as yet experienced nothing and yet which had enough feeling and initiative to rebel against the conventions. They had not experienced a war, but they had had what was called a crisis—a complete collapse of the boasted grandeur of capitalism, a complete collapse of their economic machinery, which was said to be as strong and eternal as the very stars in heaven.

"Now this young generation, faced with six or seven years of crisis, is asking, 'What is the good of striving for a good education when you cannot get a position, when working men are dependant on the dole or lined up at the soup kitchens?' Youth realises that all civilisation and that so-called economical and moral and political values have lost their importance. There is one thing that the young generation is beginning to realise, more or less, that all the old slogans have lost their value and weight. In their desperation they strike out right and left to find something that will give them direction, something for which to work and which to rebel.

Careerists

"It would be a grievous mistake to think that the young generation that (Continued in previous column)

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IS THE THEATRE IN EUROPE A WALKING CORPSE?

Miss Emma Goldman's Lecture to Coventry
Repertory Circle

This was the summing-up of Miss Emma Goldman, who has travelled in many countries to make a study of the drama, and who lectured to Coventry Repertory Circle, last night, on "The Russian Theatre."

Miss Goldman qualified her statement, however, by mentioning the inspiration she had received through the repertory theatres in England, and by the amateur dramatic groups she had come across.

"GREATEST EDUCATIONAL
FACTOR"

"The very fact that there are, in England, three thousand amateur dramatic societies, is, in itself, a great reason for rejoicing," she added. "Because I am of Russian birth, I consider the theatre is the most essential institution in any society. It is the greatest educational factor, and can be made a much greater force than it is to-day. The two countries which are daring to experiment with the theatre to-day are Russia and the United States. I think Russia excels in its reckless daring, except that, under the censorship, the theatre or the creative artist cannot fully express themselves, but the spirit of adventure among them speaks for a great dramatic future."

In America, also, it is not the so-called legitimate stage which amounts to very much, because they are money-making institutions, but the small theatres all over the country, and the small theatre groups such as exist in New York are showing a new departure from the old conception of the theatre."

GERMANY—ONCE THE CRALE OF
MODERN DRAMA

Speaking of Germany, Miss Goldman said it was once the cradle of modern drama, but owing to the conditions existing in the country, she had found the theatre was very much in a decline, and since Hitler's accession to power, nothing worth while had been produced because most of the great creative artists of Germany were refugees.

"Many Russians who live abroad are dissatisfied because so far nothing very great has come out of Russia in the way of creative art," continued Miss Goldman. "I cannot share their pessimism. Knowing the Russian people, their resources and the tremendous innate talent they possess, and that they have not been freed, I am certain they will again rise and give to the world great works. With a freedom from external and internal shackles it is hard to believe that they will not."

"I believe the time is not far off when they will see to the world some real brotherhood. It is not far to that brotherhood of man, of ship and country, a great many millions have

come to the understanding that man does not live by bread alone, and that while it may be necessary to industrialise a vast country like Russia, there is a longing for beauty and poetry and to rise above reality to the summit of dreams and phantasy."

AMATEUR THEATRE IN RUSSIA

Miss Goldman described the origin of the amateur theatre in Russia as being due to the two daughters of Czar Alexis who, in spite of the opposition of the orthodox Muscovites and the still more orthodox Russian Church, established an amateur theatre at Court and gave all kinds of plays. Later Peter the Great imported a company of players from Danzig and established the first State theatre.

There were two interesting features about the Russian theatre and drama. Up to the last moment of pre-revolutionary Russia and even in the present day the theatre was regarded as the pulpit and the dramatist the lay preacher to present life in all its heights and depths, and every dramatist was keenly interested in advancing and enhancing the progress of the theatre.

It was thought outside Russia that the masses, being illiterate, they knew nothing of the theatre and still less of creative drama. That was only a half-truth. They knew nothing of the theatre in the great cities, but the theatre was taken to the peasants and the members of travelling companies nowhere felt such inspiration as when playing in barns and other buildings in remote villages before the peasants. Their audience was composed of the very elements of life, they were still free and unhampered, and were not artificial, and therefore became part of the play.

THE COUNTRY FAIR

That was merely a continuation of the ancient and primitive institution known as the country fair, which the Russian people made a natural stage for their folk lore, songs, legends, and phantasies, and improvised extraordinarily interesting plays. To this day every Russian was a born mimic because of the Slavonic heights and depths in his moods and reactions.

Mis Gohman dealt in an interesting way with four phases of the development of the Russian theatre and drama, and the difficulties they had to face under the Soviet administration, and mentioned that there was a greater realization that bio-mechanics would not be enough to satisfy the craving for art and dramatic expression on the part of the Russian people.

The chair was occupied by Mr. F. H. Harold, Director of Education for Coventry, and thanks were expressed to Mrs. Goldbach by Mr. A. C. Redman, who quoted St. John Epiphanius in his comments.

"In this war of culture, culture is the first enemy; and in no sphere is that more obvious than in the theatre."

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Stormy Petrel of Two Continents / Emma Goldman. — 19 cm. In Reynolds [London]. — (April 5, 1936).

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STORMY PETREL OF TWO CONTINENTS

Her Ideal Is Still Real She Says

"Reynolds" Correspondent

"HERE is 'Red Emma'! She puts a kick into things. Now, Emma, do your stuff!"

This is how the chairwoman introduced Emma Goldman, world-famous orator and Anarchist, who has just given her last lecture in London before hastening away to Nice.

"Red Emma" certainly puts a kick into things, probably because her life has embraced more kicks than halfpence.

"I've been reading 'Reynolds' for years," she told me, "and I'd love to come back to England, despite its murderous climate! for I have many friends in England."

"No!" she said, in answer to my question, "there is no freedom in Europe. Even in England there is very much less freedom than before the war."

"Red Emma," who was one of the early organisers of the Co-operative Movement in the United States, where she helped to establish Co-operative shops at New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore — chiefly among the Jewish element—now has difficulty in earning a modest living.

"I am up against two difficulties in England," she said. "I am less well known here than in America, and public lectures are not such an institution here as in the United States."

Still, she has lectured here on literature and drama,



EMMA GOLDMAN

Her "farewell" lecture at Conway Hall was a truly astonishing display of oratory for a woman of 65.

Racy, witty, and outspoken, Emma described "outstanding episodes" of her exciting life.

In childhood she hated the brutality of military service, the corruption of politics, and "the doctrine that a Jewish girl must not fall in love with a Gentile boy or a Gentile Girl with a Jewish boy."

"I said," she declared, "that nobody would stop me if ever I fell in love—and nobody ever did!"

Her teacher predicted that Emma would become a menace to society and end on the gallows. "My neck was not made for a pearl necklace, but for a rope," she commented, "but the rope has not come my way yet."

"Red Emma" has been "a rebel all the time," and since she accepted Anarchism as a working philosophy her battles with "Law and Authority" have been many.

"I have no regrets," "Red Emma" says. "The ideal I work for will always be real to me."

"Reynolds"
Sunday 5th April 1936

The Emma Goldman Papers

May and December / [Emma Goldman]. — [1936?, May? draft]. — 2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.
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MAY AND DECEMBER

The month of May sees the reawakening of nature, and December stands for decline and death. The First of May is also significant of the reawakening of Labor, and it has become the ~~custom~~ custom of radicals to sing peans of the revolutionary spirit and strength of the working class being demonstrated on the First of May.

But I think it is time for the radicals and revolutionists to break with this tradition, as they have broken with many other old and outlived traditions. For indeed the First of May and the alleged "demonstration of Labor's strength" has become a tradition, a veritable religious, mystical tradition, and as such false and dangerous.

It is high time to look life and reality in the face and not be afraid to see the situation AS IT IS. As long as we fool ourselves with mere wishes and hopes, the workers will remain the slaves that they are. It is time to do away with the romanticism of the First of May and all other similar pious wishes, and begin to be realists. Only by facing the actual truth will we be able to accomplish something.

And the actual truth is that there is no sign of Labor's awakening in May, either on the First of May or on any other day of May. It looks more like the December of Labor, a condition of inactivity, stupor, almost of death. Take the last First of May, for instance. Where was Labor's alleged revolutionary consciousness and strength? The powers that be needed only to issue a simple order, "no demonstrations allowed -- verboten", and that mighty giant, Labor, kept quiet and submitted without a protest. Of course, here and there there were some few attempts to disobey and demonstrate, but they were insignificant; and so far as Labor as a whole is concerned, it behaved like a fearful, timid little child that is told to behave in sight of ~~the~~ papa's leather belt.

Of course, this cowardice and submissiveness of Labor can be easily blamed on the reactionary labor leaders and labor politicians who have solved the social problem for THEMSELVES by holding down good jobs. THEY don't want any trouble with the powers that be or with the police. Why should they? They are satisfied with things as they are, and they are interested in keeping the workers quiet and obedient.

But this obedience of the workers to their labor misleaders only proves that they are no better than children obedient to the schoolmaster. They obey their union officials and political leaders, and that is the very reason why they are also so obedient to their economic and political masters.

It is time to stop praising the obedient worker for his wonderful revolutionary May day spirit and strength. It is time to tell him frankly that he is a coward for submitting, and that he is a stupid slave who is responsible for his own misery and hunger. It is not the labor politician, nor the policeman nor the capitalist who are responsible; it is the workers themselves. For they COULD stop being obedient if they wanted to, and there would be no power on earth to keep them in obedience if they

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May and December / [Emma Goldman]. — [1936?, May? draft]. — 2 p. ; 27 × 21 cm.
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only had the sense and the courage to do it.

Take Spain, for instance, to use a very recent example. When the people finally woke up and decided they had enough of the "king and dictatorship, all the police and military forces of Spain could not save the King's throne. The people had their way, just as the people ALWAYS have their way when they really are determined and know what they want.

This has been proven by all history. Whenever the people were really determined to achieve something, the powers that be became powerless and the people won every time. Sometimes they won and then lost again, because they did not know how to keep what they had won. As in Russia, for instance. They had won a great victory: they had upset the throne of the Romanovs that had ruled them with an iron hand for centuries; they won liberty and they drove out the land monopolists and took charge of the fields and factories. But they still placed their faith in leaders, in political parties, and soon of course these leaders took advantage of the opportunity and themselves became the rulers, no better than the former ^{tsars} ~~tsars~~.

It all proves that the masses need but want a thing hard enough to be able to accomplish it. And they need to know clearly just what they want.

Now, what is it that the masses want now, at this very moment? They want food, they want work. Millions of workers go about unemployed, reduced to the last verge of misery. Well, if there were no food in the world, their condition would be understandable. But the fact is that the masses starve today because there is ~~TOO MUCH FOOD ON HAND~~; they go ill clad and lack warmth in their homes because ~~TOO MUCH CLOTHING~~ and ~~TOO MUCH WOOD~~ and ~~COAL~~ is on hand.

It seems stupid, incredible, yet that is the plain fact. Here are the latest figures. There is a world-wide surplus of 1,148,000,000 bushels of wheat, and the farmers don't know what to do with it. And the masses in the cities all over the world don't know where to get a pound of bread. The bread is there, or the wheat from which bread is made, but the workers are out of work, they have no money, so they can't buy the wheat. The farmer, on the other hand, don't want to give his wheat to the worker for nothing. In truth, he can't afford it. For he wants money to buy the things that his land does not produce, the things that the workers produce: shoes and clothing, farm machinery and tools. The workers could of course think of a very simple plan. They could say to the farmer: here, you have more wheat and corn than you want for yourself and family; give us your surplus and we will give you the nails, the tools and other things that we make. But do you think the workers would ever dream of such an idea? And this is what we call, on May First, the intelligence and solidarity of Labor!!!

So the workers must starve while there is plenty of food and of everything else to be had -- but only for money, of course.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[A letter from Emma Goldman. In Spanish] Una Carta de Emma Goldman / Emma Goldman. — p. 3 ; 29 cm. In Mujeres Libres [Madrid]. — no. 1 (May 1936).

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Mujeres Libres

Una carta de Emma Goldman

Me produce una gran alegría, camaradas españolas, vuestra decisión de contribuir a la emancipación de las mujeres de vuestro país. He de confesaros que cuando estuve en España—en 1929—me sorprendió dolorosamente el atraso de la mujer española en general: su sumisión a la Iglesia y, en la vida privada, al hombre, sea padre, marido, compañero, hermano o hijo; su acatamiento a la imposición de dos morales distintas, una para el hombre y otra para la mujer; su esclavitud, en fin, que las reduce a sirvientes y portadoras de toneladas de hijos. Estoy entusiasmada de saber que unas camaradas españolas siguen, por fin, el camino emprendido hace tiempo por las compañeras de otros países.

Con verdadero gusto colaboraré en MUJERES LIBRES. Mientras preparo algo más orgánico, y con el deseo de que alcance a vuestro primer número, os contaré unas breves impresiones de mi reciente excursión de propaganda por Inglaterra.

Nunca he sentido predilección por Kipling; no puedo sentirla dado el significado imperialista de su obra. Pero ha dicho algunas cosas conmovedoras. Una de ellas es aquella en que alude a la tarea de los marineros y a su alegría cuando el barco está ya limpio y el día ha terminado. Yo también me siento llena de alegría, porque mi tarea del momento se ha cumplido. El trabajo ha sido verdaderamente duro. A veces me parecía insostenible, superior a mis fuerzas. Pero ahora estoy muy contenta de no haber desfallido y haber llegado al final de la etapa.

Las últimas semanas fueron alentadoras. Por ejemplo, en mi recorrido por el País de Gales, hablé en tres centros laboristas, y me sorprendió la manera de pensar social y revolucionaria de aquellos trabajadores, que fueron a escucharme y departieron conmigo. Cuando uno piensa que aquellos centros pertenecen a marxistas ortodoxos, no puede menos de apreciar el avance de tales organizaciones, pues acudieron sólo con el deseo de oír a Emma Goldman y llegaron a interesarse por lo que oyeron. Para mí es muy satisfactorio ser la primera anarquista que ha penetrado en el «Sanctum sanctorum», en el sagrado recinto, y, lo que es más importante, que me hayan pedido otras conferencias.

Mi experiencia más interesante fué el hallazgo de un comunista que era presidente de uno de los centros y a la vez el dueño del hotel donde me hospedaba. Le debía doler mucho soportar durante horas y cuarto mi dura crítica del comunismo bolchevique; pero supo desempeñar su doble

función conmigo con tan amplia comprensión y tan magnífica tolerancia, que si hubiera muchos comunistas como él, sería posible, aun para mí, trabajar con ellos. Fué para mí una esperanza.

Como veis, no debemos darnos por vencidas por nada ni por nadie. Bien sé que el avance de los humanos es muy lento, pero consigue en algunos superar sus prejuicios. Comienzan a darse cuenta de que la distancia presta encanto a las cosas. La luz deslumbradora de Rusia comienza a declinar, especialmente desde que Litvinov ha brindado por el rey de Inglaterra, y el camarada Stalin ha dicho al Gobierno francés que su deber es armarse contra su enemigo. Los comunistas inteligentes de fuera de Rusia empiezan a sentirse incómodos ante la política extranjera del dictador, y aún lo estarían más si se dieran cuenta de que en la propia Rusia se extiende de día en día, invadiéndolo y falsificándolo todo.

Antes de ir al País de Gales hablé en un círculo de «Amigos del Teatro», y también allí me encontré con la increíble sorpresa de un auditorio de casi mil personas y de que se me solicitara una nueva conferencia.

A la que di de despedida en Londres asistió un público atento e inteligente. Es decir, que comienza a romperse el hielo y es preciso seguir.

He pensado volver para quedarme allí. Pero, quizá, es ingenuo hablar de domiciliarse en parte alguna, dada la situación actual del mundo. Los políticos de Europa serán aniquilados, pues los dioses enloquecen a aquellos a quienes quieren perder, y los han enloquecido. Claro es que no me preocupa en absoluto la suerte de los políticos; pero lo terrible es que con ellos arrastrarán al mundo. Así que parezca mentira, Francia e Inglaterra tiemblan de miedo ante Hitler y Mussolini. Y es que nada sobrecoge tanto como el éxito. Hace cuatro años Hitler era calificado como un charlatán. Hoy impone condiciones y todo el mundo se estremece cuando suena su nombre. Todo el mundo sabe que las últimas elecciones fueron hechas por unos métodos de los que hasta los «gangsters» americanos se avergonzarían; pero todo el mundo se queda ciego, sordo, mudo y sobrecogido ante el falso poder de los dictadores.

En estas circunstancias repito que es ocioso hacer planes de vida y de actividad; pero resulta insostenible la vida sin hacer planes siempre, siempre, siempre...

Niza, abril 1936.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[A letter from Emma Goldman. In Spanish] Una Carta de Emma Goldman / Emma Goldman. — p. 3 ; 29 cm. In Mujeres Libres [Madrid]. — no. 1 (May 1936).

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MUJERES

Rev 61/1

A. H. N.
S. GUERRA CIVIL

S. GUERRA CIVIL

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LIBROS

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Mujeres Libres

Sin que pretendamos ser infalibles, tenemos la certeza de llegar en el momento oportuno. Ayer hubiera sido demasiado pronto; mañana, tal vez, sobrado tarde.

Henos, pues, aquí, en plena hora nuestra, dispuestas a seguir hasta sus consecuencias últimas el camino que nos hemos trazado; encauzar la acción social de la mujer, dándole una visión nueva de las cosas, evitando que su sensibilidad y su cerebro se contaminen de los errores masculinos. Y entendemos por errores masculinos todos los conceptos actuales de relación y convivencia; errores masculinos, porque rechazamos enérgicamente toda responsabilidad en el devenir histórico, en el que la mujer no ha sido nunca actora, sino testigo obligado e inerte.

No encierra esto una recriminación para nadie; si nos duele todo el pasado de ignominia en que se nos tuvo hundidas, no nos atrevemos a pensar, sin embargo, que pudo ser de otra manera; sabemos que la Humanidad va haciendo su camino a costa del propio dolor y no nos interesa rememorar el pasado, sino forjar el presente y afrontar el porvenir, con la certidumbre de que en la mujer tiene la Humanidad su reserva suprema, un valor inédito capaz de variar, por ley de su propia naturaleza, todo el panorama del mundo.

¿Resurrección del feminismo? ¡Bah! El feminismo lo mató la guerra dando a la mujer más de lo que pedía al arrojarla brutalmente a una forzada sustitución masculina. Feminismo que buscaba su expresión fuera de lo femenino, tratando de asimilarse virtudes y valores extraños no nos interesa; es otro feminismo, más sustantivo, de dentro a afuera, expresión de un «modo», de una naturaleza, de un complejo diverso frente al complejo y la expresión y la naturaleza masculinos.

¿Declaración de guerra, acaso? No, no. Compensación de intereses, fusión de ansiedades, afán de cordialidad a la búsqueda del destino común. Deseo de aportar a la vida el sentido de equilibrio que le falta, y de donde provienen todos sus males.

Pero esto es ya más que feminismo. Feminismo y masculinismo son dos términos de una sola proporción; hace algunos años un periodista francés, Leopoldo Lacour, halló la expresión exacta: humanismo integral.

Por falta de integridad y, consecuentemente, por falta de equilibrio, amenaza hundirse la civilización. La especie para reproducirse necesita de dos elementos, masculino y femenino; la sociedad es el medio en que la especie se desenvuelve, y si en la creación de este medio no concurren por igual los elementos antedichos, es inevitable que se produzca en el ser moral un desequilibrio peligroso, que puede llevar por caminos de ruina a la Humanidad entera.

He aquí la terrible encrucijada en que nos hallamos ahora. Exceso de audacia, de rudeza, de inflexibilidad. virtudes masculinas, han dado a la vida este sentido feroz por el que los unos se alimentan de la miseria y el hambre de los otros; la Humanidad se ha desenvuelto en dirección unilateral y esa es la consecuencia. La ausencia de la mujer en la Historia ha acarreado la falta de comprensión, de ponderación y afectividad, que son sus virtudes, y en cuyo contrapeso el mundo hubiera encontrado la estabilidad de que carece.

Momentos decisivos éstos para la Historia, es preciso reemprender el camino, rectificar errores, subvertir conceptos y, sobre todo, dar a cada cosa, a cada hecho, a cada manifestación humana, el valor que tiene por sí misma y por la intención que la produce, desligada de circunstancias o accidentes modificativos; y nadie, absolutamente nadie, puede encogerse de hombros y permanecer ajeno a esa imponente tarea de gestación.

Por esto nace MUJERES LIBRES; quiere, en este aire cargado de perplejidades, hacer oír una voz sincera, firme y desinteresada: la de la mujer; pero una voz propia, la suya, la que nace de su

Núm. 1.-Madrid, mayo 1936

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Mujeres Libres

naturaleza íntima; la no sugerida ni aprendida en los coros de teorizantes; para ello tratará de evitar que la mujer sometida ayer a la tiranía de la religión caiga, al abrir los ojos a vida plena, bajo otra tiranía, no menos refinada y aun más brutal, que ya la cerca y la codicia para instrumento de sus ambiciones: la política.

La política pretende ser el arte de gobernar a los pueblos. Acaso sea esto en el terreno de las definiciones abstractas; pero en la realidad, en esa realidad que sufrimos en nuestra carne, la política es la podredumbre que corroe el mundo. Política es como decir poder, y donde hay poder hay esclavitud, que es relajamiento y miseria moral.

MUJERES LIBRES se declara por una vida libre y digna, donde cada hombre—empleamos esta palabra en sentido genérico—pueda ser el señor de sí mismo.

MUJERES LIBRES afirma que para descubrir nuevos horizontes es preciso descubrir atalayas nuevas. Nos repugna la política, porque no entiende de problemas humanos, sino de intereses de secta o de clase. Los intereses de los pueblos no son nunca los intereses de la política. Esta es la incubadora permanente de la guerra. La política lleva siempre, siempre, en sus entrañas el germen del imperialismo. En la política no hay rectas. Podría representarse por el cero mordiendo eternamente la cola.

MUJERES LIBRES busca la recta infinita de la acción directa y libre de las multitudes y de los individuos. Hay que edificar la vida nueva por procedimientos nuevos.

Estamos ciertas que miles de mujeres reconocerán aquí su propia voz, y pronto tendremos junto a nosotras toda una juventud femenina que se agita desorientada en fábricas, campos y universidades, buscando afanosamente la manera de encauzar en fórmulas de acción sus inquietudes.

1

Una Revista que busca mujeres libres en España ¿Pero es que son libres ya los hombres?

2

¿Por qué tienen que luchar las mujeres por su propia libertad? ¿Acaso por que los hombres que luchan por esta libertad se olvidan de la libertad de las mujeres.

3

La mujer libre debe ser primeramente libre en su hogar. Esto es lo que debe comprender el hombre que vive a su lado.

4

El primer objetivo de la lucha de la mujer consiste en hacer comprender al hombre, y en primer lugar a sus padres, hermanos y parientes, que sin la libertad de las mujeres no vale nada la de los hombres.

5

Una mujer emancipada significa una familia libre.

6

Con mujeres libres la lucha social de los hombres aumentaría sus probabilidades de triunfo.

FANNY

Paris, mayo 1936

The Emma Goldman Papers

A Letter from Emma Goldman / Emma Goldman. — pp. 30-31 ; 18 cm. In Vanguard [London]. — (June-July, 1936).

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VANGUARD

JOHN REED: THE MAKING OF A REVOLUTIONARY, by Granville Hicks. Macmillan. \$3.50.

THE usually stuffy Prof. Hicks comes off rather well in this work by cramming the book full of Reed's own writings... sometimes he uses quotation marks and sometimes he doesn't. Consequently, the book is full of the glowing life that Reed possessed to overabundance in his own personality. The fascinating, impetuous character who was John Reed is made to appear a little more rational than he really was, but withal it is an unusual book to find on list of a bourgeois publisher, and will repay reading.

HEARST, LORD OF SAN SIMEON, by Oliver Carlson & Ernest Sutherland Bates. Viking. \$3.00

IMPERIAL HEARST; A SOCIAL

BIOGRAPHY, by Ferdinand Lundberg. Equinox Cooperative Press. \$2.75.

WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST, by Mrs. Fremont Older.

THE best of the three books is the Lundberg opus in which we get a fine indignant portrait of the California octopus. The Carlson and Bates book is marred somewhat because of the desire of the always scholarly authors to be "fair" to Mr. Hearst. Nevertheless, it is a good study chock full of factual details of the career that made Hearst the most despised man in America. Mrs. Older likes Mr. Hearst! We suggest that Mr. Lundberg now write a biography of Mrs. Older. Anybody who can write in praise of Hearst deserves a biography all of her own.

DAVID LAWRENCE.

A LETTER FROM EMMA GOLDMAN

We have received a letter from Comrade Emma Goldman, extracts of which we reprint herewith:

"I was delighted to receive the April-May issue of VANGUARD. I had been wondering what had happened to it. I was afraid you might have to give it up. That would be a great pity. First, because the magazine contains splendid material and secondly, we are so poor in English propaganda.

"I can imagine the struggle you are having. I know from years of experience what it means to get out a magazine without any income from advertisement. My yearly lecture tours

enabled us to keep Mother Earth going twelve years. How I wish I could be with you to help through lectures to maintain the VANGUARD. I like the current issue of VANGUARD better than the former. It is alive and deals ably with some of the pressing issues. — You will see by my last statement about my final lectures in England just what has been achieved — not much to boast about. Yet, enough to warrant my return.

It will now depend on the condition of Comrade Berkman whether I can go away. Just now our comrade is still in the hospital and his recovery is very slow. But we must hope for the best.

"I am sorry you have such difficulty in raising the cost of the pamphlet

"Two Communisms." But I suppose most of our comrades are poor."

We earnestly hope that our readers will take Comrade Goldman's message to heart and come to our support. We again urge our readers to respond to our appeals and raise the money to publish Emma's excellent pamphlet. We still feel that our comrades and friends, poor as they are, can raise the small sum necessary for the publication of this pamphlet.

TO OUR READERS AND FRIENDS

Groups and individuals that have contributed funds to the Vanguard will soon receive through the mails a detailed report of the financial standing of the magazine. The reason why such an accounting has not been printed recently is that we have been cramped for space.

The present 32-page issue is only the beginning of a larger, more improved and regularly appearing monthly journal that we plan to publish. Needless to say, these plans will not be realized without the continued and increasing support of friends and readers in the form of subscriptions, donations and monthly pledges.

Libertarian organizations wishing to publicize their activities, affairs and plans will be given space free of charge in the pages of the Vanguard if we are informed sufficiently in advance of publication.

Paid advertisements are also accepted by the Vanguard.

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VANGUARD

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Certainly the people at its control realize the danger of leaving the power in the hands of military cliques who openly hatch plots and conspiracies against the Republic and who by their powerful support enable the Fascists to gradually consolidate their power?

It isn't of course the lack of personal understanding and vision, which in view of the striking lessons of the German events would be tantamount to sheer stupidity. It is the social position of the middle classes which determines the sterility of the Peoples Front. To hit out at the military Fascist cliques of Spain is to strike at the basis of the rotten social structure. It means to break the stranglehold which the Catholic Church has upon the country by virtue of its educational monopoly and the tremendous power of control over many a branch of the national economy. It means also to dispossess the feudal barons of their immense estates—and it is the nobility that is in control of the higher command of the army. And it goes without saying that some measure of social security must be vouchsafed the masses of people in face of an ever growing economic breakdown. Can such tasks, each and every one of which leads to a serious dislocation of the economic life, be undertaken by the middle classes?

It is enough to pose this question to see why an anti-fascist movement that centers around middle class tactics is bound to prove so ineffective in its basic aim of checking the growth of Fascist power. Like in every other country, the middle classes of Spain are bound up most intimately with the present social structure. The Church may be objected to on cultural grounds, but the powerful financial institutions controlled by it are held sacrosanct and

inviolable. A more equitable distribution of land property may be desired, but a policy of land expropriation would plunge the country into a temporary crisis, intensified by the sabotage of the ruling industrial and financial oligarchy. And if richer countries failed to obtain results in grappling with the problem of social security and higher wages under conditions of a deteriorating economy, what could be expected from a backward and poverty-stricken country which stands first of all in need of a complete overhauling of its basic social structure before it can allow the masses a higher standard of living?

It is sheer folly to expect a movement headed by the middle classes, sincere as they may be in their desire to check the power of Fascism, to embark upon such a radical course of social reconstruction. And without such a policy of reconstruction the struggle against Fascism becomes removed from social realities to that of noble sentiment and pious aspirations, which will be left to run out their full course of vain gestures and showy attempts at resistance until brought to a logical end by the brutal march of Fascist legions. And if in Spain the distant rumbling of such a march are drowned by the thundering of a rapidly approaching revolutionary storm, this is due to the fact that the true revolutionary vanguard of workers and peasants organized into the anarcho-syndicalist C. N. T. did not fall for the naive arithmetic of the advocates of the Peoples Front, who by harnessing the constructive forces of a brewing social revolt to a socially sterile and impotent bourgeois liberalism hoped to achieve the momentous result of turning back the tide of social decay and dissolution.

SENEX.

Anarchists And Elections

By EMMA GOLDMAN

FIRST, the question as to whether the abstention from participation in elections is for Anarchists a matter of principle? I certainly think it is, and should be for all Anarchists. After all, participation in election means the transfer of one's will and decisions to another, which is contrary to the fundamental principles of Anarchism.

Secondly, since Anarchists do not believe in the Jesuitic formulas of the Bolsheviks that the end justifies the means it is but logical for Anarchists not to consider political participation as a "simple question of tactics." Such tactics are not only incompatible with Anarchist thought and principles, but they also injure the stand of Anarchism as the one and only truly revolutionary social philosophy.

Thirdly, "can Anarchists, without scruple, and in the face of certain circumstances exercise power during a transition period?" I confess I was surprised to see such a question come from Spain which had always stood out to us in all countries as the high water mark of Anarchist integrity and consistency. Even without the experience of the Russian Revolution and Soviet claims for the transition period I should not have expected the Spanish Anarchists to be carried away by that term in the name of which every crime against the Revolution has been committed by the Communist Party in and outside of Russia. They claim that power is inevitable during the transition period. Unless the comrades in Spain now in favor of the same Jesuitic contention imagine that they are so much wiser and less corruptible

than others, I cannot understand how they can possibly aspire to power.

From its very inception Anarchism and its greatest teachers have maintained that it is not the abuse of power which corrupts everybody, the best more often than the worst men; it is the thing itself, namely power which is evil and which takes the very spirit and revolutionary fighting strength out of everybody who wields power.

There is ample excuse for Marxists (to take power—ed.) since they believe in and propagate the state, they believe in and propagate power, but how can the Anarchists whose social philosophy repudiates the state, all political power all government authority, in short, every sort of power and authority over fellow man? To me it is a denial of Anarchism and a most dangerous tendency which if carried out is likely to undermine whatever advance and recognition as a revolutionary fighting force the Anarchists in Spain represented for so long.

Does this mean that I do not recognize the danger of Fascism, or do not appreciate the imperative necessity to fight it to the last degree? Nothing is farther away from my thoughts. What I do mean to say is this: if the Anarchists were strong and numerous enough to swing the elections to the Left, they must have also been strong enough to rally the workers to a general strike, or even a series of strikes all over Spain.

Now, the psychological moment for all Anarchists in Spain to use their economic and direct action was during the revolt of October 1934. It was

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their bounden duty to join the workers and fight with them to the end. The excuse given at the time by the C. N. T. for leaving the heroic masses in the Asturias to their fate was that it did not want to affiliate itself with the Socialists, with men like Caballero who had so often stabbed our comrades in the back. It was a poor excuse. But granted, for arguments sake, such an attitude was justified. How then could some of the Anarchists join the Socialists in elections?

The comrades were actuated in their participation in the elections by their solidarity with the 30,000 political prisoners. That was undoubtedly a very commendable feeling. But at the same time their amnesty was merely a short breathing spell. For it is already apparent that the new rulers in the saddle will not leave the prisons empty for very long.

In conclusion let me say, that though some of the Anarchists in Spain may be dazzled by the success of the Communists in different countries it is yet true that they are but of the hour. The future belongs to those who continue daringly, consistently to fight power and government authority. The future belongs to us and to our social philosophy. For it is the only social ideal that teaches independent thinking and direct participation of the workers in their economic struggle. Nor it is only through the organized economic strength of the masses that they can and will do away with the Capitalist system, and all the wrongs and injustice it contains. Any diversion from this stand will only retard our movement and make of it a stepping stone for political climbers.

(EDIT. NOTE: This article is an extract from a letter written by Emma

Goldman in response to a questionnaire sent out by the "Mas Legas" group in Spain. The questions asked will be apparent from Comrade Goldman's answer. We should like to point out that we are not in agreement with Comrade Goldman's evaluation of the stand of the Spanish anarcho-syndicalists during the elections. If there is any criticism to be leveled in their direction, it should be based upon an analysis of the concrete situation with which they were faced and not abstract principles. Anti-electionism is not a dogma, but a revolutionary tactics the effectiveness of which may occasionally be qualified by unusual conditions and factors. Whether such an unusual situation did arise in Spain is not for us to say, but, agreeing in this respect with Malatesta, whose opinion was printed in the last issue of our magazine, we have to admit the possibility of such a situation arising at a critical juncture of events whereby a departure from a too rigid anti-electionist attitude may be on the order of the day.)

THE VANGUARD LIBRARY

With the present expansion of the educational and propaganda activities of the Vanguard Group we find that the resources of our library at the Free Workers Center, 122 Second Avenue, New York City are insufficient to satisfy our needs. There are not, for example, enough copies of the Libertarian Classics to go around (especially those which are out print). If you or your friends have any suitable books, pamphlets or periodicals to donate or lend please write us at once and we shall make any arrangements you may see fit.

Communicate with Vanguard, 45 W. 17th St., New York City.

The International Movement

THE C. N. T. CONVENTION

(EDIT. NOTE: The report of this convention was made up on the basis of information obtained from Spanish and French newspapers. If anything, this report errs on the side of underestimating rather than overstating the importance of this event. Even hostile newspapers had to pay unwilling tribute to some of the features of the convention, expressing in some manner the sense of tremendous historical significance with which this convention impressed them.)

THE outstanding event of Spanish life of the last month was the extraordinary congress of the C. N. T., (Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo) held in the city of Zaragoza during the first week of May, 1936. It was extraordinary in more than one way. The first to be called since the Madrid Convention of 1931, it riveted the attention of the country by its decisions, its bold revolutionary challenge to the existing regime, the quiet strength displayed and the tremendous response it met on the part of the Spanish proletariat. While the Madrid Congress was largely ignored by the bourgeois press, belittled and derided by the Socialists, this one obtained the widest publicity and recognition, commensurate with the great revolutionary role the C. N. T. is now playing in the life of the country.

It was attended by seven hundred delegates representing every trade and industry. Almost all of them came directly from the factory bench and office or the fields of the country.

(Agricultural laborers and poor peasants were strongly represented at the convention). There was also a great number of recently released political prisoners, militants who went through the revolutionary struggles of the last few years and who had paid for it with long prison sentences and the harrowing experiences in the torture chambers of the Republic. And though predominantly young in age (the prevailing age of the delegates as well as of the enthusiastic crowds of workers that filled up the convention hall is from 25 to 35 years), the delegates showed in their attitude and deliberation the high degree of maturity which characterizes militants with long years of revolutionary experience. "When one speaks to them one meets with the kind of maturity of thought found among the revolutionary vanguard of a country that is on the eve of profound revolutionary changes." That is how the correspondent of "Le Libertaire" characterizes them. And it is enough to compare this characterization with the one given by a reporter of a local Spanish bourgeois paper, "The Aragonian Daily," to see that the former description is not prompted by kinship of ideas but by an objective appraisal of a journalist. "There were," writes that bourgeois paper, "no gigantic, towering individuals among the delegates, but we have yet to see any congress or parliamentary session the proceedings of which showed such a high level of intelligence on the part of the general body of delegates as this convention of the C. N. T. Serious discussions, a serious attitude throughout the proceedings. Clear

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Widow of Erich Muhsam / Emma Goldman. — 25 cm. In The Manchester Guardian. — (June 30, 1936).

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THE MANCHESTER

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

THE WIDOW OF ERICH MUHSAM

Reported Under Arrest in Moscow

To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian

Sir,—Amidst the glad tidings from Soviet Russia of the new Constitution and its guarantees of "free speech, free press, and freedom of conscience," and other such epoch-making changes under the Soviet dictatorship, it will prove somewhat of a shock to your readers to learn that political terror and persecution go merrily on. A letter I have received concerning the widow of Erich Muhsam will prove this.

The fate of Erich Muhsam caused indignation in Liberal and other quarters all over the world. One of Germany's foremost poets, he was among the first victims of the Nazi regime. For eighteen months he underwent tortures in concentration camps and finally he was murdered. Now his widow is under arrest in Moscow and is in danger of meeting a fate no less tragic, if not as terrible, as her husband's.

Mrs. Zensl Muhsam went to Russia a year ago at the express invitation of someone she had known for years. Mrs. Muhsam, of course, knew her husband's attitude to the political persecution going on in the so-called Socialist Republic. He had repeatedly refused Soviet invitations to Russia. He held that persecution of revolutionists for opinion's sake is a travesty of the Russian Revolution and of Socialism. Mrs. Muhsam was aware of this, and she was also warned by friends not to accept the invitation. Yet she went. The explanation of her foolhardy action was her passionate desire to have her husband's works published in Russia. The poems and other writings of Erich Muhsam should serve as a monument to her martyred husband, Erich Muhsam. She had been promised that. So she went to Russia.

After she had turned over the manuscript to the Soviet authorities the latter simply "disposed" of her. Mrs. Muhsam can in no sense be considered dangerous to the Soviet regime. A rebel and fighter by nature, she yet belonged to no political party. Her great interest was humanitarian, the care and succour of the Nazi victims, irrespective of their political affiliations. Her arrest is,

therefore, more reprehensible than if she were an opponent of the Soviet Government.

I received the first news of Mrs. Muhsam's disappearance a month ago. Her friends, not wishing to act hastily, decided first to address themselves to the authorities in Russia. They were informed that Mrs. Muhsam had been sent on a tour to the German settlements on the Volga to lecture on the conditions in Nazi Germany. Sceptical as I am about the roseate news from Russia, I was yet willing to trust the explanation. I should have remembered the fate of Maria Spiridonova, the famous Russian revolutionist, who had been under sentence of death during the Tsardom. While I was in Russia the Bolsheviki assured me that Spiridonova was recuperating in a sanatorium and was getting the best of care. I soon found out that the "sanatorium" was the inner prison of the Cheka and "the best of care" the only kind that "humanitarian" organisation could give.

The letter I have received comes from an entirely trustworthy source, though I must not mention the name of the writer, who is still in Russia. The letter says, among other things:

I regret to tell you (which I can now do more definitely) that the lecture tour allegedly undertaken recently by Zensl is a lie. . . . "For the present" Zensl is still in prison, and none of her many friends "there" will dare to take any steps in her behalf. For every one there lives in constant fear of a similar fate, and therefore nothing remains except making the case known abroad. . . . You see how other similar cases are kept secret (there are only too many of them) and how difficult it is to do anything about it. . . .

Though favourable to the Soviet experiment, the "Manchester Guardian," unlike other Liberal publications, has always been broad enough to publish disclosures of the sad plight of the politicals in Russia. It is this which induces me to write to you in behalf of the latest victim, Mrs. Zensl Muhsam. She is in imminent danger of exile to some Soviet concentration camp, and the only means to save her is publicity in the Liberal and Labour press.—Yours,

EMMA GOLDMAN,

Var, France, June 19.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Las Encuestas de "Más Lejos". Habla Emma Goldman [The interviews of "Más Lejos". Emma Goldman speaks. In Spanish] / Emma Goldman.— p. 1 ; 33 cm. /n Más Lejos [Barcelona]. — (July 2, 1936).
Obtained from the Instituto Municipal de Historia de Barcelona, Spain.

Más Lejos

Debates públicos

Las encuestas de "Más Lejos"

El abstencionismo electoral. - La tona y el ejercicio transitorio del Poder. - Contestación de los camaradas A. Schapiro, M. Netlau y Emma Goldman.

Opina A. Schapiro

PRIMER PUNTO. Debiera plantearse de esta manera: ¿Es para los anarquistas una cuestión de principios la participación en las elecciones? Y la respuesta ha de ser: «No». Si, puesto que ella refuerza el sistema y los principios parlamentarios. La consecuencia directa habría de ser la presentación de candidatos anarquistas, a fin de que esa participación sea «lógica».

Los sindicalistas que en Cádiz votaron a Pestano, fue un logro. «Si se vota», vale más votar «por los nuevos» que «por los viejos». Si se interviene en las elecciones, era preferible presentarse en candidatura para ser útil a quienes le votaron. Han sido «lógicos» aquellos miembros de la C. N. T. y de la F. A. I. que, no obstante haber intervenido en la última leva electoral, proclamaron la inutilidad del Parlamento que han apoyado y reforzado con sus sufragios.

Los anarquistas no son los únicos que practican el abstencionismo. Lo practican también, por ejemplo, aquellos que no quieren molestarse, o aquellos otros que están, momentáneamente, nauseados de una situación o de tal o cual candidato. Pero la participación es rechazada únicamente por los anarquistas. Los propios fascistas, cuya piedra angular es la oposición al régimen parlamentario en favor del régimen dictatorial, votan cuando las elecciones convienen al dictador.

Por consiguiente, el SEGUNDO PUNTO ni siquiera debe ser discutido: la intervención—o el abstencionismo—son precisamente instrumentos de «táctica» en los casos y los balcanes, y no fundamentos de «principio». Se interviene cuando ella interesa a la dictadura, se exigen sistemas parlamentarios. Los gregos, como en Rusia, en Italia o en Alemania, que permitieron de vez en cuando el ejercicio del derecho al sufragio. Para los partidarios del parlamentarismo y para la democracia política, votar es un deber sagrado, un «principio positivo» sobre el cual descansa todo su sistema. Pero para los anarquistas es un «principio negativo» sobre el que descansa nuestro sistema federalista y anarquista. De esto se deduce que hemos de votar siempre «contra» las «viejas» cosas, sea cual fuere su carácter y la que en ellas se veniente.

Una «táctica» no puede permanecer más acá ni más allá de nuestros principios. Por la tanta, una vez admitido el principio antiparlamentario, la «táctica» del voto es pura engaña, es una hipocresía, una transacción y hasta un chantaje, si da lugar a la intervención en masa de elementos antiparlamentarios.

TERCER PUNTO. No existe ejercicio transitorio del Poder. Se le ejerce o no. Considerando de otro modo es cosa de pasar en la dialéctica marxista. Lenin, en «El Estado y la Revolución», declaraba que el ejercicio transitorio del Poder proletario era indispensable para llegar a la Anarquía. Fero el ejercicio transitorio contiene los mismos ingredientes que el ejercicio «ordinario» del Poder: violencia, injusticia, opresión, explotación, esclavitud. Es imposible aspirar a la libertad por los métodos opresivos. Y más imposible todavía construir un régimen libertario sobre la base que brinda el ejercicio del Poder, ejercicio diametralmente opuesto a los principios fundamentales de la sociedad libertaria.

El ejercicio «provisional» o no—del Poder, con o sin escrúpulos, lejos de acelerar la marcha hacia la realización de la Anarquía, la frena, la detiene y aleja al proletariado de esa realización. Los principios enunciados cuando la Revolución de Octubre de 1917 en Rusia, según se «daban los mismos». Pero su realización ha sido defendida a tal extremo «por el ejercicio transitorio del Poder», que tan sólo una nueva revolución puede acelerar otra vez su marcha. Y su derrota la misma cada vez que un punado de individuos quiera, en nombre de la libertad, «juzgar transitoriamente» el Poder para instaurar esa libertad.

La fórmula moderna de los enamorados del Poder: «Todo el Poder a los Sindicatos» tiene que ser rechazada categóricamente. Esos Sindicatos tendrían que ejercerla, obligadamente del mismo modo que todos los demás la han ejercido brutalmente, por la violencia y por la injusticia.

En cuanto a la idea burocrática de «Poder transitorio» ejercido por los «anarquistas», hay que esperar que habra bastantes anarquistas—sin camiles—capaces de demostrar a los «anarquistas-dictadores»... de qué pie cojean.

A. SCHAPIRO

Lo que dice M. Netlau

El anarquismo está sujeto desde hace cuarenta años a las piores infiltraciones, ilusiones socialistas pura, misticismo, dictadura, periodo transitorio, plataformas, etc., y a ese orden pertenece la voga que ha al «táctica» ahora, y no ciertamente por vez primera, el «abstencionismo electoral». La misma distinción entre cuestión de principios y «simple cuestión de táctica», que implican que por razones de «táctica» se estaría dispuesto a probar los principios, no tiene el menor parentesco con la mentalidad anarquista. El criterio anarquista conoce tan sólo una fórmula y no «dos»: o se profesan los ideas, o se las abandona «venciendo todos los escrúpulos».

Esas infiltraciones destruyen indefectiblemente en sus víctimas la que en ellos podía haber de sentimiento libertario y los transforman pronto a tarde, pero en general muy rápidamente, en nacionalistas, fascistas, balcanes, obreristas políticos, etc., etc.

Esos delirios inevitables, son una especie de autoeliminación de elementos débiles e incongruentes, que creyeran ser anarquistas sin haber llegado jamás a serlo. Y del mismo modo en gran rito no puede ser con-

taminada por las substancias delirantes venidas en el la corriente longeva y mundial del anarquismo se purifica automáticamente de todas las adulteraciones y sigue su marcha.

Aparece cada día más claro que la lucha definitiva no será ni económica, ni política, entre clases y partidos, sino intelectual y ético, y tendrá lugar, bajo múltiples formas, entre las progresivas de cualidades éticas y de capacidad intelectual, y los rezagados de escaso desarrollo. Es preciso decirlo francamente: tiene que salir de esa lucha lo Anarquía completa, integral, sana y robusta, y no ese triste abarbo que engendrarían los «infiltradores» inconcebibles si se les hiciera caso.

Mi contestación a vuestra Encuesta resulta inútil. Las consideraciones generales precedentes dicen claro lo que opino sobre ese conjunto de aberraciones deploables.

M. NETLAU

Habla Emma Goldman

Queridos camaradas: La carta que dirigisteis a Berkman, llegó a sus manos en vísperas de ser operado. A aquella operación habia de seguir otra. Ahora voy mejorando, pero no puedo escribir.

Si yo hubiese estado en Francia habria contestado en seguida. Pero me hallaba en Inglaterra. Regrese al día del pasado. Preocupado por la salud de mi amigo y compañero de luchas, no tenía tiempo para la correspondencia. La hago hoy que Berkman está mejor.

Primera pregunta. ¿Es para los anarquistas una cuestión de principios el abstencionismo electoral?

Estimo que debe serlo, yo que la intervención en las elecciones está en pugna con los principios del anarquismo.

Segunda. ¿Puede considerarse como una simple cuestión de táctica?

No, mientras los anarquistas no crean, como los balcanes, que «el fin justifica los medios». La intervención en esta grado al anarquismo, que es la esencia filosófica social verdaderamente revolucionaria.

Tercera. ¿Pueden los anarquistas, en virtud de ciertas circunstancias y venciendo todos los escrúpulos, ejercer el Poder durante el periodo transitorio?

Confieso haber quedado sorprendida viendo que esa pregunta venia de España. No esperaba que los anarquistas españoles llegaran a tal extremo. Menos aun habiendo visto que en nombre de la «necesidad transitoria» del Poder, el Partido Comunista ha cometido—en Rusia y en otros países—crímenes sin nombre contra la revolución. ¿El Poder transitorio? No se concibe que los anarquistas aspiren a ejercerlo. ¿Pretenderían ser más inteligentes y menos corruptibles que los demás? No es el abuso de Poder lo que corrompe. Es el Poder en sí. Esto lo viene diciendo el anarquismo desde sus orígenes. ¿Es que la realidad runs no lo demuestra?

Ahora aparece claro lo que ha dado de sí la transitoriedad del Poder transitorio. No esclavizó a las masas. Ha postergado las verdaderas finalidades de la revolución. Ha convertido la transitoriedad en definitiva. El «medio» fue elevado a la categoría de «fin». Y con el justificado con los actuales amos de Rusia, lo mismo que sus seguidores, todos los crímenes que están cometiendo. Es lo mismo que les sucedería a los anarquistas españoles que aspiran al ejercicio transitorio del Poder. No solamente no «acelerarían la marcha hacia la realización de la Anarquía», sino que caerían en el lodazal de la corrupción. No existe una razón, ni una solución, para creer que los anarquistas en el Poder no sucumbieran al peso de los mismos influencias corruptoras que los otros.

Esa tendencia es la negación del anarquismo. Y si llegara a desarrollarse, serviría de freno a todos, los avances y desventurera la idea de que los anarquistas españoles representarían una fuerza revolucionaria. Si los anarquistas tomaron el Poder y el ejercicio couarían un día inculcable, tanto al movimiento español como al del resto del mundo. Me parece que la intervención de algunos de nuestros camaradas en las elecciones ha desvirtuado ya bastante nuestra obra.

¿Quiere esto decir que yo no me de cuenta de peligro fascista? ¿Significa que no siento la necesidad de luchar contra el odio a nuestro completo exterminio? No. Quiero decir que si los anarquistas eran bastante fuertes y numerosos para empujar las elecciones hacia la izquierda, debían serlo también para unir a los trabajadores.

El momento psicológico en que todos los anarquistas de España debieron hacer uso de la acción directa, fué durante la insurrección de Octubre del 34. Debieron enterarse con los trabajadores y luchar hasta el fin. Pero entonces la C. N. T., después de haber dejado a los héroes masas de Asturias abandonados su suerte, dijo que no quería identificarse—o confundirse—con los socialistas, con hombres como Largo Caballero que tantas veces han tirado a nuestros compañeros por la espalda. Tal justificación resultaba muy pobre. Sin embargo, respetando los motivos, puede ser admitido. Pero, ¿cómo explicar que más tarde algunos anarquistas se unieran a los socialistas en las elecciones? Digamos francamente que es incomprensible la forma en que fué apreciada la situación revolucionaria de octubre tiene pocas precedentes en la historia de las actividades anarquistas. Orosos que algunos camaradas quisieron compensar, votando, su negligencia durante la insurrección del 34. Pero temo que lo paguen muy caro, si es que no lo están pagando ya.

Las elecciones han ayudado a los comunistas a llevar al Parlamento varios diputados, con lo que podrán hacer partido, y ha sido en modo de aliviar a Largo Caballero la otra angustia para que pague de nuevo cuando le convenga.

Dándole el porche

Muestra revolución no se parece en nada a la suya

Se sigue jugando en todos los tonos al señor Largo Caballero. Se le rodea de una brillante aureola. Se le ensalza. Se le magnifica. Se le usa fabricando artificiosamente—en tonos tan, porque si, porque los de la gano a quienes habitan y a quienes escriben sin medir el alcance de lo que escriben y de lo que hablan—un prestigio revolucionario que sus actuaciones le negaron siempre. Esas actuaciones le dieron una. Pero de tono diametralmente opuesto al que ahora se cotiza.

Esta sinceridad del señor Largo Caballero? ¿Sus audacias? ¿Su desinterés? Nosotros sabemos perfectamente a qué atenernos. Ahí están las últimas veinticinco años del movimiento obrero español, en el curso de los cuales se han realizado diversas tentativas de subversión general. Ahí están proclamando a gritos unas verdades—olvidadas a desconocidas—que negan rotundamente cuanto ahora se afirma. ¿Es que tampoco nos acordamos ya de la Dictadura? ¿Y de la primera etapa de la República?

Yo sabemos que no falta quien estime poco oportuno avocar el recuerdo de ciertas cosas. Pero nos tiene sin cuidado. Nosotros consideramos libre—y al propio tiempo vergonzoso—que se les pierda de vista. Además, la conciencia reclama sus lietas. Como los reclama la Historia.

Con ese «intérprete de los rebeldes juveniles del partido», con ese hombre que, «dando alto ejemplo de coherencia y poniéndose a la altura de las circunstancias» se muestra irreducible con la tendencia reformista que patrocina Prieto y Besteiro, nosotros no tenemos ni o la gloria. Nos lo sabemos demasiado de memoria. Conservamos venturoso virio el recuerdo de su odio salvaje a los anarquistas. Y el de los ultrajes sangrientos con que cien veces—sin motivo, sin razón, sin fundamento—intentó deshonrarnos. No Por dignidad, por coherencia, por animo de nosotros mismos y por instinto de conservación, no podemos tener ningún contacto—ni meramente físico—con ese hombre. Debemos convenirnos de que, llegado el caso, pondría las resaca intensas como Gil Robles en lagos nuestro exterminio.

Por otra parte, cuanto más se pondera su revolucionarismo más peligro resulta para nosotros. Con ello se va poniendo al alcance de su mano el vergajo que le servirá mañana para trancarnos.

El señor Largo Caballero no es un revolucionario. Una revolución de de serlo si no niega el punto de partida. Y el punto de partida son los privilegios económicos y los dominaciones políticas. El punto de partida es, pues, el Estado que los sintetiza y la revolución propiciada por él y por sus seguidores no lo niega. Al contrario. Quiere conquistarlo. En cambio, lo que propiciamos nosotros quiere destruirlo.

¿Quién es capaz de descubrir ni el más remoto parentesco entre esos dos conceptos de los característicos y del alcance de un movimiento revolucionario? ¿Nos disponíamos nosotros a ayudarlo a conquistar revolucionariamente—en sus labios significa violentamente—el Poder para que desde él «nos emancipar por decreto», olvidando que la base de la emancipación total consiste en el hundimiento de todos los Poderes?

La ley de los países vigenes es la de más fuerte. ¿Estamos seguros de que esa misma ley no es la de los países civilizados?

Yo sé que muchos camaradas votaron solidarizándose con los 30 mi presos sociales. Es un sentimiento muy generoso. Pero la omisión es una ayuda momentánea y para los anarquistas aparece claro que los nuevos gobernantes no tardarán en llenar las cárceles nuevamente. Es la Historia que se repite. Hace unos 30 años, cuando la reacción italiana produjo estragos y abarrotaba las cárceles de presos sociales, Saverio Merlino indicó a Malatesta la conveniencia de que los anarquistas tomaran parte en las elecciones. Malatesta destruyó la argumentación de Merlino, asegurando que los anarquistas interviniendo no harían más que añadir otro eslabón a la cadena que atropella a los víctimas. Malatesta no contaba entonces con los pruebas que brinda la revolución rusa, pero sabía de cuánto son capaces los socialistas. Los compañeros españoles tienen ante los ojos el ejemplo de Rusia, pero se ve que no han aprendido.

Contrasentidos

Más apostillas a los acuerdos del Congreso de Zaragoza

Es curioso observar la facilidad con que en algunos casos los agrupaciones humanas acepan de una manera indirecta aquello que directamente han rechazado antes de plano, abiertamente, sin ambages ni rodeos. No nos preparemos ahora, ni podríamos hacerlo, estudiarlo complej que puede ser causa de tal fenómeno. Nuestro objeto es otro.

De entre los puntos que figuraban en el orden del día del II Congreso Extraordinario de la C. N. T., ninguna apasionaba tanto—o los militantes, o los organizadores y o los anarquistas—como el que se refería a la defensa de la Revolución. ¿Habría que confiarlo al pueblo en armas, luchando y produciendo, alternativamente, según las circunstancias y las necesidades de cada lugar y de cada momento? ¿Convenía decidirse a crear un ejército revolucionario?

El primero tendencia aglutinaba el criterio de la inmensa mayoría de los delegados. La segunda era sostenida por una minoría insignificante. Y fue rechazado. Todo el mundo temía—con muy serios fundamentos—que la existencia de un ejército revolucionario implicara el mantenimiento—o la nueva creación—de jerarquías y de castas. Todo el mundo temía que o su sombra se lanzara en nuevo despojo. Y que se levantaran sobre la pira humeante del gran incendio nuevos poderes, tan brutales como los antiguos y nuevos privilegios, con la cual la Revolución habria dejado de ser tal, para convertirse en una sangrienta mascarada.

Quedó afirmado solemnemente que a los trabajadores les repugnan invenciblemente todos las iniquidades y todas las corrupciones autoritarias, llámense como se llamen.

Sin embargo...

Sin embargo, merced a aquel complejo de que hablamos al principio, los delegados aceptaron luego, a través de una forma vaga, algo que es la equivalencia casi matemática de aquello que rechazaron antes.

Nos referimos al segundo apartado del Dictamen sobre «Análisis de actividades y fijación de normas», que dice así: «Se atenderá exclusivamente a la organización de un movimiento de conjunto, DOTANDO A LA CONFEDERACIÓN DE ORGANISMOS QUE INICIEN LA REVOLUCIÓN PRIMARIAMENTE Y LA DEFENDAN Y LA CONSOLIDEN CUANDO EL TRIUNFO HAYA TENIDO LUGAR».

¿De qué se trata? ¿Qué organismos son esos? Si no son un ejército—la cuestión de nombres importa poco—, han de parecerse extraordinariamente. Nosotros hemos dicho ya— conviene repetirlo—que nadie, absolutamente nadie tiene jurisdicción para señalar «desde arriba y a fecho fijo» la hora de las revoluciones. Cuando hay orden y fecho fijo, podrá haber una algarada, un tumulto más o menos ruidoso y hasta en galope de Estado. Pero de ninguna manera una revolución. Las revoluciones, o despaño de cuenta se diga, no tienen lugar por acuerdo de un grupo o por orden de un Comité HAN DE SURGIR DESDE ABAJO, O NACEN MUERTAS.

Si es un «organismo» determinado el que inicia, defiende y consolida la revolución, ¿qué pinta el pueblo? ¿Se piensa, acaso, en su obediencia pasiva? ¿Quién ha podido pensar que su acción arrolladora y fecunda podía ser reemplazado por esos «organismos»? Es el pueblo quien tiene que hacerlo todo. Desde los cimientos hasta la cúspide del edificio. Y su audacia y su potencia creadora pueden prescindir perfectamente de organismos artificiales.

Repáramoslo. La posibilidad de un movimiento transformador ha de surgir de la entraña misma de las multitudes. Son ellos, SIN ORDEN DE NADIE, los que inician las revoluciones. Y nadie es capaz de defenderlos y de consolidarlos como ellos saben hacerlo.

El hombre es ingobernable. El Poder es un absurdo. El que extiende la mano sobre otro hombre es un tirano, es en sacrilegio, es un usurpador de la personalidad de aquél.

Letras de luto

A punto de entrar en máquina el periódico, nos enteramos de la muerte acaecida ayer del camarada Valeriano Orobón Fernández.

El anarquismo y el movimiento obrero español pierden con Orobón Fernández uno de sus más sólidos valores.

Es cuanto podemos decir por ahora. Tanto porque apremios de espacio nos impiden dedicar a la triste noticia más amplio comentario, como porque la emoción que nos embarga no nos permitiría hacerlo.

Cuando nuestro ánimo quede libre del dolor que en estos momentos lo atenaza, nos ocuparemos de las dotes morales e intelectuales que atoraba el entrañable amigo desaparecido ayer.

Niza, 1 mayo 1936.

EMMA GOLDMAN

Nota.—La Encuesta terminó en el próximo número. Después de opinar los camaradas Alai y Mari Gossery, nosotros resumiremos brevemente en debate que ha tenido—y sigue teniendo—amplia repercusión internacional, prevaleciendo interesantes polémicas.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Miss Goldman Knew Berkman Was "Tired" / Emma Goldman. — 25 cm.
In The New York Times. — (July 3, 1936).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

stimulation. In fact, for the majority than which have to do with motion-picture production in an effort to direct cinema for inspiration to national works of great poets and writers. It was most fitting and desirable

implication of the industry's own censorship plan under the Production Code Administration in charge of Joseph I. Breen.

It was pointed out that, whereas in this country a permanent picture reviewing organization for members of the Catholic Church already existed in the Legion of Decency, the Pope ordered the establishment of permanent reviewing organizations in every country.

A recent report of the Legion of Decency disclosed that since the industry began its own clean-up campaign under Mr. Breen, only four productions had been condemned and none of these was produced by a member of the Hays organization. Two were foreign-made and two were made by independent producers.

About sixty productions were held to be objectionable in part by legion reviewers, and fifteen of these were not made by Hays members.

RESIST PUERTO RICAN FETE

Independistas Assert July 4 is Meaningless in Island.

SPECIAL CABLE TO THE NEW YORK TIMES.
SAN JUAN, Puerto Rico, July 2.—The Independistas doubled their efforts today for a boycott of the July 4 celebration, which they contend is government-sponsored and a meaningless observance in a land seeking its freedom. Nevertheless, those in charge of the official program confidently expect a most spectacular observance.

Transportation in San Juan may be difficult, however, for the Chauffeurs Association today called a walkout in all motor transportation for tomorrow afternoon, protesting against a recent decision forbidding public automobiles to bring passengers into the city. The chauffeurs in a proclamation declare the island should not participate in celebrating the independence of a country whose government denies them the right to earn their daily bread.

nized and accepted its responsibility before society. The Bishops of the whole world will take care to make clear to leaders of the motion-picture industry that the force of such a power

MISS GOLDMAN KNEW BERKMAN WAS 'TIRED'

Says Anarchist, Before Killing Himself, Had Exhibited a Neurasthenic Condition.

Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.
NICE, France, July 2.—"Alexander Berkman had been neurasthenic for some time, and I knew he was tired of living," Emma Goldman said today, in commenting on the suicide of the famous anarchist.

"His death, however, was a great shock to me—the greatest of my life," she added.

Miss Goldman said she would arrange for settling Berkman's small estate, but she was too broken up to comment further on his affairs.

It was learned today that the nurse who had been attending Berkman since his recent operation was held and questioned for a few hours by the police after the dying Berkman was transferred to a hospital. The Police Commissioner said he was satisfied that the case was one of suicide.

By The Associated Press.
NICE, France, July 2.—Emma Goldman said today she was "completely unnerved" by the death of her old friend, Alexander Berkman. "I don't know what I am going to do," she repeated. "I don't know what I am going to do."

Miss Goldman, life-long companion in anarchy of Berkman, looked tired and worn as she pored over the dead man's papers, stuffed in a battered desk in the small apartment where he was found shot.

"The whole thing has been terrible," she declared. "I don't know whether I shall stay here or not. I cannot stand it."

makes



the beer with
Sunshine
VITAMIN-D

* Each 12-ounce bottle or can of SCHLITZ contains 100 U. S. P. X. Units of Sunshine Vitamin D.

SCHLITZ brewer's yeast contains the pro-vitamin D which is activated directly by the ultra-violet rays of the sun to form Vitamin D. (Patented by U. S. Letters Patent.)



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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Miss Goldman Denies Seeing Berkman Shot / Emma Goldman. — 30 cm. In The New York Times. — (July 4, 1936).

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Y 4, 1936.

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ministration. The most
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er innovations favored by the
are inauguration of Ministry
ealth and of Aviation. The
er is inspired by the discovery
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been deteriorating.

These plans will encounter a
idable hurdle when the ques-
n of finance is reached, for the
k-billing fact of the situation is
at the defense budgets will be so
avy that there will be little mar-
for other schemes.

MISS GOLDMAN DENIES DOM
SEEING BERKMAN SHOT P

Anarchist Says She Was 100 Wi
Miles Away When Former Asso- C
ciate Ended Life in France.

Wrote in The New York Times
NICE, France, July 3. Emma
Goldman, Anarchist writer, asked
this correspondent today to deny
reports published in the United
States that she was present in the
room when Alexander Berkman,
long her associate in the United
States, shot and killed himself Sun-
day.

"It is untrue, a deliberate lie,"
she said. "I was in my villa at
St. Tropez, more than 100 miles
from Nice, when it happened. They
telephoned to me at 2 o'clock Sun-
day morning, but I was unable to
get a taxi. I arrived in Nice by
bus only at 8 A. M."

Berkman was alone when he
fired the shot, Miss Eckstein, his
constant companion for the last
fourteen years, had to run down-
stairs to summon a doctor when
Berkman developed a severe uremia
attack in the middle of the night.
Berkman took advantage of her
absence to shoot himself.

"He left a note saying, 'I am a
sick man. I am unable to continue
work and am unwilling to lean on
others for support. I prefer to end
it all. Forgive me.'"

"Poor Berkman! All he left was
\$80. The furniture in his flat was
Miss Eckstein's."

Plane Falls in Sea Off Holland

Wrote in The New York Times.
AMSTERDAM, The Netherlands,
July 3.—A German military air-
plane fell into the sea twenty-five
miles off Ymuiden today. One man
was drowned and three other nec-
pania were rescued and taken to
Antwerp by a passing German
which towed the

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כד"ע ארבי"טער שטימע

Thirty-seventh Year—No. 30—(Whole No. 1799)

NEW YORK and PHILADELPHIA, July 24, 1936

עמא נאלדמאן וועגן סאשא
בערקמאנ'ס לעצטע שטונדן

נעסירט אין שטיטל אין זיין געזאגט
זענענענענענענענענענענענענענע
לעזט אפ פארזאכט, אז ווי האט דער
הענט אפגעזאגט, אזוי דאס איז געווען
די נייכטיקע קאמפאני אונזער פאר
טיק קאמפאני, אז ער האט גוט גע
לעבט וויבן עפיל, אז ער האט געזאגט
א פאר ער זיין געזאגט ווי האט אים פאר
טיק געזאגט אין בעט, זענענענענענע
זענענענענענענענענענענענענענע
זיין וואונדער, קורט א דאקטאר אין א
קליינער שטיטל אין פראנקרייך אין
נאך א באזיין, ווי דאסערזענענענע
דאס האט אין נאך, ס'האט געזאגט
עפיל ערזענענענענענענענענענענע
קאמפאני מענטש אין געזאגט, ער
געזאגט אז זענענענענענענענענענע
האט געזאגט דאס דאסערזענענענע
ער געזאגט וויבן דער פאליטיק אין דאס
שטיטל אין אפגעזאגט אין אפגעזאגט
געזאגט אין אפגעזאגט.

מיר ווינט שטעל שוועט אין דער
 סטל. דערס האבן מיר געמיינט פאסט'ן
 אין זאלן באוואוסטוויין. אבער מיט
 ווארעיקע ווייסיקן. אזוי אז ער האט
 נים געקענט ריידן. ער האט אונז אבער
 דערקענט. מיכאל קאהן און איד וויינען
 געבליבן לעבן אים ביז נאכמיטאג. ווען
 זיין וויינער צוריקגעשטאען. אהרם
 איינער. און שוין פאסט געווען.
 א באוואוסטאלען צושטאנד. ער האט
 אונז שוין מער נים דערקענט. און איד
 ווייל האטן. אז ער האט בער נים געזיגט
 פון ווייסיק. איד ביז געבליבן מיט
 אים ביז האלט נאך שטיל אין צווישן.
 כ'הב גערעכנט צוריקגעוואסען אהרם
 ער איינער און בלייבן לעבן אים זי
 נאמע געט. אבער כ'הש אונז נאך
 אהרם ווייסיק. אז ער איז געשטאען
 שוועט (10). איינער אין צווישן. ווייסיק.
 דעם 28טן יוני.

אין זיינע בריוו פונעם 24טן און 26טן יוני און אין זיין נעשטערן ביים סוף איבערן סעלעספאן האט עס אויסגעווען אז ער געט בערשאפן זיין געווען סטילן זיינס פונעם געדאנק צו כאפן א סוף צו זיין לעבן. אבער די געזעטע שטאטס וואס איז געמאכט פון די שוידערלעכע ווייטליכע וועלכע ער איז אויסגעשטעלט נען סוף דריי כאנאט צייט נאך זיין צווייטער פאפערצייט האטן געמיינט אויסגעשטעלט און נאנצן זיין שטאטס אין אים געדאנק צו דעם פרוקטן סאכענט. גענאנט בערשאפן האטן שטאנדיק דעמאלערס. אז אויב ער וועט באפאלן ווערן פון לייזן, וואס וועלן זיין איבער זיינע כוחות אריבערצוטראגן וועט ער מיט זיין אייגענע מענטשן מאכן א סוף צו זיין לעבן. בענלעך אז ער וואלט עס גיט געטאן זיין לעבן אפאפערט פאפן, ווען איר אדער איי-מייער אדער אפאפערט אונזערע פרויען וואלט געווען לעבן אים. אים צו העלפן. אבער ער האט איר אפאפערט לייזן. נאכטום לייזן נאך דאקטאָר און עס איז גיט געווען לייזער. וועט ער וואלט געמאכט איבערלאזן ביים סוף שטאן, וי האטן דאראשיינלעך. נאך גיט דאראפן די ענטשעסטייט פונעם מאכאנט. אפאפערט, פאפאט און געבליבן איז און

אין יעד ווארענע און אידן ווערן
 תמיר געהאט און אידן דעוואנער
 אונטערפאלן פון דער צייט און וועט
 איין באפרייט געווארן פון דעם לעבע
 ריקן, ככה, און 1906. — האט ער נע
 פונען דאס צו מאכט א סוף צו ווען
 באקאנט אומביליגערהייטן האט ער
 פאר נאך זעלבן שטח צייט געמאכט
 אויסשטיין דעם שרעקלעכסטן יארן
 (פון ווען וועט 8)

ליבט געמאכט!
ס'איז בלויז צוויי וואכן. זינס אויס
דער בעליבטער קאכערדאל לעקסאנט
דער בערסקאן איז אוועק פון דער
וועלט. דאך קענט עס אים ווי אן איי-
ביקט פאר סיר. דער מאס. וואס
וויזן פרייזטיקער טיים האט עס
געגעבן. האט ביז איבערגעלאזט איי-
נאכט א צענטריסלעט. ס'איז ביי
ווער צו קאנצעטרירן מיינט געדא-
קט. באער איך בין זיכער. אז איי-
וועלט וויסן יאצו וועגן סאטמ'ס סוף
ווארעס האט איר אים דען גיט געליבט
און געשעצט דורך די סאטמאנעס
יאר?

סאטא האט איבערגעלאזט א צע-
הערע וואס מיר האבן געמונען, ווע-
לעך וויינען צוריקגעסטען, פון ווי-
לעבן דורשען. אט ווי עס לי-
עט זיך:

איך וויל גיט לעבן ווי א פרושקע-
רבעל, אפטייעניג, פארניגט מיר, עס
פערטערט זיך ווי אויך, עכא, גריס
אלעמען, העלעט עמיין."

אין דעם צווייטן טאג פון דעם
פארשטאנד, דאסער דעם 24טן איז
26טן יאר. ער האט געשריבן אז ער
פילט ווי נישט קענען ער צו קומען
צו סוף פון דעם 27טן יאר.
— ביין 26טן דעם 27טן יאר
אבער וויין נישט (אויס) נישט ער
אין סוף נישט פון וואס צו וויין אאר
ווארט. דעם 27טן (שבת) באשטאנען האט
זיך געקענט פארשטאנד אפגענומען
פארשטאנד פון נוצן. ביי מיר איבער
צוגעבן וויינע וויינעוואלטעס צו מיי
געברעכטעסאך ער האט געקענט. אז ווי
פילט בעסער. געט. ביכאל קעהן. ווי
פארשטאנד און וויינער איבערגעגעבען
ענגלישער מדינת וויינע געווען. ביי
מיר. אז עס איז מיר לחלוטין געווען.
וויינעוואלטעס וויינע, אז וויין ליט
בער. אלטער האבן מיר וויין און סוף
עס איז געווען. ארום 2 וויינער פאר
טאג וואס. פונקט ביים צוויי וואס
צוריק. ביין ארומגעגעבען געווען
פון טאג. דער סעלעשטן האט נישט
פונקטען פון נוצן. אז איך וואלט מיר
קענט. איך האב גלייך געוואלט. אז
אונזער פארשטאנד האלט באס און
אבער — נישט וואס פאר א סוף.
קענט גלייך פון. א פראצעדור ווי
ווארט. סיידיג מ'האט אפגעגעבן אויף
מאכטליך. דאס איז פילעס אויף
געלעך. ווייל ס'איז נישט קיין באן
קיין מאכט. קיין טעקעס צו קיין
מיר האבן געוואלט ווארטן דריי און
אלץ. ער איז מיר האבן געקענט דעם
ערשטן מאכטען קיין נוצן. און נאך
דריטעלעך. ער צו קענט אהין. דאס
וויינע געווען די שווערעלעכסטע. די
וויינעוואלטעס שטענען פון ביין לעבן.
אויסגעגעבן. אין פארשטאנד
אפגעגעבן. האבן מיר געקענט ער
וויין לעבן גלייכעס פון פאר
ערצן יאר — א צאמגעברענגען.

[illegible]

רעד סטרא'ס אין קעגנדרען

פארשטאנען האבן בייך וויך צונען
איינעם מיט אונזן, אז דער ערשטער
בענער ספרים אין קאנעדען גיט וועט
אז געשליכטעט.
נאר נישט צוויי טעגלעכע שטונדן ווי עס
טרייבט זיך, דער נאכטרייט האט זיך
פארצויגן ביז דרייסיג טעג 21טן יולי,
דורך דער צייט האבן די פאליצייס
אך ריכטעט אין קאנעדען נעמטן נע
באר אירעסן איבערשטעלונג.

ארס און ארס האט מען אין פאר
 לויט פון די פיר וואכן ארעסטירט איר
 בעז חורטערס ארעסטער. וואס האבן
 געסטרייט קעגן דער "ראדיקאלער-
 רייזשן און סעריטי" ווי רייכער פון
 ייטל און אומגענוג געווען געווען
 בונקאטעסטישע מיט ווייטעלע הער
 סטאטעס. מיט האט פאר געוויסע ארעס-
 טירט קאמערס נעכערע בעילס ווי
 פאר נאכאריטערס באגרייטערטע
 15 מיינען דאזיק און צען מיינען
 דאזיק און אזוי ווייטער. האט איר
 געזען: ווי שבען סטרייטער צו איר
 צווייטע בעילס? נו, האבן פאר ראדיקאל-
 סטרייטער פאקטע געבויט ארעסטירט
 און מורטע בארען - אין דער טייל-
 קייט פון ווייטער צעלן - האבן זיי
 געהאט א בעלעכטיקס (אכטענעקס)
 וועגן דער אומגלייכייטקייט פון פער-
 שטאליטערס געזען און וועגן דער
 אומגלייכקייט פאר ארעסטירטע - וואס
 זיי גיבן אומפאר איר

וועיטערס. ספרייטן

אין אכס נהיטע ניי יאדער רעם-
מאדאנען האט רעד לאמאל 1 פון רעד
דעמערס יוניאן דערלאערט די סעג
א סמרייט.

ד. יוניאן פארערט פאר די קעלנער
און קעלנערס א 54-טעח'דיקע אר-
בעטוואך. א מינימום סכירות פון 15
ראלאר א וואך און יוניאן אנערקענונג

אונזערע צוויי שונאים

הערת נוספת שונאם — נשכחתיים את אפסית
 פערדאן הנבן אר חתום ונמל ליפסן. תלמן ווי עס זאג-
 נא ווי אין בוים קענען את פארעסן צו זעלען בייסייע
 פאר תר. מ. אר. סמיל — אין פאר. בייס ברענשטיינ
 ארבעט פארדאן פערדאן

ישראל אורח אורח וזהו האבן שזין נעזעמלם עמלעכע ראלער
יער צייטונג נאך ווי געמינען אלץ קיין פרייע סיטס גים"א
יסן דאס נעלט אין אים

יר ארמאן א לענגער קעל פון נאנטע מענטשן. ס'זאגט מען אונזערע
 שניידער און קלומדמער וועס באפעסן יראיין-יראיים
 וועגן דעם. פרייע ארבעטער שטייען ווי לענגער זיי וועלכערס
 זענען. אבער ווי האלטן ווייזט אים אז פאסט-האמאט.
 ס'זאגט מען אונזערע אונזעלע וועס שוין עפער
 זענען אים.

דעם ידן איז דאס אן ערנסטע באעוואנג צו א וואכנשריט.
 ערנסט פאר איר עקזיסטענץ מיט אומייל כי? וואלט ניט געווען
 א. א. אלע די וואס באקומען דער ארבעטסליסט, זאלן זיך
 זענען צו בעזעלן דעם אכאנעטס פרייז. לכל החיות? דאסן מיר
 געוויסןסאל — אייר דערשטען. ליינער און פריינט. אז
 איינעם זיך קען און חובות און מיר מחן אומבאדינגט
 ערשטע דעלע?

[illegible]

אשר יד לעצמית סוד דער ארבעט פריינט און חברים!
 און איינע זאך צו וויל און צו איינע צייטונג וואסס חילת שיקס
 און ארבעט צו און — רעליגיאנע נים און דו, פאר ארבעט שטייט
 וויל ארבעט און איינע איינע, ארבעט און ארבעט

דעם שפאל פראג

דובנסקי א. באשפראך, כ"ס ו' 41
הענין ב. כ"ס ו' 41 (ערע) לען
ער גיט פון אן חדר זי ווער גיט
נאכאל פון דער דאט גיט וועלכער
אין פערטן 11-12-13-14-15-16-17-18-19-20-21-22-23-24-25-26-27-28-29-30-31-32-33-34-35-36-37-38-39-40-41-42-43-44-45-46-47-48-49-50-51-52-53-54-55-56-57-58-59-60-61-62-63-64-65-66-67-68-69-70-71-72-73-74-75-76-77-78-79-80-81-82-83-84-85-86-87-88-89-90-91-92-93-94-95-96-97-98-99-100-101-102-103-104-105-106-107-108-109-110-111-112-113-114-115-116-117-118-119-120-121-122-123-124-125-126-127-128-129-130-131-132-133-134-135-136-137-138-139-140-141-142-143-144-145-146-147-148-149-150-151-152-153-154-155-156-157-158-159-160-161-162-163-164-165-166-167-168-169-170-171-172-173-174-175-176-177-178-179-180-181-182-183-184-185-186-187-188-189-190-191-192-193-194-195-196-197-198-199-200-201-202-203-204-205-206-207-208-209-210-211-212-213-214-215-216-217-218-219-220-221-222-223-224-225-226-227-228-229-230-231-232-233-234-235-236-237-238-239-240-241-242-243-244-245-246-247-248-249-250-251-252-253-254-255-256-257-258-259-260-261-262-263-264-265-266-267-268-269-270-271-272-273-274-275-276-277-278-279-280-281-282-283-284-285-286-287-288-289-290-291-292-293-294-295-296-297-298-299-300-301-302-303-304-305-306-307-308-309-310-311-312-313-314-315-316-317-318-319-320-321-322-323-324-325-326-327-328-329-330-331-332-333-334-335-336-337-338-339-340-341-342-343-344-345-346-347-348-349-350-351-352-353-354-355-356-357-358-359-360-361-362-363-364-365-366-367-368-369-370-371-372-373-374-375-376-377-378-379-380-381-382-383-384-385-386-387-388-389-390-391-392-393-394-395-396-397-398-399-400-401-402-403-404-405-406-407-408-409-410-411-412-413-414-415-416-417-418-419-420-421-422-423-424-425-426-427-428-429-430-431-432-433-434-435-436-437-438-439-440-441-442-443-444-445-446-447-448-449-450-451-452-453-454-455-456-457-458-459-460-461-462-463-464-465-466-467-468-469-470-471-472-473-474-475-476-477-478-479-480-481-482-483-484-485-486-487-488-489-490-491-492-493-494-495-496-497-498-499-500-501-502-503-504-505-506-507-508-509-510-511-512-513-514-515-516-517-518-519-520-521-522-523-524-525-526-527-528-529-530-531-532-533-534-535-536-537-538-539-540-541-542-543-544-545-546-547-548-549-550-551-552-553-554-555-556-557-558-559-560-561-562-563-564-565-566-567-568-569-570-571-572-573-574-575-576-577-578-579-580-581-582-583-584-585-586-587-588-589-590-591-592-593-594-595-596-597-598-599-600-601-602-603-604-605-606-607-608-609-610-611-612-613-614-615-616-617-618-619-620-621-622-623-624-625-626-627-628-629-630-631-632-633-634-635-636-637-638-639-640-641-642-643-644-645-646-647-648-649-650-651-652-653-654-655-656-657-658-659-660-661-662-663-664-665-666-667-668-669-670-671-672-673-674-675-676-677-678-679-680-681-682-683-684-685-686-687-688-689-690-691-692-693-694-695-696-697-698-699-700-701-702-703-704-705-706-707-708-709-710-711-712-713-714-715-716-717-718-719-720-721-722-723-724-725-726-727-728-729-730-731-732-733-734-735-736-737-738-739-740-741-742-743-744-745-746-747-748-749-750-751-752-753-754-755-756-757-758-759-760-761-762-763-764-765-766-767-768-769-770-771-772-773-774-775-776-777-778-779-780-781-782-783-784-785-786-787-788-789-790-791-792-793-794-795-796-797-798-799-800-801-802-803-804-805-806-807-808-809-810-811-812-813-814-815-816-817-818-819-820-821-822-823-824-825-826-827-828-829-830-831-832-833-834-835-836-837-838-839-840-841-842-843-844-845-846-847-848-849-850-851-852-853-854-855-856-857-858-859-860-861-862-863-864-865-866-867-868-869-870-871-872-873-874-875-876-877-878-879-880-881-882-883-884-885-886-887-888-889-890-891-892-893-894-895-896-897-898-899-900-901-902-903-904-905-906-907-908-909-910-911-912-913-914-915-916-917-918-919-920-921-922-923-924-925-926-927-928-929-930-931-932-933-934-935-936-937-938-939-940-941-942-943-944-945-946-947-948-949-950-951-952-953-954-955-956-957-958-959-960-961-962-963-964-965-966-967-968-969-970-971-972-973-974-975-976-977-978-979-980-981-982-983-984-985-986-987-988-989-990-991-992-993-994-995-996-997-998-999-1000-1001-1002-1003-1004-1005-1006-1007-1008-1009-1010-1011-1012-1013-1014-1015-1016-1017-1018-1019-1020-1021-1022-1023-1024-1025-1026-

[illegible]

מבית מדרש לוי פאפא

פון דעם 20טן יולי מיט א רעזולוציע
 דעם 21סטן יולי — דערשטער וועג
 צווישן דעם העכסטן האט ער זיין
 צושטעלונג נישט גענוג, אז מען זאל
 אומשטעלן זיין נאמען אלס לענד-
 האט פון דעם אומשטעלונגס-
 סיי אה, צווישן, באווייזט דעם
 דעם 21טן יולי דעם 21סטן יולי
 געבליבן אן אומשטעלונגס-
 דעם 21טן יולי דעם 21סטן יולי
 אומשטעלונגס-
 (פאר 21 יולי)

[illegible][illegible]

דעם-מען

[illegible]

שבת אין ברייטא
בייטא

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The opinion of comrades. In Italian] L' Opinione dei Compagni / Emma Goldman. — 43 cm. In L'Adunata Dei Refrattari [New York]. — (July 25, 1936).
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Archivio Famiglia Bemer, Pistoia, Italy.

ANNO XV N° 29 SU "VANQUARD" di NEW YORK viene commentata questa risposta di EMMA all'inchiesta di "MAS LEJOS"

Sabato 25 Luglio 1936

L'ADUNATA DEI REFRATTARI

8

L'OPINIONE DEI COMPAGNI

Da un quarantennio l'anarchismo è soggetto alle peggiori infiltrazioni: sindacalismo puro, nazionalismo, dittatura, periodo transitorio, piattaforma, ecc.; ed a quest'ordine appartiene la voga che prende ora, e non certamente per la prima volta, l'antiastensionismo elettorale. La stessa distinzione tra "questione di principio" e "semplice questione di tattica", implicante che per ragioni di "tattica" si sarebbe disposti a passar sopra ai principii, non ha la più lontana parentela con la mentalità anarchica. Lo spirito anarchico conosce soltanto "una" formula, non "due": o si professano le idee anarchiche, o, "vincendo tutti gli scrupoli" si abbandonano.

Queste infiltrazioni distruggono necessariamente in coloro che ne sono vittime quanto poteva essere in essi di sentimento libertario, e li trasformano, presto o tardi; ma in generale molto rapidamente, in nazionalisti, fascisti, bolscevichi, operaisti, politicanti, ecc., ecc.

Questi detriti inevitabili, costituiscono una specie di autocliminazione degli elementi deboli e incongruenti, che credettero di essere anarchici senza essere mai riusciti ad esserlo. E nello stesso modo che un grande fiume non può essere contaminato dalle sostanze deleterie che vi si riversano, così la corrente longeva e mondiale dell'anarchismo si purifica automaticamente di tutte le adulterazioni e prosegue la sua marcia.

Appare ognora più chiaro che la lotta definitiva, non sarà né economica, né politica, tra classi, e partiti, ma intellettuale ed etica, ed avrà luogo, sotto multiple forme, tra i progressivi di ordine etico e di capacità intellettuale, e i ritardatari insufficientemente sviluppati. Bisogna dirlo francamente: da questa lotta uscirà l'Anarchia completa, integrale, sana e robusta, e non il triste aborto che genererebbero gli "infiltratori" instancabili, se si ascoltassero.

La mia risposta alla vostra inchiesta è superflua. Le considerazioni generali che precedono dicono chiaro quel che penso di questo insieme d'aberrazioni deprecabili.

M. NETTLAU

* * *

Cari compagni:

La vostra lettera a Berkman gli giunse alla vigilia di un'operazione, che dovette poi essere seguita da un'altra. Ora sta meglio ma non può scrivere.

Se fossi stata in Francia avrei risposto subito. Ma ero in Inghilterra donde tornai il 6 del mese scorso. Preoccupata della salute del mio amico e compagno di lotta, non ebbi tempo per la corrispondenza. Rispondo ora che Berkman sta meglio.

Prima domanda: E' per gli anarchici una questione di principio l'astensionismo elettorale?

Penso che deve esserlo, giacché la partecipazione alle elezioni è in contrasto coi principii dell'anarchismo.

Seconda: Può essere considerato come una semplice questione di tattica?

No, finché gli anarchici non credano, come i bolscevichi che "il fine giustifica i mezzi". La partecipazione alle elezioni danneggerebbe in sommo grado l'anarchismo, che è la sola filosofia sociale veramente rivoluzionaria.

Terza: Possono gli anarchici, in determinate circostanze e vincendo tutti gli scrupoli, esercitare, per un periodo transitorio, il potere?

Confesso che mi sono meravigliata di veder venire di Spagna questa domanda. Non supponevo che gli anarchici spagnoli arrivassero a tale estremo. Specialmente dopo aver visto che nel nome della "necessità transitoria" del Potere, il Partito Comuni-

sta ha perpetrato — in Russia e altrove — delitti senza numero contro la rivoluzione. Il Potere transitorio? E' inconcepibile che gli anarchici aspirino ad esercitarlo. Avrebbero essi la pretesa di essere più intelligenti e meno corruttibili degli altri? Non è l'abuso del Potere che corrompe, ma il Potere in sé. Fin dalle sue origini l'anarchismo dice questo. Non lo dimostra forse la realtà russa?

Ora si vede bene la prova che ha dato di sé la trappola del potere transitorio. Ha schiavizzate le masse. Ha postergate le vere finalità della rivoluzione. Ha convertito il transitorio in definitivo. Il "mezzo" è stato elevato a "fine". E nel suo nome, gli attuali padroni di Russia, insieme ai loro seguaci, giustificano tutti i delitti che stanno commettendo. Lo stesso accadrebbe a quegli anarchici spagnoli che aspirano all'esercizio transitorio del potere. Non solo non "accelererebbero la marcia verso la realizzazione dell'Anarchia", ma cadrebbero nel pantano della corruzione. Non esiste una ragione, neanche una sola, per credere che gli anarchici al Potere non soccomberebbero al peso delle stesse influenze corruttrici che travolgono gli altri.

Questa tendenza è negazione di anarchismo. E se pervenisse ad estendersi sarebbe un freno ad ogni progresso, e svanirebbe la idea che gli anarchici spagnoli rappresentano una forza rivoluzionaria. Se gli anarchici assumessero il potere e lo esercitassero recherebbero un danno incalcolabile, tanto al movimento spagnolo, come a quello delle altre parti del mondo. Mi pare che la partecipazione di taluni compagni nostri alle elezioni abbia screditato abbastanza l'opera nostra.

Vuol questo dire che io non mi rendo conto del pericolo fascista, o che non comprendo la necessità di combatterlo fino al suo completo sterminio? Niente affatto. Vuol semplicemente dire che se gli anarchici erano abbastanza forti e numerosi da spingere le elezioni a sinistra; dovevano essere abbastanza forti da unire i lavoratori.

Il momento psicologico in cui tutti gli anarchici di Spagna avrebbero dovuto ricorrere all'azione diretta, fu quello dell'insurrezione d'Ottobre, 1934. Allora avrebbero dovuto unirsi ai lavoratori per una lotta a fondo. Allora invece la C. N. T., dopo di avere abbandonate le eroiche masse d'Asturia alla loro sorte, disse che non voleva identificarsi — o confondersi — coi socialisti, con uomini come Largo Caballero, che tante volte ha pugnalato i compagni alla schiena. Era una povera scusa. Ma ammettiamo, per comodità di discussione, che sia valida. Come si spiega però, in tal caso, che taluni anarchici si siano uniti coi socialisti nelle elezioni? Francamente, non si spiega. Il modo come fu valutata la situazione rivoluzionaria di ottobre ha pochi precedenti nella storia dell'anarchismo. Si direbbe che certi compagni abbiano inteso compensare la propria negligenza durante l'insurrezione del 1934, recandosi poi alle urne. Io temo che l'abbiano a pagar cara, se già non la pagano.

Le elezioni hanno aiutato i comunisti a mandare diversi deputati al Parlamento, coi quali far partito; e sono stati (per gli anarchici) un'occasione per offrire a Largo Caballero l'altra guancia perché la colpisse di nuovo quando gli convenga.

So che molti compagni votarono per solidarizzare coi 30 mila prigionieri politici. Sentimento nobilissimo. Ma l'amnistia è un sollievo momentaneo, e dovrebbe esser chiaro per gli anarchici che i nuovi governanti non tarderanno a riempire le carceri di nuovo. La storia si ripete. Una trentina d'anni fa, quando la reazione italiana imperversava e riempiva le prigioni di ostaggi politici,

Saverio Merlino additò a Malatesta l'opportunità per gli anarchici di partecipare alle elezioni. Malatesta distrusse l'argomentazione di Merlino, dimostrando che partecipando alle elezioni gli anarchici non farebbero che aggiungere un altro anello alla catena che pesa sulle vittime. Malatesta non aveva allora le prove che ha portato poi la rivoluzione russa, ma sapeva di quanto sono capaci i socialisti. I compagni spagnoli hanno davanti agli occhi l'esempio della Russia, ma si vede che non hanno imparato nulla, od hanno imparato ben poco da quell'esperienza.

Comunque, è ora di rettificare. L'avvenire appartiene a coloro che continuano la lotta contro il potere. Soltanto per mezzo dello sforzo organizzato delle moltitudini capaci di osare, può arrivarsi alla fine del dominio capitalista e dello Stato.

Le deviazioni da questo criterio non possono che paralizzare il nostro movimento e servire da sgabello agli arrivisti della politica.

Emma Goldman

Nizza, 1 maggio 1936.

("Mas Lejos", 2-VII-36)

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Epitaph for Alexander Berkman] / [Emma Goldman].— [1936, Aug.?, draft].—
1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

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0 0 2 0 9

*Had well be
an a martyr
place in
Russia great*

[enclosure]

ALEXANDER BERKMAN .

Born November 21st 1870

Laid to rest June 30th 1936

HIS DREAM WAS

A NEW, FREE AND BEAUTIFUL WORLD

HIS WHOLE LIFE A CEASELESS STRUGGLE

FOR THE ULTIMATE TRIUMPH OF HIS IDEAL.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[A letter from Emma Goldman on Alexander Berkman's death. In Italian] Una Lettera di Emma Goldman sulla Morte di Alexander Berkman / Emma Goldman. — p. 6 ; 42 cm. In L'Adunata dei Refrattari [New York]. — Vol. 15, no. 30 (Aug. 1, 1936).
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ANNO XV. N° 30 1 AGOSTO 1936

6

L'ADUNATA DEI REFRATTARI

UNA LETTERA DI EMMA GOLDMAN SULLA MORTE DI ALEXANDER BERKMAN

St. Tropez, 12 Luglio 1936.

Carli compagni. Non sono che due settimane che il nostro amatissimo compagno Alexander Berkman è scomparso, ma a me sembra un'eternità. Il colpo della sua morte improvvisa mi ha disorientato. Mi è difficile raccogliere le idee. Ma son certa che voi desiderate sapere tutto ciò che riguarda Sasha, poichè voi pure gli avete voluto bene durante tutti questi anni.

Sasha ha lasciato un biglietto che abbiamo trovato dopo tornati dalla sua sepoltura. Dice il biglietto: "I don't want to live a sick man. Depend on me. Forgive me Emmie darling. And you too. I love you all. Help Emmie", firmato: SASHA.

Ho due lettere del compagno Berkman, una del 24 l'altra del 26 giugno. Mi scriveva che sebbene non si sentiva abbastanza in forze per venire a St. Tropez il 27, il mio sessantesimo settimo compleanno, le sue condizioni non erano gravi e non avevo da stare in apprensione. Il 27, nel pomeriggio, il compagno Berkman mi telefonò da Nizza, per farmi i suoi auguri. Mi disse che si sentiva meglio. Con me si trovavano il compagno Michael Cohn, la sua famiglia ed un devotissimo amico inglese. Nulla era più lontano dal mio pensiero dell'idea che il mio vecchio amico fosse in pericolo. Alle due del mattino di domenica, esattamente due settimane fa, fui svegliata da una telefonata che mi chiamava a Nizza immediatamente. Capii che il nostro compagno doveva essere alla fine, ma non come.

Partire immediatamente da un villaggio francese, a meno di non avere la propria automobile è impossibile. Non vi sono treni, né bus, né taxi. Dovemmo aspettare tre ore e mezza per prendere il primo bus. E poi altre due ore e mezza per arrivare a Nizza. Quelle furono le ore più angosciose tra le molte della mia vita.

Arrivati all'appartamento di Sasha trovammo Emmie, la sua compagna per quindici anni, abbattuta in modo da essere male in grado di raccontarci che cosa era successo. Sapemmo finalmente che Sasha aveva avuto una violenta ricaduta e mentre Emmie cercava affannosamente di trovare un medico, egli si era sparato al petto. Di questo Emmie era stata informata soltanto dopo che l'avevano portato all'ospedale ed ella medesima era stata trascinata alla stazione di polizia sotto l'imputazione di avere ucciso Sasha. La forza d'animo del nostro coraggioso compagno era tanta che egli non aveva permesso ad Emmie di accorgersi che si era tolta la vita. Lo aveva trovato coperto e non aveva potuto notare la ferita. Trovare un dottore in un piccolo paese di Francia, è un altro indice dello stato arretrato del luogo. Emmie dovette perdere varie ore prima che il medico arrivasse. E quando arrivò era troppo tardi. Ma, trovata la rivoltella, notificò la polizia e l'ospedale e Sasha fu portato via coll'ambulanza.

Corremmo all'ospedale. Trovammo Sasha pienamente consapevole, ma tormentato da dolori atroci per cui non poté parlare. Ci riconobbe però. Michael Cohn ed io rimanemmo con lui fin dopo mezzogiorno. Quando tornammo, alle quattro, Sasha era in coma e non ci riconobbe più. Spero che non sentisse più il suo dolore. Restai con lui fino alle 8.30 la sera. Mi proponevo di ritornare alle 11 per passare la notte con lui, ma fummo avvertiti che era morto alle 10 P. M., domenica 28 giugno.

Nelle sue lettere del 24 e del 26, e nella conversazione telefonica del 27, il compagno Berkman, pareva le mille miglia lontano dal pensiero di finire la propria vita. Ma l'ultimo attacco del terribile dolore che aveva sofferto per tre mesi, in seguito alla seconda operazione, lo aveva portato all'esasperazione. Il compagno Berkman aveva sempre detto che se dovesse essere colpito da male insopportabile se ne sarebbe andato di mano propria. Forse non l'avrebbe fatto quella sera del 28 se, lo o qualcun altro dei nostri amici gli fosse stato vicino per assisterlo. Ma Emmie si disperava a trovare un medico, e non c'era nessuno vicino da lasciare con Sasha. Forse ella non si rese neanche conto della gravità del momento. Comunque, Sasha rimase solo nel suo appartamento o siccome aveva sempre una rivoltella, con sé, fin da quando era uscito dalla tomba dei vivi nel 1906, trovò il coraggio di morire.

Immediatamente dovette passare, altre, dodici, ore di dolori atroci. Il proiettile aveva perforato lo stomaco e la parte inferiore del polmoni e paralizzato le gambe. Il nostro compagno aveva sempre espresso il desiderio di essere cremato. Questo era anche il mio desiderio e quello di Emmie. Ma a Nizza non c'è crematorio. Il più vicino è a Marsiglia e mi si disse che il costo della cremazione supera gli 8.000 franchi. Sasha ha lasciato la munifica somma di \$80, che il governo — quello stesso governo che aveva inseguito lui senza tregua in vita — sequestrò appena avuto notizia della sua morte. Nessuno poteva toc-

carlo. Io, non sono stata favorita di beni terreni, particolarmente dacchè sono in esilio. Non potevo in queste condizioni esaudire il desiderio del mio vecchio amico e compagno. Sono certa, d'altronde, che egli sarebbe stato contrario a spendere una somma di ottomila franchi per una cremazione. Avrebbe detto che "i vivi ne hanno più bisogno dei morti". Ma è caratteristico di questo nostro maledetto regime, di pelare i morti come i vivi. Nessuno saprà mai quante umiliazioni e sofferenze abbia dovuto su-



ALEXANDER BERKMAN

bire in Francia il nostro compagno. Espulso quattro volte. Poi il "sursis" di tre mesi. Poi, di sei. E, ironia delle ironie, appena due settimane prima della fine gli era stata notificata un'estensione di un anno. Proprio quando avrebbe potuto avere un po' di tregua, Alexander Berkman era troppo straziato dal male e troppo sfinito da due operazioni per vivere.

A completare la persecuzione, Emmie fu arrestata dalla polizia nel momento che Sasha veniva portato all'ospedale, sotto l'accusa di avere sparato il colpo di rivoltella. La cosa era così assurda da apparire incredibile. Sasha era per Emmie tutto il mondo. Per fortuna, una donna del vicinato l'aveva vista correre su e giù pel marciapiede in attesa del medico e questa donna assicurò la polizia che Emmie non si trovava neanche nell'appartamento quando Sasha s'era sparato. Senza questa testimonianza sarebbe stato difficile salvare Emmie dalle grinfie della polizia.

Durante il nostro soggiorno nella Francia meridionale ci siamo fatti alcuni amici, inglesi e americani. Non sono anarchici, ma avevano grande stima per Sasha e molto affetto per me. Questi amici vennero caricati di fiori a portare l'ultimo loro tributo ad Alexander Berkman. V'erano pure Sholon Ash ed uno dei suoi figli, ed un devotissimo compagno francese. Così alla presenza di un piccolo gruppo di persone affezionate e devote fu il nostro compagno sepolto il 30 giugno. Quanto a me la parte maggiore della mia vita lo ha seguito nella tomba.

La morte mi ha tolta l'opportunità di essere con l'amico della mia vita nel momento in cui esalava l'ultimo respiro. Ma non mi ha potuto togliere quella di passare alcuni momenti da sola con lui nella camera mortuaria, momenti di silenzio e di pace serena, nella contemplazione della nostra amicizia che non ha mai vacillato, della lotta e del lavoro per l'ideale per cui egli aveva tanto sofferto ed a cui aveva dedicata tutta la sua vita. Il ricordo di questi momenti vivrà in me fino al mio ultimo respiro, o mi saranno di sprone a continuare l'opera che Sasha ed io incominciammo il 15 agosto 1889.

Ora, un duplice compito mi attende. Assistere Emma, ma perchè ella è stata per quindici anni nella sua vita, ed a lui aveva fatto dedizione completa di sé. E poi, tenere alto il ricordo di Sasha perchè continui a vivere nel cuore e nel pensiero di quanti l'hanno amato, ed ispirare alla giovane generazione opere eroiche come eroica è stata la sua vita. Infatti, non è egli morto come aveva vissuto, coerente sino alla fine? Fervidamente spero di essere forte come lui se mai avessi da essere colpita oltre il sopportabile.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

Alexander Berkman's Last Days / Emma Goldman. — pp. 12-13 ; 29 cm. In *The Vanguard* [New York]. — (Aug.-Sept. 1936).

Obtained from Shields Library, the University of California, Davis. Institutional Location: Department of Special Collections.

who had rented space in their little restaurant to the editor of the journal. This outright attempt to suppress freedom of press must be fought with utmost energy.

Otto Richter, the anti-Nazi whose case received nationwide attention, has received the right of asylum from Belgium which he was denied here. Benno Martini, anti-Nazi, has been granted a stay of deportation until September 1st. Adam Mueller has been granted a stay until August 15th.

The warrant of deportation for Walter Saupe has been withdrawn with provision that he leave the United States by August 1st. Walter Baer, a civil engineer, faces deportation to Germany because he ran counter to powerful industrial interests who opposed his plan for a sewage disposal plant as part of a public works program for unemployment relief. Casimo Cafieri, anti-Fascist, was deported to Italy July 4th.

Negro Question in the U. S.

a review

The Negro Question in the United States

By James S. Allen, International Publishers, \$1.25.

Once more the Communist Party presents its thesis — or one of its theses — on the Negro question in this country. It has chosen an able spokesman, but it is a pity that a man so well acquainted with factual development of the problem should have slipped into some quite obvious errors.

The "bourgeois" or "sociological" reviewers will probably attribute Allen's inconsistencies to his desire to make his statistics and "facts" fit into the pattern of party theory — his failure to be "objective". The present review is more concerned, however, with learning whether this book has drawn correct historical inferences. If it has, we shall not quarrel with the author for using what he found in order to bolster up the Communist campaign for Negro support.

The book delimits what Allen describes as "an area of continuous Negro majority", commonly known as the Black Belt. He draws from the 1930 census the fact that in 189 counties in the South, Negroes constitute half or more than half the population. In 228 nearby or surrounding counties Negroes are said to form between 30 percent and 50 percent of the population of each county taken singly. All in all, this area has a Negro population of 50.3 per cent.

Now, what do the Communists and their spokesman plan to do with this area where racial hatred is most intense and where the "remnants of chattel slavery" still abound? The book is careful to state that neither segregation nor Jim-Crowism is meant by "self-determination", and that the term "Negro Republic" does not mean "Negro domination" or "dictatorship of Negroes". The Negro is merely to play "the leading and most important role in the new

Republic" that is to spring up in the Black Belt.

One cannot quite escape the conclusion that the Communists, in formulating this scheme, are either bending too far backwards in an effort to gain recruits to a fantastic idea, in which case the plan is meaningless, even in theory, or that they have worked themselves into a hopeless dilemma by insisting on one hand that racial factors are subordinate to economic issues, while on the other they hold out to Negroes the lure of power in an area where white resistance, under capitalism, will be of the most stubborn sort even where the Nordic population is thinnest, to say nothing of the fact that the Negro majority, in the aggregate is only three-tenths of one per cent.

With much of Allen's caustic criticism of the present Negro bourgeois leadership many young, thinking Negroes will agree, but they are bound to ask of a party that rejects segregation in principle, if there must be a Soviet Socialist Republic in the South, will not its establishment as a Negro "sphere of influence" aggravate instead of ameliorate the things with which it would be meant to cope? Would the white minorities have self-determination there?

The last decade has seen more than one Communist change of front on the Negro question. Each time a new theory is handed down by the Comintern, ample substantiating quotations from the gospels of Marx and Lenin are resurrected, and Allen, it can be seen readily, "knows all the answers". We do not deny to the Communists the right to learn or to alter their dogmas. But we have learned not to expect too much consistency from them.

—GEORGE CREIGHTON

Alexander Berkman's Last Days by Emma Goldman

St. Tropez July 12th, 1936

It is only two weeks since our beloved comrade Alexander Berkman passed away. Yet it seems an eternity to me. The blow his untimely death has struck me has left me completely shattered. I find it difficult to collect my thoughts. But I feel sure you will want to know all about Sasha's end. For have you not loved him all through the years?

Sasha left a note which we found after we returned from his last resting place. It reads: "I don't want to live a sick man. Dependent. Forgive me Emmie darling. And you too Emma. Love to All. Help Emmie". signed, Sasha.

I have two letters from comrade Berkman dated June 24th and 26th. He wrote while he did not feel strong enough to come to St Tropez the 27th, my sixty-seventh birthday,

his condition was not serious and not to worry. On the 27th in the afternoon Berkman called me up from Nice to give his well wishes for the day. He said he was feeling better. Comrade Michael Cohn, his family and a very devoted English friend were with me. And my thoughts were far away from any danger to my own old pal. At 2 A. M. Sunday, just two weeks ago I was awakened by a telephone call from Nice to come at once. I knew at once that our comrade was at the end. But not what kind of an end.

On arriving in Sasha's apartment we found Emmie, his companion for fourteen years, in a collapse hardly able to tell us what had happened. We finally learned that Sasha had suffered a violent relapse and while Emmie was trying desperately to get a doctor Sasha had shot himself in the chest. This Emmie learned only after Sasha had been rushed

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to a hospital and she had been dragged off by the police as having killed Sasha. So great was the fortitude of our brave comrade that he did not let Emmie know he had ended his life. Actually she found him in bed covered up with blankets so she should not notice his wound. Getting a doctor in a small town in France is another indication of the backwardness of the country. It took Emmie several hours before the miserable man arrived. He came too late. But when he found the revolver he notified the police and the hospital, and Sasha was taken away in an ambulance.

We rushed to the hospital. We found Sasha fully conscious but in terrific pain so that he could not speak. He did, however, fully recognize us. Michael Cohn and I remained with him until the early afternoon. When we returned at four o'clock Sasha was in a coma. He no longer knew us. And I hope fervently he no longer felt his pain. I stayed with him until 8.30 P. M. planning to return at 11 and remain with him for the night. But we were notified that he died at 10 o'clock Sunday, June 28th.

Comrade Berkman had always maintained that if ever he should be stricken with suffering beyond endurance he will go out of life by his own hand. Perhaps he might not have done it on the fatal evening of the 28th had I or anyone else of our friends been near to help him. But Emmie was desperately trying to get a doctor. And there was no one near she could have left with Sasha. The most likely did not even realize the gravity of the moment.

It had always been our comrade's wish to be cremated. This was also my wish and Emmie's. But there is no crematorium in Nice. The next place was Marseilles. And the cost I was told 8000 francs. Sasha left the "munificent" sum of \$80 which the very government, that had hounded him from pillar to post, blocked as soon as Sasha's death became known. No one could get it. I myself have not been blessed with worldly goods, certainly not since I am living in exile. I could therefore, not carry out the cherished wish of my old pal and comrade. In point of fact

he would have been opposed to such a thing as spending 8000 francs for cremation. He would have said "the living need this money more than the dead". But it is so characteristic of our damnable system to fleece the living as well as the dead. No one will ever know the humiliation and suffering our comrade went through in France. Four times expelled. Then granted a pittance of three months. Then six months. And irony of ironies just two weeks before the end he was given an extension of a year. Just when he might have enjoyed some peace Alexander Berkman was too harassed by pain and too spent from his operations to live.

Death had robbed me of the chance to be with my lifelong friend until he breathed his last. But it could not prevent me from a few precious moments with him alone in the Dead House, moments of serene peace, and silence in contemplation of our friendship that had never wavered, our struggle and work for the ideal for which Sasha had suffered so much and to which he had dedicated his whole life. These moments will remain for me until I myself will breathe the last. And these moments in the House of the Dead will spur me on to continue the work Sasha and I had begun August 15th, 1889.

I know how you all feel about our wonderful Sasha. The many cables, wires and letters I have already received are proof of your devotion and your love. I know you will not deny our dead the respect for the method he employed to end his suffering.

Our sorrow is all-embracing, our loss beyond mere words. Let us gather strength to remain true to the flaming spirit of Alexander Berkman. Let us continue the struggle for a new and beautiful world. Let us work for the ultimate triumph of Anarchism — the ideal Sasha loved passionately and in which he believed with every fiber of his being. In this way alone can we honor the memory of one of the grandest and bravest comrades in our ranks — ALEXANDER BERKMAN.

IN MEMORIAM ALEXANDER BERKMAN

(Ed. Note: This brief but vivid account of the life and work of Alexander Berkman was written for the *Vanguard* by one of Berkman's intimate friends who prefers to remain anonymous.)

When Alexander Berkman's tragic end was announced, many of the older comrades, who knew him personally, felt that his death had left a space which would never be filled. This was the logical fate of a man who, when a mere youth of twenty-two, was ready to take the life of another whose brutal egotism brought misery and suffering to thousands of people. At sixty-six, he brought his life to an end when he felt he could serve life no longer.

When Berkman started to avenge the Homestead strikers forty-four years ago he knew a deed like that could only be paid for by his death and he was ready to sacrifice his young life without hesitation for his outraged sense of justice.

No matter how one evaluates his deed, none would doubt his sincerity if one only had the patience to delve into the complicated soul of humanity and guess its secrets. When a person, particularly a young man whose life still has everything to offer, is ready to risk his all without hope of return, he must not be evaluated by ordinary standards. This is a deed which can only be explained when its motives are appreciated. He who does not understand how one could give everything for a cause which bore for him the whole meaning of life, will never understand a person like Berkman. The average philistine who calculates his

life by profit and loss, and whose hardened soul cannot understand any action which is not motivated by the desire for profit, will never see in people like Berkman other than brutal men of force who menace the existence of society. They will never comprehend that it was not crudeness of sentiment that made Berkman commit his deed, but that it was his love for humanity, his respect for human life, that impelled him to take a life. This rare trait was characteristic of Berkman to his very end and was the key to his personality.

It is not one's political beliefs but the inner feelings which shape character. Berkman was everything but a man of force: he was a man of great kindness, a sincere friend and a splendid comrade, one who lived through the happiness and sorrows of his fellow humans. His clear thinking, colored by a somewhat naive sentimentality, made everybody love him. In this lies the elementary greatness of his personality, the root of his moral influence. He was no sectarian and could tolerate any sincerely presented opinion, but he always knew how best to express his own ideas when the occasion arose.

Berkman came to America as a very young man in a period in which the young workers' movement had one of its tragic moments. Like Emma Goldman, Voltairine de Cleyre, and so many others, he was drawn into the revolutionary movement as a result of the Haymarket tragedy in Chicago. It was the fiery agitative powers of Johann Most which attracted him to the printing shop of Most's "Free-

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Speech, before a Mass Meeting Attended by Ten Thousand People, "First Address to the Spanish Comrades," Barcelona] / E[mma] G[oldman].— [1936 Sept. 19?].— 1 p.; 26 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

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B a r c e l o n a .

First address to the Spanish comrades at a mass-meeting attended by ten thousand people. Sept. 1936.

Dear comrades,

I greet you in the name of our comrades in England, the United States and ~~the~~ Canada. We outside of Spain have already been given a new impetus by your great courage in the battle you are making against Fascism and for our ideas. And all of us are determined to aid you to the last drop of our blood and with all our energies, until you have triumphed in your grand wonderful aim.

I realize as do all the comrades in Europe and the States that you must first concentrate your efforts to drive out of Spain the dark and sinister forces that are threatening your liberty and that are holding the people in many countries by the throat. In freeing Spain from this devastating scourge you will also break the backbone from Fascism in the rest of the world. Your splendid battle is therefore of universal scope and magnitude. I know only too well the fortitude needed, the concentration and the tremendous power of endurance to bring such a task as yours to victory. But also I know that you have all these qualifications and that you will succeed.

I am in your midst only a few days. But thanks to the solidarity and co-operation of the CNT and FAI I have already been placed in a position to learn that over and above your struggle to crush Fascism you are laying ~~great~~ great stress on the constructive side of your battle. The factories, I visited, and the houses you have requisitioned for your great task are in perfect condition and order as if there had been no pitched battles with our ~~enemies~~ enemies in Barcelona. Work and life has continued under your supervision better than under the old owners. You have thereby proven that our grand teacher Michael Bakunin was right when he said that the spirit of destruction is also the spirit of construction.

And you have done more. You have branded as villainous the mis-representations and charges in many papers, that Anarchism is a chaotic theory, that it has no progress, that it is only bent on wreck and ruin. In the face of danger and death you are demonstrating ~~that~~ that Anarchism is the most constructive social philosophy worth living, fighting and, if need be, dying for.

You Comrades of Barcelona and of Catalonia in general are giving a shining example to the workers of the rest of the world, that you fully understand the meaning of revolution. For you have learned through past mistakes that unless the revolutionary forces succeed in feeding, clothing and sheltering the people during the revolutionary period, the revolution is doomed to ruin. For its strength and security lie not in the state or in the political power of parties but in the constructive efforts during the fighting period. Your marvelous experiment will and must succeed. But whether it does ~~or~~ or fails you are planting new roots deeply in the soil of Spain, in the hearts and minds of your people and in the hearts and minds of the oppressed all over the world.

I have come to you as to my own. For your ideal has been my ideal for forty five years and it will remain to my last breath. My one desire is to be a part great or small in the grandiose battle you are making.
Long live the CNT. Long live the FAI.
Long live your fight for the emancipation and liberation of ~~the~~ ~~humanity~~ ~~the~~ humanity.

E.G.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] El Grandioso Mitin del Sabado en El Olympia [The grandiose meeting of saturday at El Olympia] / Emma Goldman. — pp. 1-2 ; 36 cm. In Solidaridad Obrera [Barcelona]. — (Sept. 22, 1936).

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SOLIDARIDAD OBRERA

ORGANO DE LA CONFEDERACION REGIONAL DEL TRABAJO DE CATALUÑA

PORTAVOZ DE LA CONFEDERACION NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO DE ESPAÑA

AÑO VII. ÉPOCA V.

Barcelona, martes, 22 de septiembre de 1936

NUMERO 1285

UN ACTO HISTORICO

EL GRANDIOSO MITIN DEL SABADO EN EL OLYMPIA

La Confederación Nacional del Trabajo de España, afirma su posición revolucionaria y constructiva
Ni dudas, ni vacilaciones... ¡Adelante!

Nos hallamos en plena guerra. Vivimos en período revolucionario. Las trincheras de la libertad son la expresión de la victoria. El enemigo, que provocó la guerra y la revolución, será batido y aplastado definitivamente. Hemos dicho diferentes veces que los fascistas luchan con absoluta carencia de moral y las confidencias e informes que nos llegan de los pueblos dominados por ellos, demuestran claramente que hay un sordo levantamiento de la población civil contra la que representan los dictadores militares, y además, mantienen su heroísmo las pocas camaradas que han podido sustraerse a la barbarie.

Nosotros en cambio, aceptando la guerra y sus derivaciones trágicas, viviendo intensamente la revolución, estudiamos, articulamos y llevamos a la práctica la nueva organización responsable que sustituya el concepto gubernamental.

Y esta significación, esta trascendente significación tiene el acto de la noche del sábado, en el Olympia, que la Confederación Nacional del Trabajo, preparó, en Barcelona, con objeto de dar cuenta de los acuerdos del Pleno nacional de regionales celebrado en Madrid.

A las veinticuatro horas de celebrado dicho Pleno — como muy bien decía el camarada Mariano R. Vázquez, al iniciarse el acto — la Confederación daba fe pública a los importantísimos acuerdos, que significan el encauzamiento de la revolución.

Ello patentiza claramente el plan de actividades y de responsabilidad a que supeditamos nuestra labor confederal.

Los acuerdos y cuanto se dijo en el Olympia, son trascendentales. España entera se dará perfecta cuenta del elevado sentido de responsabilidad que tienen todas nuestras determinaciones. La Confederación Nacional del Trabajo, ha dado sus mejores hombres y la sangre de sus juventudes para la lucha. Primero, las

gloriosas jornadas del julio liberador. Después, la cruenta lucha en el frente, en cuyas avanzadas tenemos un sitio de honor. Ahora, y mientras zumba el cañón y continúa nuestro plan de ofensiva, las organismos confederales dedican toda su actividad, en la retaguardia, no a plantear cuestiones de táctica y procedimiento, no a banales e inconvenientes pretensiones de tipo sindical, sino a encauzar la gran marcha revolucionaria por un sendero de justicia social, que transforme España en nación libre, unificando esa acción benefactora con aquellos organismos igualmente responsables que nosotros.

Habló en el Olympia la sinceridad y entusiasmo de nuestra Juventud Libertaria, por boca de Mariano R. Vázquez; nuestro "Marianet". La serenidad y la emoción tuvieron reflejo en Domènech; los nuevos conceptos de una economía revolucionaria, se acordaron en la recia contextura social de Fábregas, y el vibrante alegato de legítimas, tuvo como broche final de tan interesante mitin el valor de ser la voz confederal, ya que los acuerdos del Pleno fueron comunicados y glosados por el querido camarada.

¡Ah, pero por el empuje hemiciclo del teatro, abarrotado de amigos y hermanos, cruzó la sublime ráfaga del anarquismo, surgida del pecho de una mujer!

Emma Goldman, nuestra camarada, dijo en inglés, lo que el pueblo español tradujo espiritualmente, aun cuando luego se leyó en nuestro idioma.

Las palabras humanas de la Goldman fueron también lanzadas a grandes distancias, por esa realidad científica del micrófono transmisor. Los corazones amigos que hayan escuchado esa vibración de la infatigable luchadora, comprenderán la grandiosidad de la obra emprendida por la Confederación Nacional del Trabajo y la Federación Anarquista Ibérica.

Y vamos con el acto.

Empieza el mitin

Poco antes de la hora anunciada, los alrededores del teatro Olympia, presentaban un grato aspecto. De tranvías y autobuses descendían grupos de camaradas que iban engrosando el núcleo desbordante de auditores del acto confederal. Esto a despecho de la inclemencia del tiempo, con una lluvia perenne y densa, pero nuestros hombres y nuestras mujeres no encuentran obstáculos cuando se trata de cumplimentar un deber. Y era un deber de solidaridad llenar, desbordar el teatro Olympia para escuchar la autorizada palabra de los camaradas representativos y responsables que días antes marcharon a Madrid para asistir al pleno nacional de Regionales. Horas después, estos hombres, en su sitio de combate, se hallaban prestos a transmitir a Cataluña el resultado de las deliberaciones y acuerdos tomados.

Mariano R. Vázquez

PRECISA LA COLABORACION DE TODOS EN ESTA LUCHA TERRIBLE

Preside, como hemos indicado, al camarada Vázquez, quien al dar por comenzado el acto, dirigió las siguientes palabras:

Camaradas: Con la agilidad característica en nosotros, a las veinticuatro horas de haber terminado las tareas del Pleno Nacional de Regionales, os convocamos para daros cuenta de los acuerdos recaídos. Importantes acuerdos que Cataluña y España deben conocer, por la trascendencia histórica de los mismos.

Apartándose de la demagogia del momento, por la hora grave y dolorosa que pasamos, la Confederación Nacional del Trabajo, brinda al país y a los hermanos contentientes unas disposiciones serenas.

El Pleno Nacional de Regionales demostrará al pueblo español que la C. N. T. y la F. A. I. se preocupan de su porvenir, que es nuestro, y la importancia de las deliberaciones y acuerdos los hará confiar en el victorioso final de la tragedia que desataron los fascistas.

Camaradas del Comité de Abastos, del Consejo de Economía y de nuestros organismos os hablará de los diferentes problemas planteados y os informará cumplidamente de las tareas del Pleno, de sus resoluciones y de sus propósitos.

Existe hoy entre nosotros un sentido de constructividad y precisa la colaboración de todos en esta lucha terrible. No son aquellos tiempos en que precisaba y se imponía una limitación de programas y tácticas. Esta hora histórica y solemne es hora de realizaciones y de reconstrucción, al margen de apreciaciones de ceremonial.

La posición de la C. N. T. y la F. A. I. se alara y terminante. La provocación militar, inició desde el 18 de julio una sana reacción libertaria, y apostamos aquí la sublevación, apartando la carreta facciosa; para reconstituir y articular la nueva economía, que sea la fuerte cosecha de la



Camarada M. R. Vázquez, del Comité Regional

victoria de las armas, precisa también la colaboración de todos, porque el común esfuerzo hará realzar nuestras concepciones humanas de justicia social. Campos, talleres, minas y fábricas deben unificar su acción revolucionaria para triunfar.

Precisa esa colaboración. En nuestros propósitos está siempre ofrecer facilidades para ello. Esto es una obra de seriedad y de responsabilidades. Dicho esto, y después de daros cuenta del saludo que nos envían unos "aguituchos" de Las Cortes, que se hallan luchando en el frente, en Aznúa, y de otra expresión de fraternal solidaridad que nos remiten los camaradas de la Comisión de Fomento de la Barriada de San Andrés, vamos a dar por comenzado el acto.

Antes, y aprovechando la presencia en este local, de la consecuente propagandista del anarquismo, camarada Emma Goldman, os dirigirá estas unas palabras, en inglés, que serán luego traducidas y leídas en español. Ojalá, pues:

Emma Goldman

POR VUESTRO ESPERENDIDO EJEMPLO HEMOS DADO VIDA A LA IDEA DE NUESTRO GRAN MARTIRO MIGUEL BAKUNIN

Al acercarse al micrófono, la figura simpática de la mujer anarquista, recibió el murmullo de aprobación del pueblo.

Sus palabras, dichas en la lengua nativa, fueron oídas con un profundo silencio. Al terminar ella, el camarada Vázquez, dió lectura a la traducción que causó una infinita satisfacción espiritual a los oyentes.

He aquí sus palabras: Queridos camaradas: Os saludo en nombre de los camaradas de América, Canadá e Inglaterra. A todos ellos, sin excepción, les habéis dado un nuevo ímpetu por vuestro gran valor en la lucha que estáis llevando por nuestra idea. Y todos quieren hacer lo más posible ayudando hasta que hayáis triunfado en vuestra empresa.

Respecto a mí misma, puedo decir



Aspecto del plénum

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] El Grandioso Mitin del Sabado en El Olympia [The grandiose meeting of saturday at El Olympia] / Emma Goldman. — pp. 1-2 ; 36 cm. In Solidaridad Obrera [Barcelona]. — (Sept. 22, 1936).

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Página 2

SOLIDARIDAD OBRERA

Martes, 22 Septi.



Compañero Emma Goldman, inglesa

que aun estando entre vosotros, sólo unos pocos días, ya he encontrado los acontecimientos emocionantes, tan impresionantes, en efecto, que no puedo encontrar palabras para expresar mi entusiasmo y admiración hacia la obra que ya habéis realizado. Yo comprendo, como todo el mundo, que vuestro primer objetivo es el de expulsar de España las fuerzas negras y sinistras que en otros países están ahogando a las masas y mutilando la sagrada causa de la libertad. Libertando a España de este terrible látigo, romperéis también los fundamentos del fascismo en el resto del mundo. Nuestra batalla es, por lo tanto, de importancia universal. Yo sé bastante bien que el valor necesita un fundamento espiritual, la ferviente fuerza de la perseverancia para llevar a la victoria semejante lucha. Pero sé también que vosotros, camaradas, tenéis todas estas cualidades para llevar a un fin victorioso el combate.

Ya he dicho que estoy aquí solamente unos días y, sin embargo, gracias a la solidaridad del Comité Regional de la C. N. T. y F. A. I., ya he podido ver algo de vuestras realizaciones. Y la cosa que por sí misma me ha impresionado más, es el hecho de que aun estando en plena revolución y luchando a vida o muerte, no habéis destruido nada de lo que es útil y necesario en nuestro sistema. Las casas reguladas, las empresas socializadas por vosotros están en perfecto orden, funcionando como si no hubiera habido semejante tormenta loca en las calles de Barcelona. Esto es para mí de muchísima importancia, pues por vuestro espléndido ejemplo habéis dado vida a la idea de nuestro gran maestro Miguel Bakunin, de que el espíritu de la destrucción puede y tiene que ser siempre el espíritu constructivo. Y vosotros también habéis realizado lo que yo he propagado incesantemente desde que salí de Rusia, a saber, que nosotros, los anarquistas, comprobamos que la revolución, el destruir el viejo orden mundial, si quiere tener éxito, ya tiene que empezar inmediatamente a crear el nuevo orden social, pues la seguridad de la revolución no está en el Estado ni tampoco en el Poder político de unos partidos, sino en la capacidad de los revolucionarios de alimentar, vestir y proteger a los obreros durante la lucha revolucionaria.

Vosotros, compañeros de Barcelona y de Cataluña en general, estáis dando un ejemplo resplandeciente de haber comprendido el sentido de la revolución, empezando a realizar vuestro ideal sin pérdida de tiempo. El experimento que habéis empezado tiene que tener éxito y lo tendrá. Pero el éxito no ocurre, vuestro espléndido esfuerzo dejará sus profundas huellas en el suelo de España, en los corazones y en el espíritu de vuestro pueblo, y en las coronas y en el espíritu de las masas de todo el mundo.

He venido aquí para ponerme a la disposición de vuestra obra y de vuestros esfuerzos con todo lo que soy y que sea capaz de hacer, pues vuestro ideal es el mío. He trabajado por él durante y cinco años, y espero continuarlo hasta mi último suspiro. Que digan nuestros enemigos que el anarquismo es un ideal caótico, que nosotros no tenemos programa y que únicamente queremos errutar la sociedad. Vosotros ya habéis comprobado que el anarquismo es la única filosofía social constructiva digna de ser defendida, digna de mirar por ella en el momento. El porvenir pertenece al energismo y a los grandes maestros y luchadores, entre los cuales vosotros, camaradas, tenéis un sitio grande y admirable. Viva la C. N. T. ¡Viva la F. A. I. ¡Viva la lucha por la emancipación de la humanidad!

A continuación hace uso de la palabra el camarada

Juan J. Doménech

CADA PALABRA NUESTRA ES UNA SENTENCIA DE MUERTE CONTRA EL REGIMEN CAPITALISTA

¡Trabajadores de España! ¡Trabajadores de España! ¡Trabajadores de España! ¡Trabajadores de España! ¡Trabajadores de España!

que o no os ocupareis, quien nos puede escuchar, que vea en nuestros acontecimientos o afirmaciones un elevado sentido de responsabilidad. Cada palabra nuestra es una sentencia de muerte contra el régimen capitalista. Hoy no se trata de votar o no votar, ni de hablar de anarquismo, comunismo o socialismo. No venimos a nada de ello, porque es hora de hechos concretos, de realidades, de veracidad. Aquellas promesas de ayer, han adquirido una elocuente realidad.

Todos recordáis que en este mismo local y después de un pleno de Regionales, nos enfrentábamos con otros compañeros para establecer una alianza revolucionaria, que facilitara un plan de ataque al fascismo.

Pero, es que la revolución, camaradas, no la hemos provocado nosotros. Se ha planteado, y la aceptamos con todas sus consecuencias, por toda esa chusma que intento un nuevo golpe de Estado. La criminal intención fascista es la que ha transformado en una revolución y en una guerra. Revolución y guerra se hallan encauadas de una manera viril por todos nosotros.

UN PROBLEMA FRÍO

La palabra no tiene expresión para recoger tanta grandiosidad y heroísmo. Nos sabemos responsables ante el mundo de esta hora histórica y creemos que el mundo entero tendrá para nosotros el aliento espiritual que dan los pueblos a las grandes gestas. Lo determina también el nombre de nuestros muertos y de la sangre derramada. No podemos perder, porque si fuéramos vencidos, el mundo habría perdido ocasión de desviar al fascismo en su atropello brutal. La responsabilidad de esos criminales tiene una determinación internacional como heroísmo, la nobleza y la bondad de nuestros combatientes en una exaltación del sentido liberador de España.

Pero hay un problema frío, que amordaza la verdad. El de los alimentos. En Cataluña es como se vive bien. Nadie mejor que nosotros sabe esto, porque estamos en la responsabilidad de dicha actividad. No queremos aureole ni homenajes para Cataluña, esta región que ha



Compañero Doménech

vencido al fascismo y, además, ofrece hombres para todos los frentes de España. Que ha sacado armas y municiones para su utilidad combativa. Que tiene en su haber una trágica contribución de sangre. A pesar de eso, Cataluña no ha tenido el apoyo de los gubernamentales de Madrid.

Señal por miedo o por conveniencias, que escapan a nuestra percepción, pero nosotros hemos comprobado dolorosamente que cuantas veces Cataluña solicita ese concurso o ayuda no se obtiene, encontrándose con la falta de dinero que se podría en los bancos, seguramente en espera de que llegara Franco y sus sucesores a Madrid y se lo llevara triunfalmente. Por ahí no se puede continuar. Se pide la colaboración de sangre y es justo que se ofrezca por quien debe y puede el máximo apoyo.

LOS FUSILAMOS NOSOTROS

Hace unos días, el compañero Estivill en un discurso, decía, que no guardaba relación la retaguardia con el frente y que por aquí no teníamos el espíritu de sacrificio necesario. Decía que los hermanos que luchan en el frente se hallaban fuertemente unidos y que si se enteraban que aquí se suicidaban diferencias y resquemores entre nosotros y no nos entendíamos darían ellos media vuelta para fusilar a quien no cumple con su deber. Muy bien si tal ocurriera, pero, ¡oh, compañero Estivill, nosotros no necesitamos esa media vuelta de las camaradas del frente, porque si hubiera alguna que se interpusiera ante la revolución o diera ocasión de disconformidad a la obra del pueblo, a éstos, repito, ya nos encargáramos nosotros de fusilarlos.

Es, pues, camaradas que esta exaltación de Cataluña es digna, porque su espíritu de sacrificio es magnífico y representa un altísimo y noble y sano patriotismo. Porque en esa contribución de dolor y de actividades revolucionarias rivalizan sus-

tras hijos, nuestros hermanos y nuestras mujeres, toda esta tierra maravillosamente libre que ha dignificado el hogar para engrandecerlo.

Precisamente por eso liberador sentido de responsabilidad en la retaguardia, Cataluña no ha carecido de nada y aún le sobran energías y productos para saturar el frente de Aragón, de apremiantes necesidades de campaña.

[CALLAD Y COMED OTRA COSA]

Este sentimiento del deber, que ha desbordado el sentimiento de nuestras mujeres, atentas a la obra práctica de la retaguardia, nos dará la victoria. El frente de guerra y el frente social acabarán con algunos pequeños egoísmos que entorpecen la obra común, y el para el normal desarrollo de la misma convendrá un máximo sacrificio, también se ofrecerá.

Las mujeres catalanas, pues, deben dar todavía más pruebas de solidaridad con los luchadores. Esas "colas" que se producen frente a ciertos establecimientos de abacería y comestibles, no deben continuar. Dese cuenta de que eso lo exige el buen nombre de esta gloriosa revolución. Y si es necesario, ¡callad y comed otra cosa, camaradas!

LOS "EMBOSCADOS"

Un tema vulgar, pero palpitante es el de las patatas. Diariamente se expendían miles y miles de sacos; pero los emboscados, los pocos a quienes no hemos podido localizar, hacen una mala labor destructora demoralizadora y sugiriendo tretas a cultivadores y proveedores en perjuicio de la normalidad.

Hay un fenómeno de las multitudes que tiene una manifestación morbosa y es que lo prohibido incita al mayor deseo. Comprendiéndolo así, justificamos esas "colas" y esas impaciencias.

Todo ello quedará neutralizado cuando se llegue a una colectivización que ha de beneficiar, por igual al cultivador y al consumidor, eliminando cuantos intermediarios que no son más que sangreros vividores de todos nosotros.

A esos "emboscados" que nos constan han ido anexionando la conciencia de nuestros camaradas agricultores nos dirigimos, para decirles que acabaremos con ellos, porque toda esa tarea de desaprovechar, esos intermediarios que abusan de la incompreensión de los agricultores serán apartados de la sociedad.

Pero, no os asustéis. A pesar de las burdas maniobras de esos logreros que van provocando ese nuevo tipo de "acaparador", nosotros comencemos el preciado tubérculo, porque en poco tiempo habrá más que suficiente, no ya para el consumo de Cataluña, sino para el de España entera y aun quedará el sobrante necesario para la exportación.

En la Comisión de Agricultura hay hombres capacitados para resolver el problema y harán posible que el litoral catalán produzca lo que preciso fuera.

PARA RESOLVER TODOS ESOS PROBLEMAS, NOS HALLAMOS PREPARADOS

Lleved, pues, la tranquilidad a vuestro ánimo, porque nosotros que tenemos la expresión de la victoria en el frente, normalizaremos esta retaguardia, porque para resolver esos problemas nos hallamos preparados. La Confederación Nacional del Trabajo triunfará plenamente, pero es necesario que os déis cuenta de que esto también es obra vuestra un pequeño esfuerzo, es interesante siempre, con esa solidaridad en el deber, no hay duda que lo obtendremos todo.

Refo significa que por parte de todos, hemos de facilitar el camino del triunfo. No entorpecemos esta fase gloriosa de España, con reivindicaciones de horario y de pesetas. El enorme sacrificio y heroísmo de los "aguiluchos" bien merece que nosotros tengamos el concepto que merecen esta solidaridad. Hay que rivalizar en esta solidaridad, trabajar con noble destierro, constituir en cada hogar un núcleo de posibilidades que beneficien la lucha.

Mirad, madres, que hay otras madres que han llevado su sacrificio a ofrecer sus hijos a la lucha y esto, sublime ruego de cooperación y apoyo.

Que si vosotros disfrutáis algún día de los beneficios de esa victoria, lo deberéis a esos hombres que han dejado su hogar y sus hijos pequeños para luchar por una liberación.

Eso es el verdadero y humano patriotismo. Contra todo vencer, y venceremos, porque las injusticias del ayer determinan el hecho histórico. El triunfo de nuestra voluntad y de nuestra acción, marcará un paso de progreso nacional y un ruego de grandiosidad para el mundo.

Juan P. Fábregas

CUANDO HALLAMOS DE COLECTIVIZACIÓN, INCURTACIÓN Y CONTROL OBRERO TÉCNICO ADMINISTRATIVO, NUESTROS QUE TODAS ESAS DENOMINACIONES SON VARIANTES DE UN MISMO ESPÍRITU CONSTRUCTIVO

Al hablar como miembro del Consejo de Economía de Cataluña,

en el cual represento los intereses de la C. N. T., ha de considerarse que la creación de este organismo representa la revalorización del movimiento, por cuanto no ha convertido en hechos, haciendo carne viva de lo que hasta hace poco sólo fueran deseos y anhelos que palpitaban en la conciencia del pueblo.

Es indudable que las aspiraciones populares son el motor generador de todo movimiento revolucionario, pero es preciso que dichas aspiraciones se ajusten plenamente a las posibilidades de orden económico y de orden social que las circunstancias de la hora revolucionaria permiten.

Es indudable que para que un movimiento revolucionario implique una revolución de verdad, precisa ser modificado el orden moral, la religión y el orden material, la propiedad, y como que en Cataluña ha sido modificado el orden moral y material, es evidente que nos encontramos ante el hecho de una revolución total, pero el Consejo de Economía de Cataluña, al ir a la estructuración del nuevo orden económico-social, tiene presente que existe un cúmulo de leyes, principios y tendencias económicas, que regulan, estrictamente, el desenvolvimiento económico de los pueblos.

Lo que queremos hacer constar es que todas nuestras realizaciones tienen por base el respeto riguroso a los principios de la ciencia y de la técnica, puestos al servicio de la justicia social.

Las lecciones del pasado han sido recogidas cuidadosamente, porque en este primer periodo constructivo hay que respetar la célula de la actual producción agrícola e industrial, para que no nos ocurriera aquí lo que pasó en Rusia el año 1917 y más tarde en Hungría.

Tenemos un interés especial, los hombres de la Confederación Nacional del Trabajo, en remarcar que a nuestra conciencia repugna todo principio autoritario y que no podríamos aceptar, en modo alguno, que al final de la Revolución se intentara implantar un orden económico-social encuadrado dentro de las normas del Estado totalitario, ya que deseamos y vindicamos nuestro derecho a crear un orden nuevo que responda, estrictamente, a las características esenciales de nuestro país, tanto en el orden geográfico, como en el orden económico y en el orden psicológico.

El nuevo orden económico-social que estamos construyendo, tiene por base la producción sindical y la distribución cooperativa, respetando la iniciativa privada y el esfuerzo individual, coordinados con el interés colectivo.

Cuando hablamos de colectivización, inculturación y control obrero técnico administrativo, sabemos que todas estas denominaciones son variantes de un mismo espíritu constructivo; espíritu constructivo que deberá incorporar, primero a Cataluña y a los demás pueblos ibéricos después, a este movimiento que se sintetiza en la transformación económica-social que se está produciendo en los demás pueblos de Europa y en el resto del mundo.

La Confederación Nacional del Trabajo tiene también un especial interés en poner de manifiesto que la organización, que considera un dogma el respeto a la plena libertad del individuo y el máximo reconocimiento de la dignidad humana, estima que, partiendo del punto de vista de la autonomía individual, de la del municipio y de la de la región, debe irse a la estructuración de una República federal en España, con lo cual no se hará más que amoldarse a los principios fundamentales de las realidades vivas de la Península Ibérica.

Los hombres de la Revolución estamos creando la verdadera Historia de España, y porque sabemos que en estos instantes se está debatiendo en nuestro territorio un problema ancestral, es por lo que estamos convencidos de que nosotros, los elementos que defendemos la justicia y el derecho, significamos la justicia y la libertad, la España moderna, civilizada, humana y exuberante de justicia y equidad, y esta España repito, es la que lucha contra la España ancestral, arcaica, reaccionaria e insuperable a todo sentimiento de humanidad.

Para llevar a cabo nuestro labor es preciso un alto espíritu de renacimiento individual. Debo recordaros, hermanos de Cataluña y de Iberia, que es conveniente supeditar el interés común a los intereses colectivos, y debemos inculcar al pueblo todo, que aquellos beneficios de que hoy goza la Humanidad son el producto del sacrificio y la abnegación de las almas generosas de tiempos pasados.

Así, pues, si la vida es sacrificio, y para crear un nuevo mundo es necesario esta renunciación, hemos de tener fe y confianza en el porvenir que estamos creando, y los beneficios materiales del cual gozarán nuestros hijos, quedando para nosotros la satisfacción espiritual de haber cumplido con el deber.

La llamada clase media, dándose cuenta de que nos encontramos ante una realidad, de la cual nada ni nadie podrá escapar, deben abandonar los viejos prejuicios, incorporándose al movimiento revolucionario, y aportando lealmente su colaboración. La clase media debe proceder de esta

forma, no sólo por sentido común, sino también por instinto de conciencia, puesto que cuanto antes sea consciente el nuevo orden económico-social, también antes habremos asegurado la normalidad de la vida social.

Y para terminar, me permito recordar a todos los camaradas, que la vida es progreso y superación, y es precisamente este espíritu el que constituye la meta de la civilización humana. La misma Naturaleza nos enseña que el ser racional debe marchar siempre adelante, puesto que, como dice Goethe, si la Naturaleza hubiera querido que el hombre hubiera marchado atrás, le hubiera puesto un ojo en la nuca, y, en cambio, le ha dejado únicamente dos en la cara, para que, de cara a la realidad, marche siempre adelante.

Salud.

Francisco Iglecias

PARA VENCER AL FASCISMO ES PRECISO AUNAR LAS VOLUNTADES Y MANTENER LA UNIÓN DEL PROLETARIADO

que habla en nombre del Pleno Nacional de Regionales.

Trabajadores de Cataluña. Pueblo español: En nombre del Pleno de Regionales de la C. N. T., celebrado recientemente en Madrid, tengo la misión de exponeros las deliberaciones y los acuerdos del mismo, que son los acuerdos que previamente habían tomado los trabajadores.

La lucha actual contra el fascismo ha derivado en revolución social, porque los militares subversivos nos han obligado a ello. No son estos momentos de vacilaciones ni de política baja, sino de hechos concretos y de realizaciones prácticas.

Con toda sinceridad, hemos de decir que el Gobierno del 19 de julio estaba complicado indirectamente en la sublevación militar. El sabía, como nosotros, lo que se preparaba, y no daba armas al pueblo, que las pedía. Si se hubiese armado al pueblo, como nosotros proponíamos, no se habría iniciado el movimiento, porque éste, desde el primer momento, habría sido aplastado por voluntad de la soberanía del pueblo. Pero no fue así. El Gobierno no armó a las masas obreras y fracasó en la lucha contra el fascismo. Hace unos días que dimitió. Si no hubiese dimitado, habría triunfado el fascismo, porque el Gobierno aquel no tenía energía ni capacidad para sofocar la rebelión de los militares fascistas.

De todas maneras, triunfaremos sobre el fascismo. Y habríamos triunfado ya si el fascismo internacional no ayudara a los subversivos. Vencemos por encima del fascismo internacional y de los indígenas de Marruecos.

EL GOBIERNO ACTUAL TAMPOCO RESPONDE A LAS NECESIDADES DE LA LUCHA CONTRA EL FASCISMO

Se ha nombrado nuevo Gobierno; pero al pueblo se ha dado cuenta que éste no dispone de la energía y la agilidad precisas para triunfar en la lucha contra el fascismo. El Gobierno actual no tiene agilidad de movimientos para aplastar al fascismo.

Las fascistas no pueden triunfar; pero sabemos que el fascismo debe ser aplastado inmediatamente para que la lucha sea lo más corta posible.

LOS ACUERDOS DEL PLENO DE REGIONALES

Para que la lucha sea breve y el triunfo inmediato, la C. N. T., se ha reunido en Madrid en un Pleno Nacional de Regionales, al que han asistido representantes de todas las regiones de España. El Pleno hizo un estudio profundo de la situación real de España, y ha sacado la conclusión de que para vencer el fascismo es preciso anular todas las voluntades y mantener la unión del proletariado, porque la lucha es cruenta y difícil. Es necesario estructurar de nuevo la vida económica y social de España.

Nuestra conclusión es que el nuevo Gobierno no representa la voluntad del pueblo. Nosotros hemos elevado a la U. O. T. y al Gobierno los acuerdos del Pleno, condenados en los siguientes puntos:

Que no hay solución posible sin una coordinación más eficaz de las fuerzas. Creación de un organismo de coordinación de éstas y de la reconstrucción económica de la retaguardia. Pedir que se constituya en Madrid un Consejo Nacional de Defensa, integrado por elementos de todos los sectores en lucha contra el fascismo. Pueden integrarlo cinco delegados de la U. O. T., cinco de la C. N. T. y cuatro republicanos, todos ellos presididos por Largo Ceballos. Esto supone la continuidad de Azaña en la presidencia de la República.

Federalismo local, provincial, regional y nacional en todos los aspectos de la administración política y económica, con supervisión de los Ayunta-

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Outline for Radio Talk / E[mma] G[oldman].— 1936 Sept. 23, draft, fragment.—
2 p. ; 27 × 22 cm.

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OUTLINE FOR RADIO TALK

--- E.G.

1. America, the land of the "biggest and tallest" in everything is also the biggest fake. Her latest invention is the present world-wide economic CRISIS.
2. I say invention, advisedly. It started in America and has spread all over the world. But to be more specific, it started in Wall Street; in other words, it was deliberately brought about by the speculations of the big financiers. It is a crisis artificially brought about and artificially sustained till this very day.
3. It may surprise most people to hear me say this, but then most people are duped by words, and when they hear such fearful terms as "crisis" or "depression", they accept these meaningless expressions as an explanation of the terrible conditions they live under.
4. You will get my meaning clearly if you examine for a moment what those things "crisis" and "depression" really signify. Take America, for instance. In what does the so-called crisis really consist there? Have the American fields ceased to grow wheat and corn, fruit and vegetables and all the other things that the country needs for its existence? Or has some great catastrophe destroyed all the factories and mills and put all the industrial machinery on the blink, so that we cannot produce the shelter, fuel, clothing and the other necessities of human life?
5. If that had happened it would indeed be a fearful catastrophe and a crisis. But, fortunately, nothing of the kind has happened. There's plenty of food in the country; aye, indeed, so much of it that tons of wheat are being destroyed, corn fed to the hogs, and trainsful of fruit dumped into the Pacific Ocean. Do you call that a crisis?

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Radio - 2

6. And as to the factories and mills and mines, why, the warehouses are bursting with the accumulated products of labor --- there's mountains of it ---- and no takers!
7. Why, then, are these things not taken and used by the millions in America who are breadless and shoeless and who are starving for want of the very things of which there is too much?
Here we are at the very crux of the matter. Yes, why? Why don't the people use the things they need and which are on hand? If you want me to tell you frankly why, here it is: Because the people are stupid, -- they have been duped into social unconsciousness by the fake cry of Crisis!
8. This sounds like Anarchism, and it is! In other words, it is just common sense. If you will be very brave for a moment and use your own brains, you will realise that there can be no such a thing as a crisis in a country as rich and industrially efficient as America -- a country that can produce enough to feed and clothe the population of the whole world.
9. What, then, is the trouble? Why ~~then~~ must people literally starve amidst plenty? Why are thousands of factories and mills closed, why are almost 20 million workers without employment, why all that misery and want?
10. The reason is very simple and altogether crazy. It's because people can't afford to buy. You see, things are not produced for the use of people. Oh, no! That would be too sensible. They are produced only for sale, for sale at a good profit, of course. As long as you can buy and give the manufacturers and the middle men a profit, all goes well, and they go on manufacturing things. But when you run short of money and stop buying, the warehouses get clogged with things and

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[Speech, at a Radio Talk, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].— [1936 Sept. 23].—
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✓ Enlarged text of Radio-Talk in Barcelona, Sept. 23. 1936.

12221

Men and women in English speaking countries, I greet you in the name of the CNT-FAI, the National Confederation of Labour, and FAI, the Iberian Anarchist Federation.

The part already played by these spokesmen of the Spanish ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ people in revolt since the street battles with Fascism in Barcelona and the part they are destined to play is embracing the entire social and economic life of the Spanish people. Their objective is not only the extermination of Fascism but also the transformation of the old social order.

Far from having destroyed and demolished everything, as they have been so charged in some English and American papers, the CNT-FAI have proceeded almost immediately after having cleared Barcelona from the black scourge, to socialize a number of industries and cultural institutions, the railroads, the entire network of transportation, included aeroplanes, ships, metro, streetcar, omnibus and taxi construction works and management. And they have set to work to run them for the benefit of all.

During the week since my arrival in Barcelona I had ample opportunity to verify the changed conditions and I was amazed to find everything in perfect order. Nothing destroyed or demolished, not a nail moved in factories, workshops or the former luxurious houses now occupied by the numerous departments of the CNT-FAI. I made it my business to talk to some of the workers and to express to them my astonishment that they had been able to prevent wholesale damage to the property now in their possession. In a direct and simple manner I was told that the workers felt they had produced the wealth and that it would have been nothing short of stupidity to destroy things that can now be made accessible to all who labour. This marks a new departure in revolutionary consciousness of the value and sanctity of human effort and sets a convincing example for the quality, intelligence and practical judgment of the CNT-FAI.

True, a number of churches were burnt. But those who know the sinister influence of the church on the Spanish masses, the superstitions fostered, the toll exacted and the alignment of the church with the monarchist and military as well as with the capitalist interests, will not blame the masses for having went their wrath on these structures. In addition it is a fact, as I have been able to ascertain, that in a number of cases the workers set fire to the churches only after they had been attacked by priests. These men, though sworn to live up to the admonition "Thou Shalt Not Kill", yet sent volley after volley from the high church windows into the mass below. It is also significant that very few churches of historic or artistic value have been touched.

However it is the spirit of the people, their great courage and their high aims that should be considered and not a few demolished stone buildings. This sublime spirit is giving birth to a new conception of the dignity and value of every man, woman and child in the new Spain, the CNT-FAI is working for

It is profoundly moving to find a whole people as one man in their determination to persevere in the battle to the last man and to the last drop of blood until Fascism will be driven from the land. In making such a heroic stand the CNT-FAI is motivated not only by their great love of liberty and their attempt of economic achievements for them selves. They are also moved by the certainty that a victory over Fascism in Spain would mean a victory over this enslaving force in all other countries. Just as the defeat against Fascism would plunge the whole world into the darkness and savagery already in existence in a number of European countries.

While the ultimate aim of the CNT-FAI is a new social order on federalist and not centralist lines, and while they have already begun to build the new edifice, they do not forget for a moment the imperative need of concentrating on the elimination of the immediate menace within Spain and they will not rest until that menace has been crushed utterly.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Speech, at a Radio Talk, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].— [1936 Sept. 23].—
2 p. ; 30 × 21 cm.

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Men and women, are you aware of the fact, that the supporters of Fascism are supplying Franco with tremendous amounts of weapons of modern warfare while the defenders of liberty have to battle almost with bare hands? True, the Spanish people are invincible and ~~XX~~ overwhelming in their fortitude, courage and will to consecration, where as the enemies war is ~~being~~ being waged with hirelings. But the most inspired men cannot conquer without weapons. Will you sit by supinely while your brothers and sisters are being murdered and Fascism placed in power? I appeal to you, men and women of English speaking countries, come to the assistance of the gallant fighters in Spain. Every hour lost strengthens the position of the enemy. Rouse yourselves, men and women! Protest against the hypocrisy of neutrality towards the Spanish Anti-Fascists while the other side has active help from all reactionary governments and their worthy colleges in human slaughtering Hitler and Mussolini.

Protest against the vilification of the CNT-FAI. Make known that they are back of the heroic struggle against Fascism as well as the reconstructive work in Catalonia. The CNT-FAI is the last to deny credit to the other political groups bravely fighting at the front. But as a matter of historic fact the CNT-FAI is the most formidable active and moral force in Barcelona and all of Catalonia. This must be proclaimed from the very housetops in England, the United States and Canada. And it is up to you, liberty and justice loving people, to do so. Organize relief, raise funds to equip the valiant voluntary militia ready to lie down their young lives fighting to the bitter end.

Men and women, you have the grandest historic opportunity to help crush the hydra-headed monster Fascism that lies like a hideous night-mare on the hearts of Europe. Only then will the peoples of this earth be able to breathe freely once more. Only then will they be able to undertake the task of social transformation.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Declaraciones de Emma Goldman [Emma Goldman declares. In Spanish]
/ Emma Goldman. — 1936 Sept. 23, draft. — 2 p. ; 30 x 21 cm.

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DECLARACIONES DE EMMA GOLDMAN

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Emma Goldman se encuentra en Barcelona. La gran agitadora anarquista anarquista norteamericana, apenas surgidos los primeros chispazos de la gran revolución española se ha apresurado a ponerse en contacto con los anarquistas catalanes, sus amigos y compañeros, para ayudarles en la obra ingente de ganar la revolución y transformar la vieja sociedad española. Emma Goldman ha dejado oír ya su voz cálida en un acto público, junto a los hombres de la C.N.T. y de la F.A.I., y se dispone a colaborar activa e intensamente en la obra revolucionaria emprendida.

Para conocer el pensamiento de Emma Goldman, la veterana propagandista, en estas horas históricas porque atraviesa España, hemos querido saludarla y hacerle unas preguntas. No nos ha sido difícil. En una salita del gran edificio que ocupa la C.N.T. en la Vía Layetana, donde hasta el 19 de julio se ~~albergaban~~ albergaban las grandes entidades del régimen capitalista (el Fomento del Trabajo Nacional, entre otras) nos recibe la señora Goldman.

Emma Goldman, bajita, gruesa y con el cabello blanqueado por los años, nos acoge cordial y afable, y nos invita a sentarnos frente a ella.

Sus primeras palabras son para indagar cómo hemos podido averiguar su estancia en Barcelona.

Después, y atendiendo a nuestro requerimiento para que nos explique sus impresiones sobre la situación en que ha encontrado España y más concretamente Cataluña, nos dice en un francés desenvuelto y expresivo:

- Estoy verdaderamente encantada de la situación que he encontrado aquí. Y lo que más me satisface de todo es la obra constructiva de mis camaradas, los hombres de la C.N.T. y de la F.A.I. Me ha sorprendido sobre manera encontrarme con que aquí no se ha destruido nada. Y esto, en verdad, es un caso poco común en cualquier período de revolucionario. Yo creía, sinceramente lo he de decir, que estaría esto peor.

Yo estuve en Rusia -sigue diciéndonos Emma Goldman- en los inicios de la gran revolución soviética, y allí lo primero que se hizo fué destruir antes de comenzar el período constructivo. Es decir, ~~pasaron~~ pasó mucho tiempo hasta que los rusos comenzaron a reconstruir. Aquí, en cambio, ocurre todo lo contrario. Todo ha quedado en orden perfecto. Las casas, por ejemplo, continúan limpias, bien cuidadas. Es un caso verdaderamente extraordinario, asombroso -nos dice con entusiasmo Emma Goldman. Y todo esto es obra de los revolucionarios de aquí, mis compañeros de la C.N.T. y de la F.A.I. -agrega.

- Así usted considera plenamente capacitados a los hombres de la C.N.T. y de la F.A.I. para estructurar la nueva sociedad que se está gestando?

- Indudablemente. Todo esto que le digo es una demostración palpable y evidente de la capacidad constructiva de los obreros, mis camaradas españoles. La crítica contra los anarquistas ha sostenido siempre que éstos no tenían un programa realizable, que no podían hacer nada práctico, que solo sabían teorizar. Y bien claramente estamos viendo que son precisamente los anarquistas los que han comenzado a realizar aquí todo lo que se ha venido diciendo durante cien años, todo lo que nos han enseñado nuestros maestros con su filosofía constructiva, no destructiva.

- Cual es la primera función a realizar?

- Mis camaradas van a comenzar ~~ambigüo~~ un gran trabajo. Pero lo primero que hace falta es exterminar el fascismo. Porque exterminado en España lo será también en el mundo entero. Por tanto, yo creo que mis camaradas tienen aquí un deber primordialísimo, el de combatir para librar a España de la amenaza fascista.

- Y si el fascismo triunfase en España, qué cree usted que podría pasar?

- Pues que se retardaría cincuenta años la liberación del mundo. Hay que tener en cuenta que desde el punto de la historia, el fascismo es un período,

The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Interview] Declaraciones de Emma Goldman [Emma Goldman declares. In Spanish]
/ Emma Goldman. — 1936 Sept. 23, draft. — 2 p. ; 30 x 21 cm.
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no una cosa fija. El triunfo del fascismo, además, serviría ~~para encender~~ seguramente para encender una nueva guerra, mucho más terrible que la guerra europea. Y es que el fascismo es imperialista, y como a tal no sueña más que con someter a sus pies a todos los países ~~democráticos~~ democráticos.

- Y que ~~en~~ corrientes predominan en este momento por los países que usted ha visitado?

- En América hay un gran movimiento antifascista, especialmente en las Repúblicas hispano-americanas, donde existe sangre española. Porque eso sí, indudablemente, los ~~anarquistas~~ españoles son anarquistas por naturaleza. El español es independiente, inquieto, rebelde. No ama al Gobierno, no quiere gobierno de ninguna clase. Yo he hablado con muchos y he podido comprobarlo.

Durante la dictadura del general Primo de Rivera -sigue diciendo Emma Goldman- yo estuve en España, y en aquel momento los españoles ya se rebelaban contra aquel régimen de fuerza y demostraban sus ansias libertadoras. Entonces ya estaban dispuestos a luchar hasta el fin. Este es el espíritu de la gente en España y sobre todo en Cataluña.

- Así usted considera que el anarquismo está hondamente arraigado en España?

- Quién lo duda! No hay que olvidar que ~~fundadores~~ fueron Bakunin y otros grandes maestros áoratas los que propagaron las doctrinas anarquistas o del comunismo libertario en Cataluña. Es decir, casi puede decirse que el comunismo libertario ha nacido en España.

- Cree usted fácil la implantación del comunismo libertario en España?

- Ya lo creo. Claro que todas las cosas han comenzado por poco y que mis camaradas de la C.N.T. y de la F.A.I., laborando por el comunismo libre, lo primero que hacen es batir el fascismo. Pero después, una vez hayan triunfado plenamente sobre el fascismo, organizarán la vida industrial, económica y cultural del país, a base, en un principio, de un régimen federalista. Luego, podrán ir adelantando por etapas hasta lograr totalmente sus bellos objetivos.

- Cree usted que la C.N.T. y la F.A.I. disponen de hombres plenamente capacitados para tan gran obra?

- Qué duda cabe! Mis camaradas son demasiado inteligentes para comprender que la revolución debe preceder a la construcción y que todos juntos deben trabajar para llegar hasta el fin.

- Pasará lo mismo en ~~España~~ el resto de España cuyas regiones son de tan varia estructura y matiz social?

- Yo creo que el ejemplo que dará Cataluña puede servir de norma para los demás pueblos hispanos. Si los comunistas libertarios pueden convertir en realidad sus ideales, darán un gran ejemplo a toda España. Ahora que, a mi juicio, Cataluña es la región española que ofrece mayores posibilidades para el comunismo libertario.

Emma Goldman nos hace después un gran elogio del temperamento y del carácter ~~español~~ del obrero español, apto para los más avanzados experimentos de orden social.

Finalmente, Emma Goldman nos dice que se propone visitar el frente aragonés; después, marchará a Madrid y otras regiones españolas, para regresar más tarde a Barcelona.

En mis proyectos -agrega- entraba hacer una gran campaña de propaganda revolucionaria por todas las naciones de habla inglesa; pero de momento no quiero abandonar España y permaneceré aquí, a disposición de mis camaradas de la C.N.T. y de la F.A.I., a fin de poder ayudarles a conquistar la victoria. Y mientras nos dice esto, Emma Goldman nos sonríe afablemente a través de sus lentes y nos hace partícipes de sus grandes optimismos.

Instantes después salimos del gran edificio que hoy ocupan los elementos dirigentes de la C.N.T. y de la F.A.I., las dos grandes organizaciones revolucionarias del momento presente en Cataluña y en España.

Barcelona 23 septiembre 1936.

United.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Aus einer Rede unserer Genossin Emma Goldman [From a speech of our comrade Emma Goldman. In German] / Emma Goldman. — p. 12 ; 30 cm. In Boletín de Información [Barcelona]. — (Sept. 23, 1936).

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Nr. 16

Boletín de

Información

mordet. Das ist ihr Werk. Vor der spanischen Geschichte werden die Verantwortlichen dieser Untaten einmal dastehen als die Elendesten, die dieses Volk jemals hervorgebracht hat. Sie haben aber nicht nur dem Volke, den arbeitenden Massen furchtbaren Schäden zugefügt, sondern auch denjenigen Schichten der Bevoelkerung, deren Interessen sie verteidigen wollten. Viele Vertreter dieser Schichten haben alles verloren, viele sind in andere Laender gefluechtet, die vor zwei Monaten noch reich und maechtig waren, die spanische Erde ist getraenkt vom Blute derer, die das Volk als Komplizen der Meuterer erkannte und austilgte. Auch die Kirche verteidigten die Putschisten. Sie war immer die Komplizin aller Schaendlichkeiten, die gegen das spanische Volk begangen wurden. Was hat die Kirche gewonnen? Ihre Tempel, ihre Goetterbilder sind in halb Spanien zerstoeert und aus den Herzen aller anstaendigen Menechen gerissen. In jedem anderen Lande wuerden Kirche Militaer und Kapital nach einem solchen Resultat zu einem Ende zu kommen und einen Waffenstillstand abzuschliessen versuchen. Hier nicht. In bilnder Wut glauben sie noch immer daran, dass sie am naechsten Tage siegen werden. Doch das ist vollstaendig unmoeglich, selbst wenn man einmal die absurde Annahme machen wollte, dass ihre Waffengewalt sich in Spanien durchsetzen koennte. Sie wuerden ueber ein Spanien in Ruinen verfuegen, ueber ein Volk, das nicht fuer sie arbeiten und sie nicht unterstuetzen wuerde... Ihr Aufetand gegen das spanische Volk war vergebens. Verbrecherisch ist ihre Verbissenheit in diesen Krieg, waehrend Spanien aus tausend Wunden blutet, ein unsaegliches Martyrium durchkostet, aber bewusst und zaeh aushaelt wie in den groessten und entscheidenden Momenten seiner Geschichte. Wenn die Putschisten sich vor zwei Monaten nicht durchsetzen konnten - wie sollen sie es heute koennen? Das Volk wird ihnen mit immer groesserer Energie und immer groesserer Haerte die Lektionen geben, die sie verdienen.

Aus SOLIDARIDAD OBRERA.

Nr. 16

→

Aus einer Rede unserer Genossin Emma Goldman, gehalten am 19. September vor einer Versammlung von 10 000 Arbeitern in Barcelona, die durch Radio auf ganz Spanien uebertragen wurde. Liebe Kameraden, ich gruesse euch im Namen unserer Kameraden in England, Amerika und Kanada. Wir alle haben einen neuen Impuls erhalten durch euren grossen Mut, und wir wollen euch helfen bis zum letzten Tropfen Bluts und mit allen Energien... Wenn ihr Spanien von der furchtbaren Geisel des Faschismus befreit, dann werdet ihr auch die Fundamente des Faschismus in der uebrigen Welt zerstoeern... Ich bin erst seit wenigen Tagen unter euch. Aber ich habe bereits gesehen, dass ihr neben eurem Kampf zur Vernichtung des Faschismus grossen Wert legt auf die konstruktive Seite eures Werkes. Die sozialisierten Unternehmen die ich besucht habe und die Haeuser, die ihr fuer eure grossen Aufgaben beschlagnahmt habt, befinden sich in bester Ordnung und ausgezeichneten Verhaeltnissen, als ob es in Barcelona keinen Krieg mit euren Feinden gegeben haette. Ihr habt bewiesen, dass unser grosser Lehrer Michael Bakunin Recht hatte, wenn er sagte, dass der Geist der Zerstoeerung zugleich ein schaffender Geist sei. Angesichts von Gefahr und Tod habt ihr bewiesen, dass der Anarchismus die konstruktivste soziale Philosophie ist, wert fuer sie zu arbeiten und zu kaempfen und wenn es notwendig ist zu sterben. Ihr Kameraden von Barcelona und Katalonien gebt den Arbeitern der Welt ein leuchtendes Beispiel und beweist, dass ihr den Sinn der Revolution verstanden habt. Ihre Kraft und ihre Sicherheit liegt nicht im Staate und nicht in der Macht politischer Parteien, sondern in den konstruktiven Anstrengungen waehrend der revolutionaeren Periode. Euer grosses Experiment muess und wird gelingen, Aber ob das der Fall ist oder nicht, es wird tiefe Spuren graben in den Boden eures Landes, in die Herzen und Hirne eures Volkes und in die Herzen und Hirne der Unterdrueckten aller Laender. Ich bin zu euch gekommen wie zu mir selbst. Euer Ideal ist mein Ideal seit 45 Jahren und wird es bleiben bis zu meinem letzten Atemzug. Mein einziger Wunsch ist es, im Grosseen oder im Kleinen teilzunehmen an dem grossen Kampfe um die Befreiung der Menschheit. Es lebe die CNT, es lebe die FAI, es lebe euer Kampf um die Befreiung der Menschheit.

An unsere Leser

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] De Una Conversación con Emma Goldman [From a conversation with Emma Goldman] / Emma Goldman.— p. 4 ; 32 cm. In Acracia [Lerida]. —(Sept. 24, 1936).

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Al Comité Municipal de Lerida

El Municipio Libre es una de las instituciones más naturales de la sociedad. ¿Puede haber división política más adecuada que la representada por el Municipio, libre de toda tutela exterior y dueño en colectividad de su término?

En el término municipal hay campos, hay acequias, hay talleres, fuentes de materias primas, edificios públicos, bibliotecas, institutos docentes, clínicas, almacenes de semillas y abonos, aparatos de transporte, central eléctrica, etc., etc. Todo esto no pertenece ni a compañías, ni a sociedades anónimas, ni a capitalistas particulares. Pertenecen a la colectividad, al pueblo y a su órgano representativo, el municipio.

El consejo municipal es un órgano genuinamente popular, emanado del seno de las asambleas generales, en las que tienen voz y voto todos los productores. Su misión es servir de receptáculo de todas las actividades de la vida económica y política y de todas las iniciativas.

El Consejo Municipal es aquí la genuina expresión democrática económica, científica, política, docente que despliega su actividad en el municipio. Los sindicatos, las cooperativas y otros órganos complementarios, asumen la responsabilidad técnica de la economía, la sanidad y la instrucción en los aspectos de la producción, distribución, investigación, enseñanza, cultura superior y especializada.

La organización de estas actividades se basa en el más puro federalismo. En los talleres, los obreros reunidos eligen el comité de fábrica que ha de representarles en el seno del sindicato de la especialidad, ramo o industria. El sindicato nombra también por asamblea al representante que ha de representarle en el Consejo Local de Producción, siendo potestad de éste destacar su propio representante en el seno del Consejo Municipal, compuesto por miembros de todos los consejos de Producción, Consumo, Transporte, Investigación (científica), Cultura, Sanidad, etc., etc.

El Consejo Municipal es aquí la genuina expresión democrática, directa y competente de la vida municipal. Sus miembros no son honorarios, sino que deben su cargo a una competencia personal reforzada por la competencia permanente que representa estar en contacto con los órganos que emanan de las fuentes puras de la producción, del consumo, del transporte,

El federalismo y la autonomía
das las partes del conjunto sin otro
los intereses generales a los cuales todos
por tálito pacto que se desprende del p

La función municipal tiene un aspecto natural, tanto a los problemas de orden exterior. Es el nuestro municipio en el seno de la Federación de Municipios Libres de la comarca, de la provincia o de la región. Constituyen su Consejo Regional a base de representación de todas las células municipales para los efectos de relación con la Confederación Nacional de Municipios, cuyo Consejo, formado por representantes de todos los Consejos Regionales.

Los consejos, dentro de sus atribuciones marcadas por asambleas, los plenos y los congresos, tienen un margen de desenvolvimiento, debiendo de consultar a la base en los casos de naturaleza imprevista y de afectación general. De modo que el individuo es libre dentro del Municipio, éste dentro de la Federación comarcal o regional y la regional dentro de la Confederación, sin más sujeción que las mutuas transacciones que impone todo pacto de solidaridad o asociación de esfuerzos.

El Municipio Libre puede constar de cuantos departamentos impongan las necesidades y las circunstancias, recabando para sí mismo en el seno de la Federación, la misma autonomía reconocida al individuo en el radio de su jurisdicción.

Un municipio así constituido debe empezar por suprimir los privilegios, negando el derecho a comer a quien no reconozca el deber de trabajar.

Un Municipio Libre debe ser una colectividad de productores y consumidores; productores según sus fuerzas y aptitudes, y consumidores según sus necesidades. La moneda queda abolida, bastando para el consumo la garantía de productividad. El comercio especulativo interior es sustituido por las cooperativas de distribución y las comisiones de abastos. Se establece el intercambio de productos para los efectos exteriores, poniendo a disposición de los Consejos de Estadística comarcales o regionales los datos de los artículos sobrantes después de cubiertas las necesidades locales, a la par que los datos concernientes a los artículos de que se carecen, sin perjuicio de someterlos a cuantas restricciones y racionamientos impongan los intereses generales, tanto en un plan local como general.

De una conversación con Emma Goldman

«El impulso constructivo del anarquismo español — dice la famosa propagandista norteamericana — es la gran lección mundial de la Historia contemporánea»

Emma Goldman, la gran agitadora anarquista norteamericana, me ha dicho:

—No creí nunca que este pueblo, al que conocí bajo la Dictadura, había de escribir la página más heroica de la historia contemporánea.

Emma Goldman, que recogió la esencia anarquista vertida con la sangre de los mártires de Chicago, que ha puesto su vida y su inteligencia al servicio del anarquismo mundial, mira como una primera realidad del ejemplo vivo de las horas españolas. La rodeamos en un salón del antiguo Fomento del Trabajo—salón que la casualidad revistió de tapicerías rojas sobre la negra madera que sirve de armazón a los sillares—, unos dirigentes de la F. A. I. y cuatro periodistas extranjeros, que han tenido la gentileza de invitarme a permanecer con ellos y de adoptar para la conversación—son todos ingleses o alemanes—el idioma de Francia. Todos interrogamos a Emma Goldman.

Y Emma Goldman, habla: —Europa y América están enteradas del movimiento

anarquista español. Hace muchos años que los anarquistas extranjeros tienen vueltos sus ojos hacia España y, más, hacia Cataluña. Después que Alemania quedó sometida a la tiranía hitleriana, sólo en nuestro país se alzaba la voz anarquista del día primero de mayo. Hay tres grandes grupos anarquistas: Inglaterra, España y los Estados Unidos. En la América Central nace el cuarto grupo de gran potencia. Esto no quiere decir que el anarquismo esté desterrado de otros países. Tenemos hermanos en todas las naciones del mundo, pero el contacto entre ellos está roto por las tiranías políticas. En los Estados Unidos de América, se editan cuatro periódicos anarquistas y abundantisima literatura que se esparce por el joven continente hasta chocar con las dictaduras sudamericanas. Esta relación de los anarquistas norteamericanos, que falta a los de otros países, hace que si me preguntáis: ¿Cuál es la opinión del anarquismo mundial respecto al momento español?, deba contestaros: Preguntadme por la opinión de

los anarquistas y os diré: Están a vuestro lado tan estrechamente que repercute en sus pechos cada una de vuestras congojas. El movimiento mundial anarquista, se ha sentido vivificado ante la epopeya que viene realizando el anarquismo español.

Oscurece en el salón rojo y negro y la luz escasa que penetra por la única ventana, se concentra en los cristales de los lentes de Emma Goldman. Después de escuchar unas preguntas, la propagandista sigue su charla:

—He hablado con los camaradas de vuestros Comités, que me han explicado sus proyectos y la labor realizada. Tan admirable como vuestra lucha heroica en el frente de guerra, tan admirable como vuestra réplica incontentible contra el intento fascista, es la labor constructiva de vuestros Comités, de vuestro anarquismo. Este impulso constructivo, organizador, que comenzó, con la guerra, el propio día 19, ha dado la gran lección al mundo. La actuación de los anarquistas durante estos dos meses de sangrienta lucha antifascista han sido suficientes para explicar universalmente que el propósito y la finalidad del anarquismo consiste en renovar el orden social y actuar constructivamente. Esto, tan sencillo, era desconocido para la mitad del universo. La conciencia mundial, educada en los principios burgueses con-

fundía los términos anarquismo y destrucción. El más formidable paso en el avance del anarquismo lo habéis dado vosotros.

Alguien pregunta a Emma Goldman si el fascismo será vencido en España.

—Si por todo el tiempo que dure la guerra en España—contesta—, cada hombre, cada mujer y cada niño tienen solucionado en cada pueblo el problema de la comida, la guerra se ganará fatalmente y el fascismo quedará decisivamente batido en España.

Se ha hecho de noche cuando Emma Goldman termina su charla. Cuando se levanta y nos levantamos para despedirla, se enciende la potente iluminación eléctrica y el rojo y el negro del decorado del salón parecen más rojo y más negro.—G. S. B.

(De "El Día Gráfico".)

Para todos los Sindicatos de la provincia de Lérida

COMPANEROS: He quedado constituido, definitivamente, el taller colectivo imprenta. Por lo que esperamos que todos cuantos trabajos tengáis que imprimir, bien sean manifiestos, sellos, etc., los enviéis, para su confección, a estos Talleres de ACRACIA, C. Villa Antonia.

The Emma Goldman Papers

Emma Goldman's First Address to the Spanish Comrades at a Mass-Meeting Attended by Ten Thousand People / Emma Goldman. — pp. 1-3 ; 36 cm. In C.N.T.-F.A.I. [Barcelona]. — (Sept. 25, 1936).

Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

2

C. N. T.

A. I. T.

F. A. I.

SERVICE INTERNATIONAL D'INFORMATION
INTERNATIONAL PRESS SERVICE
INTERNATIONALER NACHRICHTENDIENST

Casa C. N. T. - F. A. I. - Vía Layetana, 32 y 34 - BARCELONA

10

September 25th, 1936

10

Emma Goldman's first address to the Spanish comrades at a mass-meeting attended by ten thousand people.

Dear Comrades!

I greet you in the name of our comrades in England, the United States and Canada. We outside of Spain have already been given a new impetus by your great courage in the battle you are making against fascism and for our ideas. All of us are determined to aid you with all our energies and to the last drop of our blood until you have triumphed in your grand and wonderful aim.

I realize as do all the comrades in Europe and the States do that you must first concentrate your efforts to drive out of Spain the black and sinister forces that are threatening your liberty, and that are holding the people in many countries by the throat. In freeing Spain from this devastating scourge you will also break the backbone from fascism in the rest of the world. Your splendid battle is, therefore of universal scope and magnitude. I know only too well the fortitude needed, the concentration, and the tremendous power of endurance to bring such a task as yours to victory. But also I know that you have all these qualifications and that you will succeed.

I am in your midst only a few days. But thanks to the solidarity and cooperation of the CNT and FAI, I have already been placed in a position to learn that over and above your struggle to crush fascism you are laying great stress on the constructive side of your battle. The factories, I visited and the houses you have requisitioned for your great task are in perfect condition and order as if there had been no pitched battles with our enemies in Barcelona. Work and life has continued under your supervision perhaps better than under the old owners. You have thereby proven that our grand teacher Michael Bakunin was right when he said that the spirit of destruction is also the spirit of construction. And you have done more. You have branded as villainous misrepresentations the charges in many papers that Anarchism is a chaotic theory - that it has no program - that it is only bent on wreck and ruin. In the face of danger and death you have already demonstrated that Anarchism is the most constructive social philosophy, worth living, fighting and if need be dying for.

You comrades of Barcelona and Cataluña in general are giving a shining example to the workers of the rest of the world, that you fully understand the meaning of revolution. For, you have learned through past mistakes that unless the revolutionary forces succeed in feeding, clothing and sheltering ~~the~~ the people during the revolutionary period the revolution is doomed to ruin. For, its strength and its security lie not in the state, or in the political power of parties but in the constructive efforts during the fighting period. Your marvellous experiment will and must succeed. But whether it does or ~~xxxx~~ fails, you are planting new roots deeply in the soil of Spain, in the hearts and minds of your people, and in the hearts and minds of ~~the~~ the oppressed all over the world.

I have come to you as to my own. For your ideal has been my ideal for forty five years and it will remain to my last breath. My one desire is to be a part, great or small, in the grandiose battle you are making. --Long live the CNT! Long live the FAI! Long live your fight for the liberation of humanity!

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Enlarged Text of Emma Goldman's Radio Talk in Barcelona September 23, 1936

Men and Women in English speaking countries, I greet you in the name of the CNT (National Confederation of Labour) and FAI, the Iberian Anarchist Federation.

The part already played by those spokesmen of the Spanish people in revolt since the street battles with fascism in Barcelona, and the part they are destined to play, is embracing the entire social and economic life of the Spanish people. Their objective is not only the extermination of fascism, but also the transformation of the old social order.

Far from having destroyed and demolished everything, as they have been so charged in some English and American papers, the CNT - FAI have proceeded almost immediately after having cleared Barcelona from the black scourge, to socialise a number of industries and cultural institutions, the railroads, the entire network of transportation included aeroplanes, ships, metro, streetcar, omnibus and taxi construction works and management. And they have set to work to run them for the benefit of all.

During the week since my arrival in Barcelona I had ample opportunity to verify the changed conditions, and I was amazed to find everything in perfect order. Nothing destroyed or demolished, not a nail moved in factories, work shops or the former luxurious houses now occupied by the numerous department of the CNT-FAI. I made it my business to talk to some of the workers and to express to them my astonishment that they had been able to prevent wholesale damage to the property now in their possession. In a direct and simple manner I was told that the workers felt, they had produced the wealth and that it would have been nothing short of stupidity to destroy anything, that can now be made accessible to all who labour. This marks a new departure in revolutionary consciousness of the value and sanctity of human effort and set a convincing example for the quality, intelligence and practical judgement of the CNT-FAI.

True, a number of churches were burnt. But those who know the sinister influence of the church on the Spanish masses, the superstitions fostered, the toll exacted and the alliance of the church with the monarchist and military as well as the capitalist interests will not blame the masses for having went their wealth on these structures. In addition it is a fact, as I have been able to ascertain, that in a number of cases the workers set fire to the churches only after they had been attacked by the priests. These men though sworn to live up to the admonition "Thou shalt Not Kill" yet sent ~~volley after volley~~ volley after volley from the high church windows into the mass below. It is also significant that very few churches of historic or artistic importance have been touched.

However, it is the spirit of the people, their great courage and their high aims that should be considered and not a few demolished stone buildings. This sublime spirit is giving birth to a new conception of the dignity and value of every man, woman and child in the new Spain, the CNT-FAI is working for.

It is profoundly moving to find a whole people as one man in their determination to persevere in the battle to the last man and last drop of blood until fascism will be driven from the land. In making such a heroic stand, the CNT-FAI is motivated not only by their great love of liberty and their attempt of economic achievements for themselves. They are also moved by the certainty that a victory over fascism in Spain would mean a victory over this enslaving force in all other countries. Just as the defeat against fascism would plunge the whole world into darkness and savagery already in existence in a number of European countries.

While the ultimate aim of the CNT-FAI is a new social order on federalist and not centralist lines, and while they have already begun the new edifice, they do not forget ~~for a moment~~ for a moment the imperative need of concentrating on the elimination of the immediate menace ~~with Spain~~ with in Spain. And they will not rest until that menace has been crushed utterly.

Men and Women, are you aware of the fact that the supporters of fascism are supplying France with tremendous amounts of weapons of modern warfare while the defenders of liberty have to battle almost with bare hands?

The Emma Goldman Papers

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Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

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True, the Spanish people are invincible and overwhelming in their fortitude, courage and will to consecration, whereas the enemy's war is being waged with hirelings. But the most inspired men can not conquer without weapons. Will you sit by supinely while your brothers and sisters are being murdered and fascism placed in power? I appeal to you, men and women of English speaking countries, come to the assistance of the gallant fighters in Spain. Every hour lost strengthens the position of the enemy. Rouse yourselves, men and women! Protest against the hypocrisy of neutrality towards the Spanish anti-fascists while the other side has active help from all reactionary governments and their worthy colleges in human slaughter, Hitler and Mussolini.

Protest against the vilifications of the CNT-FAI. Make known that they are back of the heroic struggle against fascism as well as the constructive work in Catalonia. The CNT-FAI is the last to deny credit to the other political groups bravely fighting at the front. But as a matter of historic fact the CNT-FAI is the most formidable active and moral force in Barcelona and all of Cataluña. This must be proclaimed from the very housetop in England, the United States and Canada. And it is up to you, liberty and just ice loving people to do so. Organise relief! Raise funds to equip the valiant voluntary militia ready to lie down their young lives, fighting to the bitter end!

Men and Women! You have the grandest historic opportunity to help crush the hydra-headed monster Fascism that lies like a hideous nightmare on the hearts of Europe. Only then will the peoples of this earth be able to breathe freely once more. Only then will they be able to undertake the task of social transformation.

Rudolph Rooker's message to the CNT and FAI.

Brothers!

The whole liberal minded world is looking with fervent interest at your heroic fight against the fascist danger and the military clerical reaction. The events taking place in your country are not important for Spain alone. Your struggles are going far beyond the frontiers of Spain and find an echo in all countries of the world.

A new bloodthirsty tyranny is today overshadowing Europe. It threatens to destroy all liberal conquests of the last centuries and lead back to barbarous times. Fascism, supported by the powers of international reaction has lifted its ugly head in Spain to establish its power in one more land. That is why the fate of Spain is the fate of all Europe. Since in Germany fascism was able to subdue millions of organised workers without finding any resistance, it imagined to be able to repeat this also in Spain.

But your heroic struggle has shown the world that in your country the traditions of the old International of Bakunin and Pi y Margall are still alive and that the working people will not submit, will not give up its freedom to hordes of hangmen and cowardly bandits.

The attempt to establish fascism in Spain has shown clearly to the world how fascism has to be fought.

Just as the leaders of Italian and German fascism, the leaders of Spanish fascism have told foreign representatives that only their love of the Spanish people and country have induced them to take up arms against the danger of Marxism and Communism.

General Mola said in an interview to an American journalist that the present struggle in Spain is very much like the struggle against Napoleon. This comparison shows the intellectual and spiritual poverty of Spanish fascism.

In the national war against Napoleon, the Spanish nation took up arms against the French conqueror.

In the present civil war a horde of military bandits uses Moroccan soldiers, brought to Spain and with their help to crush the Spanish people

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Palabras de la Goldman [Some words from Emma Goldman. In Spanish] / Emma Goldman. — 24 cm. In La Protesta [Buenos Aires]. — [(Sept? 28, 1936)].
Obtained from the Biblioteca Popular "José Ingenieros," Buenos Aires, Argentina.

laborador, a pesar de que su cooperación hubiera sido indudablemente de un valor inapreciable. Otro tanto aconteció en otros órdenes de las actividades de la propaganda. No obstante, repetimos, detrás de esa caparazón, a él peculiar, despuntaba el camarada luchador, el verdadero anarquista y un gran corazón abierto al dolor humano; el camarada bueno, sincero y abnegado. A este respecto tan sólo basta recurrir al testimonio de los camaradas del gremio de ladrilleros donde esto actuara y donde supo, también, por sus dotes personales, granjearse las más vivas simpatías, dejando en el mismo, con el estela inborrable, un grato recuerdo.

Como se recordará, conjuntamente con otros camaradas fué detenido por la policía de esta capital, en el mes de enero del año 1933 y recluido durante más de nueve meses en la cárcel de Villa Devoto; siendo después deportado a Italia, su país natal. Al fin de no pocas peripecias, logró salir del infierno fascista, siendo arrestado cuando se proponía traspasar la frontera italiana. Encarcelado nuevamente por los fascistas y después de algunos meses de encierro, alcanza, por fin, burlando la vigilancia que sobre él pesaba, trasladarse a España, no sin antes haber sufrido lo indecible en "su patria". No le esperó mejor suerte que se diga en España; pues, perseguido por la mala suerte, la vida se le hacía poco menos que imposible, hasta que por fin le sorprendieron los acontecimientos por todos conocidos, en los que, como se sabe, tuvo una actuación destacada y en los que, como es del dominio público, encontró la muerte.

Estamos seguros, sin embargo, que al morir se ha de haber dibujado en sus labios una suave sonrisa de satisfacción; la satisfacción que ha de embargar a todo anarquista: caer luchando por un sublime ideal de amor, justicia y libertad; morir por la Anarquía.

SE
ORES

Palabras de la Goldman

22 de
Bárce-
tra ac-
eto de
español.
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A un periodista que la entrevistó el día 22, la conocida anarquista Emma Goldman dijo entre otras cosas: "Una vez barrido el fascismo de España, quedará eliminado de todo el mundo."

"Si los insurrectos triunfasen, entonces la liberación de los obreros del mundo se atrasaría en cincuenta años por lo menos."

El viernes 19 de setiembre en la Cámara de Diputados, se rozó el asunto derocho de reunión desconocido en la Argentina. Ninguno de los miembros de dicha Cámara no sólo no apuntó casos concretos sobre la enorme represión obrera en este país sino que ni se llegó a decir algo más que una simple insinuación. Y casos concretos sobran: desde 1932 los verdaderos obreros organizados en la FORA no pueden reunirse! Y declamos los verdaderos obreros, porque esa es la única entidad del país que no mantiene componendas con ningún partido político y combate a todos por igual.

Son cuatro largos años que sobre los gremios de chauffeurs, lavadores de autos, panaderos y otros más pesa el delito de ser ASOCIACIONES ILÍCITAS! Y sus agremiados sufren procesos por ser afiliados obreros y no tener padrinos ni en la casa de gobierno ni en tal o cual jefatura. Ese es el origen de haber sido puestos en la libertad los gremios de la FORA Y ese es el origen de no realizarse reuniones, de no salir a la calle sus periódicos, de no levantar tribuna sus bombos.

Es mentira lo de "represión por ser comunistas". Pues nuestro movimiento no sólo rechaza las organizaciones patronales sino que también combate a aquellas embanderadas al bolchevismo, por ser éste causante de haber abogado la aspi-

ración revolucionaria de todo el pueblo ruso. Lo que se combate desde el Departamento de Policía como desde el Ministerio del Interior, es lo que tiene un anhelo de mejoramiento en la clase obrera, y más aun cuando este anhelo va acompañado de una definición revolucionaria que tiende a la abolición de la clase explotadora. Y eso que tiene origen en la acción patronal es lo que constituye la base reaccionaria.

Por comprenderlo así, nosotros hemos venido recalando la imperiosa necesidad de recobrar todos nuestros derechos desconocidos por los pulpos de la industria y el capitalismo. Para ello hay que vencer a la reacción. Reacción que tanto nos priva del derecho de reunión como no deja de circular nuestra prensa, como se dotiene en masa a los trabajadores que intenten cambiar ideas del trabajo. Y esa reacción antiobrero es fomentada por el capitalismo explotador porque sirve a las mil maravillas para que la casta privilegiada se siga sintiéndose cómoda en su tren de avasallaje y negra explotación. De ahí, pues, que los obreros todos afectados por la actual ola reaccionaria y reproviva deban levantar su grito de protesta contra el candado policial. Y el grito del pueblo, si quiere, tiene fuerza suficiente para que lo oigan hasta los sordos del gobierno.



HACIA EL ALCAZAR DE TOLEDO

Camaradas del pueblo que en tenaz lucha de dos meses supieron romper la resistencia que le ponían los fascistas atrincherados en la fortaleza histórica. Esa patrulla a cada paso que daba antes de llegar al Alcázar sólo encontraba ruinas y escombros, producidos por el enorme bombardeo que allí se utilizó.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Speech, for the Radio, "Whom the Gods Wish to Destroy, They First Strike Mad," Barcelona] / Emma Goldman. — [1936 Sept. 30]. — 2 p. ; 29 × 22 cm.

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TWO RADIO TALKS Sept.30th.1936

"Whom the gods wish to destroy, they first strike mad."

This old proverb has proved true in more than instance in human history. It also applies most forcibly to the political leaders of today. They maintain that neutrality to the heroic struggle of the Spanish masses will stave off a new world conflagration. Now it is only too true that political leaders and statesmen have seldom demonstrated clear thinking when confronted with calamitous issues. But, in their attitude towards the struggle in Spain, the gods seem to have done their job more deliberately than before.

XXXXXWere it only a question of a score of politicians one would have no cause for alarm. Unfortunately they are at the helm of state. And their decisions, motivated by utter mental confusion as well as criminal wilfulness, will not only not prevent a new world carnage; they actually are hastening the new holocaust whose flames are likely to be more devastating than the last.

One might grant the politicians some modicum of reason had they taken a neutral stand against both contending forces in the civil war in Spain. It is the onesidedness of their attitude [sic] which makes one question both the sanity and the integrity of the neutrality sponsors. Their stand is the more reprehensible because the Spanish masses are the first to have risen against the fascist foe who has already taken root in a large part of Europe [sic] and if not stopped, will do so in the rest of the world. Verily the gods grind slowly but surely.

Incidentally it must be borne in mind, that the workers of Spain are fighting the ill-conceived off-spring of war and peace brought about by the pre-war statesmen, and which has given birth to the hideous human apparition that calls itself Fascism. Instead of nibbling [sic] the first sprouting in the bud, the post-war politicians and statesmen have kept up the flickering life-stream Fascism. They have nourished and strengthened the growth into a monstrosity whose ravenous appetite can only be satisfied by human flesh and whose lust for power knows no bounds. The foster-fathers of the ghastly creature have been a party to Mussolini's egomania that has already reached insane proportions by the conquest of Ethiopia [sic]. What else but sanctions loudly proclaimed in words as the humanitarian and Christian means to protect the rights of the Abyssinian people and never applied in deeds, have enabled Mussolini to conquer Abyssinia? The sanctionists helped this modern imitation of Caesar to more than he had bargained for. Not only has he Abyssinia [sic], he also has all the political leaders of Europe in the palm of his hand and his iron grip on all of Europe as well. The same has been done for the other child of the hideous XXX fascist twins.

Hitler and his savage gang found their inning in the utter madness of the so-called peace-treaty and their best support in the criminal indifference on the part of all governments to his reign of terror. This and this alone gave National-Socialism time and impetus to perfect the deadly military machine. Not only the Swastika [sic] but also Hitler's heavy boot is planted on the neck of Europe and Asia [sic] as they have been planted on the necks of the entire hapless German [sic] people.

Also, politicians never forget or learn anything. Else they would realise that by their neutrality to the Spanish defenders of liberty, they are rendering the Spanish fascism precisely the same service they have given to the other Fascist powers. They are doing more, they are helping to create a formidable Fascist alliance, that, if successful, would fetter the spirit of freedom for many decades.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Speech, for the Radio, "Whom the Gods Wish to Destroy, They First Strike Mad," Barcelona] / Emma Goldman. — [1936 Sept. 30]. — 2 p. ; 29 × 22 cm.

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2.

Curiously enough the loudest sponsors of neutrality proclaim, that democracy must be maintained at all cost. Yet, they fail to see, that democracy never was in graver danger and that neutrality, if maintained much longer, will stab democracy in the back.

Does any intelligent [sic] man or woman imagine that the two star Fascist lords are giving Franco and Mola such generous supports in armaments and money out of love for them? Certainly they [sic] have promised lucrative returns for the co-operation which is to enable the Spanish adventurers to drown the Spanish people in a sea of blood. Hitler and Mussolini, whose [sic] ambitions are known to be very "modest" want a mere bagatelle. Just the largest part of the Mediterranean, the Pyrenees as their bulwark, and their guns directed on France. This would of course put Hitler and Mussolini in a world key position

Will France go back on her glorious revolutionary past by her tacit consent to such designs? Will England, with centuries of liberal tradition acquiesce to such degrading position. And if not, will that mean a new world carnage?

In other words, the very thing the proclaimers of neutrality are hoping to prevent will occur. And only the lack of logical perception can remain blind to its danger. Quite another thing would happen, if the anti-fascists were helped to cope with the fascist epidemic in Spain that is poisoning all the springs of life and health. Fascism exterminated in Spain would also mean the purified waters in the rest of Europe, and the end of fascism in Europe would do away with the causes of war. The workers of the rest of the world and other liberty loving groups, inspired by the new social experiment of their brothers in Spain, would be enabled to begin a new transformation of their own life.

It is about neutrality as it is about people who can stand by a burning building with women and children calling for help, without moving a muscle to come to their aid. Or to see a drowning man desperately trying to reach shore. No words of condemnation could possibly express the universal contempt for such cowardly indifference. Fortunately there are not many such creatures. In time of fire, flood storms at sea or the sight of any fellow-creature in distress, human nature usually is at its best. Men in danger to their own lives and limbs rush into burning houses, throw themselves into the foaming sea and bravely carry their brothers to safety.

Spain is in flames, the fascist conflagration [sic] is spreading. Is it possible that the world outside will stand by and see the country laid in ashes by the Fascist hordes? Or will thinking and justice-loving people muster up enough courage to break through the ban of neutrality and come to the rescue of the Spanish people who are fighting Fascism to the bitter end.

I have faith in humanity. I have infinite faith. I know the governments come and go. But the intrinsic quality of human feeling and the sense of justice remains for ever.

It is to these that the heroic people of Spain appeal for help, for the means to bring Fascism to its knees and save the world from the new impending holocaust neutrality is certain to bring in its wake.

signed E.G.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Nuestra Camarada Emma Goldman... [Our comrade Emma Goldman. In Spanish] / Emma Goldman. — p. 6 ; 36 cm. In Solidaridad Obrera [Barcelona]. — (Sept. 30, 1936).

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Página 6

SOLIDARIDAD OBRERA

Miércoles, 30 Septiembre 1936

Consejos de Obreros y Soldados y demás Cuerpos similares de España

Departamento de la Cruz Roja

Se pone en conocimiento de los conductores de coches al servicio de la Cruz Roja de Barcelona (ciudad), que quedan anulados todos los controles

de coches anteriores al día 18 del actual, y tienen que pasar por el control general (calle Mendibail, 18), para recoger los controles nuevos.

Nuestra camarada Emma Goldman, en un discurso radiado en inglés desde nuestra Emisora C. N. T. - F. A. I., ha dado a conocer a la opinión pública inglesa y norteamericana la verdadera situación del proletariado español

Hombres y mujeres de los países de habla inglesa: Os saludo en nombre de la C. N. T. y de la F. A. I.

El papel que juegan estas dos organizaciones, representantes del pueblo español, en la revolución desde las luchas callejeras contra el fascismo en Barcelona y el papel que las está destinado a desempeñar, comprende toda la vida social y económica del pueblo español. Su finalidad no es solamente el exterminio del fascismo, sino también la transformación del antiguo orden social.

Lejos de haber contribuido al desorden y a la barbarie, como se ha dicho en algunos periódicos ingleses y norteamericanos, la C. N. T. y la F. A. I., inmediatamente después de haber liberado Barcelona del látigo fascista, han procedido a socializar un gran número de industrias e instituciones culturales. Todo el ramo de transportes, como los ferrocarriles, "metro", tranvías, autobuses, etc., han sido puestos en marcha para beneficio de todos.

Durante la semana que he pasado en Barcelona, he tenido amplia ocasión de observar el cambio de las cosas. He quedado asombrada al encontrar todo en perfecto orden. Nada se ha destruido o deteriorado. Yo hablé con algunos de los trabajadores para expresarles mi contento al observar que han sido capaces de proteger de daños las propiedades que ahora están en su posesión. Me contaron, de una manera franca y sencilla, que ellos mismos habían producido toda la riqueza y que hubiera sido estúpido destruir algo que ahora es accesible a todos los trabajadores. Esto marca un nuevo principio de conciencia revolucionaria, del valor y de la cantidad del esfuerzo humano, y pone un alto ejemplo de la cualidad, inteligencia y juicio práctico de la C. N. T. - F. A. I.

Ciertamente, han sido quemadas bastantes iglesias. Pero los que conocen la alimista influencia de la Iglesia sobre las masas españolas, las supersticiones nutridas por ella y la unión existente entre la Iglesia y los monárquicos y militares, como también su servilismo para con los capitalistas, no criticarán a las masas por haber dirigido su ira quemando estos edificios. Además, es un hecho — que yo he podido comprobar — que en cierto número de casos, las masas incendiaron las iglesias solamente después de haber sido atacados desde ellas por parte de los curas. Estos hombres, que habían jurado llevar su vida en el sentido que indica el mandamiento "No matar", desde las altas ventanas de las iglesias dispararon sin cesar sobre la masa. Pero también es un dato significativo que pocas iglesias de valor histórico o artístico han sido tocadas.

Hay que considerar el alto espíritu del pueblo, su gran valor y sus cualidades. Esto hemos de mirar, en vez de fijarnos en unos edificios de piedra destruidos. Este alto espíritu hace surgir una nueva concepción de la dignidad y del valor del ser humano, del hombre, de la mujer, y del niño de la nueva España que la C. N. T. - F. A. I. quieren realizar.

Es profundamente emocionante ver a todo un pueblo, como un solo hombre, decidido a perseverar en la lucha hasta que sea expulsado el fascismo. En esta heroica lucha, la C. N. T. - F. A. I. no solamente son impulsadas por su gran amor hacia la libertad y sus afanes de realización; también están seguras de que la victoria sobre el fascismo en España sería una victoria sobre las fuerzas esclavizadoras de otros países. Y el fracaso frente al fascismo en esta país, llevaría al mundo entero a la oscuridad y al salvajismo que ya reinan en varios países de Europa.

La C. N. T. - F. A. I. están llevando a cabo una obra doble: la de luchar y la de edificar. Mientras efectúan su labor constructiva en la retaguardia, no olvidan ni un solo momento la imperiosa necesidad de concentrarse en combatir la inmediata amenaza que pesa sobre España. Y no descansarán antes de aplastar completamente este peligro.

Todos conocemos el hecho de que naciones partidarias del fascismo ayudan a Franco con grandes cargamentos de armas modernas, mientras los defensores de la libertad luchan valientemente contra las masas vacías. Ciertamente, el pueblo español es invencible y asombrado en su valor, coraje y espíritu de sacrificio, mientras que sus enemigos llevan la guerra con la ayuda de mercenarios. Pero hasta el hombre más entusiasta no puede luchar sin armas. ¡Mátrale tranquilos como el fascismo asesina a vuestros hermanos y hermanas y conquista el Poder! Apelo a vosotros, hombres y mujeres, en los países de habla inglesa, para que ayudéis a los valientes luchadores de España. Cada hora perdida refuerza la posición del enemigo. ¡Protestad contra la hipocresía de la neutralidad con respecto a los antifascistas españoles, mientras el otro lado os socorrido abiertamente por los Poderes reaccionarios y sus compañeros de asesinato, Mussolini y Hitler!

¡Protestad contra las calumnias que se dirigen contra la C. N. T. y la F. A. I. Decid que ellas sostienen una heroica lucha contra el fascismo y, al mismo tiempo, efectúan una labor constructiva en Cataluña. La C. N. T. y la F. A. I. no niegan valor a los demás grupos políticos que valientemente luchan en el frente ant fascista. Pero es un hecho histórico que la C. N. T. y la F. A. I. son el sector material y moral más activo en Barcelona y en Cataluña. Peto hay que proclamarlo en voz alta en Inglaterra, América y Canadá. Esto es cosa vuestra, de todo el pueblo que ama la libertad y la justicia. Organizad la ayuda, fundad fondos para equipar a las valientes milicias voluntarias, dispuestas a sacrificar sus vidas y luchar hasta al fin.

Hombres y mujeres: Tendéis la más grande posibilidad histórica de ayudar a aplastar al monstruo del fascismo, que es la pesadilla de Europa. Sólo entonces los pueblos de la Tierra podrán respirar libremente otra vez. Sólo entonces podrán emprender en su día la gran tarea de transformar la sociedad.

Nota del Comisariado de la Vivienda

El Comisariado de la Vivienda insiste en recordar a los propietarios y administradores de las casas intervenidas por dicho organismo oficial, que no se podrá alquilar piso alguno sin la oportuna autorización, que se extenderá en las oficinas del Comisariado, Piam de Cataluña, 8.

Asimismo es preciso que declaren los pisos que tengan por alquilar para reglamentar el servicio de información que funciona desde hace algunos días y a fin de que pueda ésta alcanzar la máxima eficacia.

El Comisariado de la Vivienda de la Generalidad de Cataluña advierte a todos los propietarios y administradores de fincas que los datos y documentos que han de presentarse a dicho Comisariado para la intervención de sus fincas, son los siguientes:

Nombre del propietario.

Situación de la finca.

Lista duplicada con los nombres de los inquilinos y precio de cada piso.

Contratos de alquiler para ser limbrados.

Relación duplicada de recibos a cobrar, junto con los mismos recibos para sellarlos.

Liquidaciones por duplicado.

Se necesitan dos habitaciones con derecho a cocina

Un camarada de Madrid, correspondiente de guerra en Cataluña, necesita dos habitaciones amuebladas, con derecho a cocina. Desde luego está dispuesto a pagar lo que sea justo. Escribir a José Guirao, SOLIDARIDAD OBRERA.

HOSPITAL

A los maestros y maestras

Por acuerdo mayoritario de los pueblos del Bajo Llobregat, eligieron como a Comarcal del C. E. N. U. nuestra ciudad de Hospitalet, la cual en estos momentos lleva ya con una voluntad extraordinaria toda la facción de organización sobre las escuelas. Atiende todos los ruegos que se le hacen. Todos los días la Secretaría Comarcal del C. E. N. U. está abierta de 11 a 1, de la mañana, interinamente en la Casa Consistorial de la ciudad.

Se avisa a todos los maestros y maestras de la ciudad que las escuelas que debían abrirse el día primero de octubre se abrirán el día 5 del mismo mes y se paga aviso a los maestros siguientes: Segura, Soler, Vallbona, Vilamajor, Pahlman, Rocio, Sabatés, Montoliu, Pla Josefa Llanu, los cuales no deben presentarse a la apertura de las escuelas por cuanto al C. E. N. U. local ha propuesto su jubilación. Y a los maestros siguientes: Castañeda, María Cervet, Paulina Montserrat, Teresa Barba, Doménech, y María Miranau de la misma forma, pues el C. E. N. U. local ha propuesto su jubilación.

Todos ellos recibirán dentro poco un comunicado oficial.

Fuerzas facciosas que, procedentes de Burgos, pretendieron avanzar sobre Reinosa, han sido duramente rechazadas por nuestros bravos milicianos, registrándose numerosas bajas en las filas rebeldes. Perseguidas en su huida, han dejado abandonado abundante material de guerra y numerosos cadáveres. Los prisioneros caídos en nuestro poder aseguran que los facciosos están desmoralizados y que, debido a las numerosas bajas causadas en sus filas en estos últimos días, se encuentran imposibilitados de renovar sus cuadros

Santander, 29. — Algunas fuerzas facciosas, procedentes de Burgos intentaron filtrarse hacia Reinosa, sin duda con el propósito de distraer algunas de nuestras milicias de esta provincia. El intento de las facciosas fracasó rotundamente. Las milicias destacadas en Reinosa, población industrial de gran importancia, y donde tiene su cuartel el espíritu obrerista de toda la montaña, fueron suficientes para infligir un duro castigo a los facciosos, que se batieron en desorden hacia Burgos, abandonando en la huida cadáveres y material de guerra. Los facciosos fueron perseguidos hasta la provin-

Consejos de Obreros y Soldados y demás Cuerpos similares de Cataluña

Se convoca a todos los guardas-jurados de Barcelona para que hoy, día 30, a las seis de la tarde, pasen por nuestro local social, Via Layriana, 88, piso sexto, para un asunto de interés. — El Comité.

ALMERIA

Nota del Sindicato Nacional del Transporte Marítimo

Transcribo parte del informe que me ha entregado el compañero Manuel Rodríguez, tripulante del vapor "Svinta", de nacionalidad noruega.

El referido compañero quiere que su denuncia quede en el anonimato por que tiene el temor de severas represalias por el carácter profundamente fascista del capitán de dicho buque.

En el informe a que se hace referencia se dice así:

"Ruego a los compañeros tomen en consideración y obren con toda la urgencia que el caso requiere, sobre la nota que a continuación se expresa: He permanecido en el puerto inglés de Middlesbrough, desde el 21 al 25 del pasado mes, habiendo visitado los buques españoles "Alu Mendi", "Arrate Mendi", "Artea Mendi", "Bartolo" y "Atalaya", los tres primeros de la Compañía Sota y Armar, y los dos últimos de Bilbao y San Sebastián respectivamente.

He tenido en dichos días varias entrevistas con los compañeros de dichos buques, quienes al saber que venía de España y que volvía a España, me pusieron un conocimiento de la situación crítica que atravesaban.

Los buques arriba mencionados llevan por espacio de cuatro meses en dicho puerto. Tal como fueron llegando se les fue notificando la orden de huelga. Una vez lograda la grandiosa victoria, ya aprobadas las nuevas bases, nuestros compañeros permanecieron en la misma actitud por causas que todos conocemos, y encontrándose en esos momentos críticos fue cuando les sorprendió la criminal intención fascista. Inmediatamente que nuestros compañeros tuvieron noticia de los acontecimientos se indignaron y decidieron mandar un telegrama de adhesión al movimiento y desde aquel momento quedaron a disposición de la Alianza con los medios a su alcance a la causa de la libertad. Pero he aquí que el consul de España en Newcastle, fascista declarado, sin lugar a dudas, contrario a la actitud tomada por nuestros compañeros, de común acuerdo con ciertos elementos fascistas de la oficialidad de dichos buques, trataron de perjudicar a nuestros compañeros, valiéndose de los más viles y cobardes medios a su alcance, como tratar de que nuestros compañeros abandonaran los buques, prometiéndoles que ya que ellos deseaban regresar a España, él los mandaría, pero fue descubierto en sus propósitos por el compañero presidente del Comité de huelga, que cursó inmediatamente las órdenes oportunas a los delegados para que ninguna tripulación abandonara el buque sin antes tener el consentimiento del capitán de cada uno. Fracasado el consul en su criminal propósito, me dicen los compañeros del "Arrate" que el capitán del "Bartolo", alardeando de un gran fervor republicano propuso a todos los compañeros que él se comprometía a traer

a España a todos los que quisieran venir en su buque. Nuestros compañeros, desearon llegar a España para tomar las armas en defensa del ideal, ya estaban dispuestos a aceptar cuando los sorprendió la siguiente noticia radiada de Moscú: "Se pone en conocimiento que el buque pirata "Almirante Cervera" está esperando al vapor "Bartolo".

Más tarde supieron nuestros compañeros la verdad de todo esto. Según ellos, el capitán de dicho buque no era republicano, sino fascista, y sus propósitos eran, una vez en la mar, entregarnos al buque faccioso que se hallaba en aguas del Norte.

En vista del fracaso que llevaron los facciosos, entonces el consul, valiéndose de su autoridad, decidió acordarles la ración, alegando no poder darles más que cierta cantidad para la manutención.

También me hacen saber los compañeros el abandono en que se encuentran con respecto a que escriben a la Alianza y no reciben contestación alguna. También expongo lo dicho por el delegado del "Arrate" con respecto al telegrafista de que, en caso de que el buque se haga a la mar, está decidido a asegurarse el camarote de dicho individuo, pues tiene en su poder el carnet de Falange Española, y yo particularmente pido se les conceda autorización a todos los delegados para esos fines, pues en los otros buques existen también de esos elementos.

Por el momento, dejo expuesta la petición que los compañeros me confían, esperando serán atendidos en sus justas quejas este grupo de valientes compañeros que están dispuestos a dar sus vidas por el ideal."

Hasta aquí, lo más importante del informe que el compañero Rodríguez dejó escrito para conocimiento de quien compete. Yo lo transcribo a fin de que se le de publicidad en nuestro periódico. Quito el nombre del referido compañero que tiene el temor, como antes he manifestado, de que puedan tomar con él alguna represalia sangrienta.

Por el S. N. del T. M. — El Secretario accidental.

Columna de Concepción Arenal

Controlada por la C. N. T.

Práxima a cerrarse la inscripción en la misma, se recuerda que la oficina de alistamiento a información, instalada en Ferlandina, 38, 2.ª, estará abierta de 9 a 1, por la mañana, y de 4 a 8, por la tarde.



Las tropas pasan sobre las ruinas del Alcazar.

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Soviet Executions / Emma Goldman. — p. 10 ; 29 cm. *In* Vanguard [New York]. — Vol. 3 (Oct.-Nov. 1936).

Obtained from Shields Library, the University of California, Davis. Institutional Location: Department of Special Collections.

outlines of the new left, its emergence is already an historic fact. Libertarian communism, as opposed to the dictatorial socialism of the center, has already moved into the position of an actual force. In Spain it is a tremendous factor to be reckoned with in the immediate struggles, and in the other countries, especially those permeated with libertarian traditions, such as France, England and America, it is bound to appear as a powerful left in the process of struggle for the realization of socialism. And like every genuine left it will represent

the historic progress, the demands of the future upon the present, the deeper logic of the socialist ideal in its unfoldment.

What are the root sources of the strength of this emerging movement, what are the composite elements of which it is liable to be made up? What line of development is it bound to follow in order to shed the last vestiges of utopianism still clinging to it from the last period?

(To be continued.)

—SENEX

the soviet executions

St. Tropez, August 25, 1936

I happen to know most of the men accused. And I can assure you that they are not counter revolutionists. Nor is it possible that they should have had dealings with the Gestapo. True, I have always maintained that the real counter revolutionists are the Bolsheviki themselves because they more than the interventionists and the real enemies of the revolution have crushed it. Considered from this angle, Zinoviev and his comrades are as much counter revolutionist as Stalin and his crew. But they are certainly not what they are charged by their accusers. It is too preposterous to believe this charge for one single moment.

That they have conspired to get rid of Stalin and his satellites is probably true. Their conspiracy was of the same nature as any court intrigue that transpired in history time on end. But I am certain it was to serve no other purpose, none of the enemies of Russia, except their own hunger for power. They wanted to get rid of Stalin because they were so damned sure that they would rule Russia wiser and better. In other words the lust for power motivated them as it motivates Stalin. To be sure when they were at the helm they did exactly like Stalin, with their opponents. Even under Lenin, with his knowledge and consent, the Kronstadt sailors were exterminated because Lenin saw in their protest a menace to his power. They exterminated fourteen thousand men, women and children ruthlessly and without mercy. So there is nothing new in the method the present ruler of Russia is using.

You may well ask why this whole cruel spectacle at this time when the masses in Spain are fighting for their lives and their ideal of freedom? There are several reasons for that. First of all it is because the Trozkists have gained considerable strength in some parts of Spain and it might mean Trotsky's leadership in case of a victory over the reactionary forces. That would of course also have revived Trotsky's influence and prestige in Russia. Hence the need of discrediting him and all those recently connected with him.

That is, however, only one reason for the extermination of Stalin's erstwhile comrades. Another is the growing unrest in Russia, the daily

outbreaks against the ruthless machine. Naturally, Stalin needs an outlet for the pent up feelings of the masses. The so-called Constitution is to serve as the bait. And the circus performance of the trial is another. It is to make the workers think that Russia is in danger from the indicted men. To paint them as black as Hell, that they may the easier be disposed of.

Well, Stalin's part is hideous enough but the cringing, cowardly stand of the accused is more so. No doubt they have been tortured and their confession wrung from them by fiendish means. Torture in the Teheka was a daily occurrence when we were in Russia. It has been perfected to an art since. Not merely were the 16 men tortured but their confessions and their speeches were prepared for them. These cowards will find that there is no promise the Stalin regime will feel bound to keep. They themselves never kept a promise. They will be shot in spite of their cringing accusation. But it is a commentary on the emasculation of the old guard that the Soviet regime has performed. Their yellow stand, their Judas betrayal of their own co-workers is unlike anything that had ever happened under the tsar. Yes, there were occasional spies, Azev and many lesser ones. But the horrible weakness of the Zinovievs and their followers is unique in the history of Revolutionists. It is more than disgraceful, and what is more it will not save them.

There is one bright ray in the darkest of recent pictures. It is the vindication of the Anarchists. Our position as regards power and dictatorship has been strengthened by the events in Russia. All the people in the dock began their lives with an ideal for which they had suffered prison, exile, katorga. No sooner did they ascend to power than their past was wiped out and they became as savage in the persecution of their opponents as the enemies they came to destroy. For nothing so corrupts and disintegrates as power.

—EMMA GOLDMAN

P. S. — Since this was written Stalin's orders were carried out. Sixteen of the old Bolshevik guard, the very flower one might say, of the party, have been shot. It is too horrible to even think of the brutal deed.

The Emma Goldman Papers

Address at the Mass-Meeting of the Youth of the F.A.I. / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 27 cm. In C.N.T.-F.A.I. [Barcelona]. — (Oct. 1936).

Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

The "moral" aid of Germany.

The Madrid government has published enough facts to prove of what the "moral" aid of Germany to the fascists — so claimed by General Franco — consists. The artillery grenades, furnished with wings and dropped on our CNT column No. 1 in the sector of Terruel, are an additional proof. They were intended for the famous "Bateria Fantasma", which systematically bombarded Terruel and whose quarters are unknown to the fascists. These grenades, which fortunately did not explode, are of the 10,5 caliber and bear the German inscriptions: "Kleiner Zusatzkörper, Reinsdorf, Lieferung 1936", and "Kleiner Fuellkörper, Reinsdorf, Lieferung 1936". Others even bear the German eagle of the Empire and the inscription "Rauchentwickler, Reinsdorf 1936, Bitterfeld." (All these consist of high explosives)

The fascist Spanish "patriots" are nothing more than mercenaries of the Hitler-Imperialism in Spain.

Address at the Mass-meeting of the youth of the FAI

Comrades of the FAI and CNT! Anarchist youth of Cataluña and the rest of Spain, I greet you! The great norwegian dramatist Henrick Ibsen, who was also a revolutionist and anarchist in his opposition to the state, in his drama THE MASTER BUILDER wrote: "THE YOUNG GENERATION IS KNOCKING AT THE DOOR". You the youth of Cataluña and Spain have not only knocked at the door. You have crashed through it. You have broken all doors and windows, behind which were hidden ignorance, superstitions and crimes. The crimes of the capitalist system, of exploitation and misery, the black superstitions of the church, the brutal force of militarism. You have demolished them all. You have let in the light, so that all might see the abuses and wrongs of the ages. You have done more. You have brought the Spanish masses a new hope and new faith in its own possibilities. You, my young comrades of the FAI and CNT have stormed forwards to annihilate all false gods and all false values. It was your fiery spirit, your flaming courage that brought about your revolution and that has proceeded to build on the ruins of the old the new edifice, we of the old generation have dreamed about and worked for.

Until July 19th, no one outside of Spain knew the existence and meaning of the FAI or the CNT. Now the two have become the torchbearer for the youth of the rest of the world. Indeed they are blazing the path, all will eventually have to take, to reach the goal you have set before you.

To be sure, there have been other revolutions. The human struggle

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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cm. In C.N.T.-F.A.I. [Barcelona]. — (Oct. 1936).

Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

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for freedom is as old as humanity itself. And always, in all parts of our planet, at all periods of the upward march of progress, it was nearly always the youth who rushed forward head foremost in every revolution, the oppressed and disinherited havemade to break their chains. And yet, and yet your revolution is the first of its kind. It is the first in human history advanced and led by Anarchists and Anarcho-synsicalists. The very people misligned, villified and persecuted by all those who have ever tried to check the spirit of man. For whether Fascist, Monarchist, Republican, or by whatever name governments call themselves, all hated us, and all set alike against us and our ideals. The Spanish Revolution, inspired by you, Catalan Youth, you of the FAI and CNT, is therefore of tremendous historic importance and of the utmost significance not merely to Spain, but to the youth and masses in all other countries.

Though only three months old, your Revolution has destroyed for ever the stupid idea, even among so called intellectuals, that Anarchism stands for crime, for chaos, for the bomb and the dagger only. That it has no social program, or capacity for organised concerted action. You, young comrades of the FAI and CNT, have disproven this lie. You have shown that you can build as well as destroy. You have demonstrated this in the face of the greatest danger from the fascist hordes and the deadly blockade of your so called friends. You are going ahead in your supreme daily task with a courage bordering on recklessness, and with an iron will to create a new conception of human and social values, of the right of every individual to freedom and well-being. It is therein that your Revolution is far ahead of any Revolution in the past.

Dear comrades, you have every reason to be proud of your wonderful achievement. But your just pride must not obscure the fact that your enemies are still lurking in the dark. Not only your fascist enemies. There are others aboard. All those who talk of the necessity of new governments, of new rulers, are making ready to forge new chains for your enslavement. They are trying consciously or unconsciously to lead your glorious Revolution into channels that will inevitably end in a new form of dictatorship. That would mean the death of your Revolution and new fetters for all.

Comrades, Anarchist youth of Cataluña and all of Spain, be on guard against these well-wishers. You are fighting heroically at the anti-fascist front. That is the supreme need of the hour. But also you must make ready to fight on every front that is threatening the Revolution in Spain. And is endangering the free and unhampered growth and development of the Revolution, you comrades of the FAI and CNT, you the young and fiery generation of Cataluña and the rest of Spain are in the process of bringing to a glorious end.

With my dear old comrades Sebastian Faure and Berton! I feel deeply indebted to you, young comrades. To you brave fighters, who have articulated in daring action what we have propagated for well-nigh a half century. To me you are not only comrades but my children as well, the children I love, and who have gone farther than I. Who will not halt on the way. Who will give living proof that Anarchism is the surest and strongest basis for a new free society. You have already given this example and by doing so you have instilled part of your young blood in our old veins. Together with you, dear comrades, we of the old generation want to march on, climb higher and higher to the summit of our glorious ideal, and see it realised in all its splendour and beauty.

Long live the youth of the FAI and CNT!
Long live the social Revolution!
Long live Anarchism!

E.G.

Note.

We urge all publications reproducing the articles of this bulletin, to kindly mention their origin. We also invite correspondence of helpful nature.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[The criminal myopia of neutrality. In Spanish] La Criminal Miopa de la Neutralidad / Emma Goldman. — 28 cm. In Solidaridad Obrera [Barcelona]. — (Oct. 2, 1936).
Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

de tenerla. Después del movimiento se han constituido varios Sindicatos, los cuales forman ya la Federación Local. Si los militantes de Tarragona

Desinterés.

Pedro del Río

Barcelona.

De diez y media a once: Castellano y catalán.
De once a once y media: Sueco.

Oficina de Propaganda O. N. T.-F. A. I.

LA CRIMINAL MIOPIA DE LA NEUTRALIDAD

Conferencia de EMMA GOLDMAN, dada por la Radio de la C. N. T. - F. A. I., el día 30 del mes de septiembre

"Los dioses vuelven locos a los que quieren perder". En muchos casos de la historia humana se ha visto cumplido este viejo proverbio. Con mucha más razón puede aplicarse a los jefes políticos de hoy. Ellos sostienen que la neutralidad, en relación con la lucha heroica de las masas españolas, puede contener la conflagración mundial. La verdad es que los jefes políticos y hombres de Estado, muy pocas veces han demostrado tener visión exacta al afrontar con tales calamidades. Particularmente, en su actitud referente a las luchas de España, se ve que los dioses han desviado más la razón de los dirigentes.

Si se tratara solamente de una docena de políticos de segunda categoría, no tendríamos por qué alarmarnos. Pero desgraciadamente son los hombres más destacados de los Estados. Las decisiones de estos diplomáticos, basadas en una confusión mental absoluta y en una obstinación criminal, no solamente no podrán impedir una carnicería mundial, sino que acelerarán la nueva matanza, que seguramente ha de superar en sus consecuencias a la Guerra Mundial.

Tendrían alguna razón los políticos si su actitud neutral diese igualdad de trato a las dos partes combatientes en la guerra civil española. Pero la unilateralidad ciega en su actitud delata la integridad y buena fe de los que protegen la neutralidad. Este modo de pensar es más censurable, si cabe, por ser las masas españolas las primeras que se han levantado contra el peligro fascista, que domina la mayor parte de Europa y amenaza tragar a los defensores de la neutralidad. Se ve que los dioses trabajan lentamente, pero con mucho acierto.

Es digno de considerar que los obreros de España luchan contra esta monstruosa aberración humana, que se llama fascismo y que nació de los horrores de la guerra y de los escombros de la paz. En vez de matar el capullo en flor, los políticos y hombres de Estado de posguerra han levantado el fascismo a una corriente de vida, alimentándolo y fertilizándolo hasta convertirlo en un monstruo insaciable: jamás se ve saciado de carne humana, y sus deseos de dominar no tienen límites.

El padrastro de este horrible criatura es, en parte, la



La compañera anarquista, Emma Goldman.

Mussolini, que legó al máximo de lo locura cuando la conquista de Etiopía. Esta conquista hubiese sido del todo imposible, si las sanciones proclamadas en alta voz y como medio humanitario, hubiesen sido aplicadas. Los sancionistas no han hecho otra cosa que ayudar a Mussolini, parodia moderna del César. No solamente ha conquistado Abisinia, sino que tiene en sus manos a todos los políticos. Hoy día su mano férrea aprieta la garganta de toda la Europa.

Idénticas facultades han sido concedidas a Hitler, hermano gemelo de Mussolini.

Hitler y sus hordas salvajes han encontrado su mejor apoyo en el mal llamado Tratado de la Paz y su mejor ayuda en la indiferencia criminal a su imperio de terror por parte de los legisladores de la mayoría de los países. Solamente esto dio al nacionalsocialismo el tiempo necesario y el empuje preciso para perfeccionar su mortífera maquinaria militar. No sólo la cruz gamada, sino que también la bota perada de Hitler, está imponiéndose encima de las cabezas de Europa y Asia, como se las impuso a Alemania, absolutamente desamparada.

Los políticos jamás dividan nada, pero tampoco aprenden nada. Todo lo

que ellos quieren realizar con su neutralidad hacia los defensores de la libertad en España, no es más que lo realizado en pro de los otros poderes fascistas: ellos hacen más, ellos ayudan a crear una formidable alianza fascista, la cual, si tuviese éxito, encadenaría el espíritu liberal para muchos años.

Es raro que los defensores más entusiastas de la neutralidad, sean los que quieran sostener a toda costa, la democracia. Ellos no comprenden que la democracia nunca se vió en mayor peligro y que de continuar su neutralidad se convertiría en ayuda eficaz para los aventureros fascistas. Hitler y Mussolini saben serán satisfechas sus ambiciones fascistas. Con esto, ellos adquirirán la mayor parte del Mediterráneo y los Birineos les servirán como punto de apoyo para dirigir sus cañones directamente contra Francia. ¿Hay alguien que pueda dudar de que esta posición convertirá a Hitler y Mussolini en árbitros del mundo? Por esto la conquista de España no será otra cosa que el dominio del mundo por Hitler y Mussolini.

Francia, con su pasado revolucionario y glorioso, ¿podría dar la consentimiento callado a tales designios? Inglaterra con sus siglos de tradición liberal, ¿puede consentir esta posición

degradada? Y si no, ¿no sería esto una nueva matanza mundial?

En otros términos: precisamente lo que la neutralidad busca evitar, será lo que ocurrirá. Solamente un mentecato puede dejar de ver este peligro. De muy diferente manera ocurrirían las cosas si los antifascistas encontraran la ayuda para detener la epidemia venenosa del fascismo en España, que tiende a infectar todas las fuentes de la vida y de la salud. Exterminado el fascismo en España serán purificadas todas las aguas en el resto de Europa, infectas del mismo virus. Y al terminar con el fascismo en Europa, terminaríamos con las causas de la guerra. Los pueblos del resto del mundo y los grupos amantes de la libertad, inspirados por el nuevo experimento social de España, empujarán la nueva transformación de su vida social.

Hablar de neutralidad es lo mismo que hablar de aquellos que, estando junto al edificio en llamas, con mujeres y niños pidiendo su auxilio, no hacen el menor movimiento para venir en su ayuda. Es lo mismo que contemplar al hombre que, ahogándose, lucha para salvar la orilla, sin que le sea prestada la menor ayuda. No hay palabras para calificar esta cobarde indiferencia. En los incendios, en las inundaciones, en las tempestades, cuando los seres humanos peligran, es cuando otros seres humanos se juegan esta vida, no esperando en las llamas, ni en las aguas, para poner a salvo la vida de su prójimo.

Pues bien: España está en llamas, la avalancha fascista está arrojando al país y al pueblo entero. ¿Es posible, que las naciones, aliente de las fronteras, contemplan impasibles al país que las hordas fascistas convierten en escombros? ¿O será preciso que el pueblo, que sabe pensar y que quiere la libertad, muestre suficiente coraje para romper las barreras de neutralidad y se meta, apresuradamente, a la ayuda del pueblo, dispuesto a combatir al fascismo hasta su fin?

Yo tengo fe en la humanidad. Yo sé que los Gobiernos vienen y se van, pero el valor intrínseco de los sentimientos de humanidad y justicia siempre permanecerá.

Por esto es por lo que el pueblo español pide ayuda, para romper el fascismo a la destrucción y salvar a todo el mundo de la hecatombe a la que traidores como yo llevarían la neutralidad.

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Whom the Gods Wish to Destroy, They First Strike Mad / E[mma] G[oldman]. — pp. 2-4 ; 33 cm. In Boletín de Información [Barcelona]. — (Oct. 6, 1936).
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mowed down without mercy. In a village of Aragón and in Andalusia, young anti-fascists were tied together, soaked with benzine and burned alive. Near their scorched and mutilated bodies a sign was discovered with the inscription "Long live fascism!" What better proof than that the fiendish jobs had been carried out by the murderous fascist gang?

The antifascists are of a different breed. They too are engaged in a fierce battle. But they also build. They are building a new social order in Cataluña which is the avant-guard of the rest of Spain. In the rythm of the new life in process of becoming, the CNT and FAI are an important part. They are demonstrating to the people everywhere that resistance to fascism is possible, and that the will to freedom is still very much alive. Spain is in the throes of the birth-pangs of a new revolutionary epoch - an epoch to inspire, encourage and sustain all countries in their battle against fascism and all other forms of reaction.

For the new Spain, now being baptised in rivers of blood, liberty is no bourgeois prejudice. Indeed liberty and free initiative are to be the very foundations and bulwark of Libertarian Communism.

Workers! Intellectuals and liberty loving people! Inspired revolutionary Spain appeals to you for your solidarity and your help in words and deeds. Organise resistance to the design of your imperial government to weaken the struggle against fascism by sending shiploads of munition to the fascist counterrevolutionary front. Repudiate the neutrality pose which is only directed against your brothers and sisters who are ready to offer their lives for the liberation of Spain and of the world from the fascist yoke.

Long live the CNT! Long live the FAI! Long live Spain, the torchbearer of freedom and justice for all the people on the earth!

(Translated from a German speech, broadcasted in Barcelona August 18th, on behalf of the Comité Regional de Cataluña.)

Radio Talk, September 30th, 1936.

"Whom the Gods wish to destroy, they first strike mad."

This old proverb has proved true in more than one instance in human history. It also applies most forcibly to the political leaders of today. They maintain, that neutrality to the heroic struggle of the Spanish masses will stave off a new world conflagration. Now, it is only too true that political leaders and statesmen have seldom demonstrated clear thinking when confronted with calamitous issues. But in their attitude towards the struggle in Spain, the Gods seem to have done their job more deliberately than before.

Were it only a question of a score of politicians one would have no cause for alarm. Unfortunately they are at the helm of state. And their decisions, motivated by utter mental confusion as well as criminal wilfulness, will not only prevent a new world carnage. They actually are hastening the new holocaust whose flames are likely to be more devastating than the last.

One might grant the politicians some modicum of reason, had they taken a neutral stand against both contending forces in the civilwar in Spain. It is the onesidedness of their attitude which makes one question both the sanity and the integrity of the neutrality sponsors. Their stand is the more reprehensible because the Spanish masses are the first to have risen against fascism that has already taken root in a large part of Europe, and if not stopped will do so in the rest of the world. Verily, the Gods grind slowly, but surely.

Incidentally it must be borne in mind, that the workers of Spain are fighting the ill-conceived offspring of war and peace. The statesmen have brought about that hideous human apparition that calls itself fascism. Instead of nibbling the first sprouting in the bud, the post-war politicians and statesmen have kept up the flickering life-stream of fascism. They have nourished and strengthened the growth into a monstrosity, whose ravenous appetite can only be satisfied by human flesh and whose lust for power knows no bounds. The

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foster-fathers of the ghastly creature have been a party to Mussolini's egomania that has already reached insane proportions by the conquest of Ethiopia. What else but sanctions loudly proclaimed in words as the humanitarian and christian means to protect the rights of the Abyssinian people and never applied in deeds, have enabled Mussolini to conquer Abyssinia? The sanctionist helped this modern imitation of Caesar to more than he bargained for. Not only has he Abyssinia, he also has all the political leaders of Europe in the palm of his hand, and his iron grip on all of Europe as well. The same has been done for the other child of the hideous fascist twins.

Hitler and his savage gang found their inning in the utter madness of the so called peace-treaty, and their best support in the criminal indifference on the part of all governments to his reign of terrors. This, and only this gave national-socialism time and impetus to perfect the deadly military machine. Not only the swastika but also Hitler's heavy boot is to be planted on the neck of Europe and Asia, as they have been planted on the neck of the entire hapless German people.

Politicians never forget or learn anything. Else they would realise that by their neutrality to the Spanish defenders of liberty they are rendering the Spanish fascists precisely the same service they have given to the other fascist powers. They are doing more. They are helping to create a formidable fascist alliance that, if successful, would fetter the spirit of freedom for many decades.

Curiously enough, the loudest sponsors of neutrality proclaim that democracy must be maintained at all costs. Yet they fail to see, that democracy never was in graver danger, and that neutrality, if maintained much longer, will stab democracy in the back.

Does any intelligent man or woman imagine, that the two fascist star-lords are giving Franco and Mola such generous support in armaments and money out of love for them? Certainly they have been promised lucrative returns for the cooperation which is to enable the Spanish adventurers to drown the Spanish people in a sea of blood. Hitler and Mussolini, whose ambitions are so "modest", want a mere bagatelle. Just the largest part of the Mediterranean, the Pyrenees as their bulwark with their cannons directed on France. This would of course put Hitler and Mussolini in a world-key-position. A conquered Spain would therefore mean the world dominion of Hitler and Mussolini.

Will France go back on her glorious revolutionary past by her tacit consent to such designs? Will England with centuries of liberal traditions acquiesce to such degrading position? And if not, will that not mean a new world carnage?

In other words, the very thing the proclaimers of neutrality are hoping to prevent, will occur. And only lack of logical perception can remain blind to its danger. Quite another thing would happen if the antifascists were helped to cope with the fascist epidemic in Spain, that is poisoning all the springs of life and health. Fascism exterminated in Spain would also mean the purified waters in the rest of Europe. And the end of fascism in Europe would do away with the causes of war. The workers of the rest of the world and other lovable loving groups inspired by this new social experiment of their brothers in Spain, would be enabled to begin a new transformation of their own life.

It is about neutrality as it is about people who can stand by a burning house with women and children calling for help, without moving a muscle to come to their aid. Or to see a drowning man desperately trying to reach shore. No words of condemnation could possibly express the universal contempt for such cowardly indifference. Fortunately, there are not many such creatures. In times of fire, floods, storms at sea or the sight of any fellow creature in distress, human nature usually is at its best. Men in danger to their own lives and limbs, rush into burning houses, throw themselves into the foaming sea, and bravely carry their brothers to safety.

Spain is in flames, the fascist conflagration is spreading. Is it possible that the world outside will stand by and see the country laid in ashes by the fascist hordes? Or will thinking and justice-loving people muster up enough courage to break through the bar of neutrality and come to the rescue of the Spanish people, who are fighting fascism to the bitter end.

I have faith in humanity. I have infinite faith, I know the governments come and go. But the intrinsic quality of human feeling and the sense of

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justice remains for ever.

It is to these that the heroic people of Spain appeal for help for the means to bring fascism to its knees and save the world from the new impending holocaust, neutrality is certain to bring in its wake.

E.G.

Economic Problems.

We quote the following from an article in the SOLIDARIDAD OBRERA about the difficulties in administrating the large confiscated industries, and their solutions.

"The active and passive resistance of the former owners and the many complications in the administration of the industries have created difficult problems. Even without a bitter and relentless civil-war with but a few miles from thundering cannons, a new transformation of industrial life would be no small matter. How much more must it be during the present anti-fascist struggle? We learn from a member of the Economic Council that most of the large industries (and we speak of large when more than hundred workers are employed) were found in a deplorable state. They were loosing tens of thousands of pesetas annually. It would be stupid to continue them. But there are also a number of concerns, though working at a deficit now, that could be profitably transformed. The first step in that direction must be the elimination of the exorbitant salaries of the directors and a unified and decent wage for all the workers in these plants.

Some of the collectivised industries have turned out most successful. Thus the railroads are functioning perfectly, the underground, tramways and omnibuses are also working smoothly. But the present shortage of raw-material and the almost paralysed export often interfere with the normal development and increase of output. Many factories are now producing war-supplies. There are of course still many problems but we are convinced of, and determined to solve them all.

The reorganisation of all places of amusements are of interest. The reorganised theatres, though seemingly of no great importance now, are doing a very large turn-over. This is giving thousands of people of various professions a chance to earn their living. The problem of the popular theatre is not yet solved. But a number of Theaters are performing again in Cataluña. All theater-workers receive the unified wages of 15 pesetas daily. All expenses being paid, the remaining proceeds are distributed among the staff, beginning with the first artists, who do the hardest work in rehearsals and preparations.

The problem of the cinema has been much simpler. The proceeds of the different cinemas go to one common fund, and after all expenses: light, taxes, filmrents etc. are paid, the remaining money is equally distributed among the employees. By that method they all earn more than before, July 19th. And that during the quiet summer season!

Of course, the claue no longer exists in the cooperative theaters.

Catalan Economic Council.

Juan P. Fábregas, one of the three representatives of the CNT and financial commissary in the Catalan Economic Council, speaks regularly over the radio about the tasks of this institution. We extract the following from his last speech:

"We representatives of the CNT have based the work of the Economic Council on the principles of federalism. This federalism does not only express our own conviction, but also meets the geographical, economic and national need of Spain. Today we fight for life or death and for the future of our Iberian Peninsula. Under these conditions we can make no pact or engage in any compromise with the enemy. How far our spirit and determination will succeed in framing the future of the cultural, economic and social life of our people, remains to be seen. But we consider it our supreme duty to coordinate all the

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[Emma Goldman tells us. In Spanish] Emma Goldman Nos Dice... / Emma Goldman.— p. 1 ; 34 cm. In CNT [Madrid]. — (Oct. 7, 1936).

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huir de nuestro fuego...

EMMA GOLDMAN NOS DICE...

A la Redacción de C.N.T.—Madrid.

Queridos compañeros: En un artículo que publicasteis el día 28 de septiembre, en la página cuarta, nuestra valerosa compañera Federica Montseny, refiriéndose a la conversación sostenida con ella, explicaba las diferencias que existen entre la revolución rusa y la española.

Dijo que yo, al observar los acontecimientos de España, he constatado con alegría que los compañeros españoles no han destruido nada, mientras que la revolución rusa ha demolido mucho antes de empezar a construir.

Abrigo el temor de que yo misma no me haya expresado bien al hablar con la compañera Federica. Yo no dije que la revolución rusa «hubiese destruido». No podía decirlo, porque, desde su principio hasta la fecha, creo que la revolución rusa ha sido más grande que la francesa y también más profunda.

Lo que yo quería decir es lo siguiente: que la destrucción más grande, durante el período revolucionario, ha sido hecha por la maquinaria estatal y por la rígida centralización que no ha dado a las masas la posibilidad de iniciar la obra constructiva por su propia cuenta.

Mejor dicho: la destrucción ha venido a causa del descarrío de los obreros de la revolución.

No ha sucedido así en España. Aquí, los obreros han hecho las deducciones necesarias de los errores cometidos por los trabajadores de Rusia y se apresuraron a controlar, ellos mismos, toda la industria. Ellos, sin perder un día, han puesto en marcha toda la maquinaria de producción y han cuidado mucho de no destruir nada de lo que tiene valor. En este sentido, los obreros y la revolución española nos prestan el único ejemplo de «cómo hay que hacer una revolución».

Referente al espíritu de la revolución rusa y de sus masas, puedo decir que, ahora, se hace sentir su espíritu y su voz es muy desagradable a todos los dictadores. Mi fe en la revolución es demasiado profunda para que pueda yo cambiar mi modo de pensar.

Al mismo tiempo, estoy dispuesta a reconocer, si hablamos de la obra constructiva, que la C.N.T. y la F.A.I. han ido mucho más lejos; pero, esto se hace posible porque vosotros, los compañeros españoles, estáis educados en la escuela de las ideas federalistas y en las del comunismo libertario. Estas ideas no permiten que ninguna forma de dictadura se apodere de vuestras conquistas, como tampoco permite que se incline a las imposiciones de cualquier grupo político.

Deseo que nunca llegue el momento de que os alejéis de este principal punto de vista.

Viva la C.N.T. y la F.A.I.

Viva la lucha contra el fascismo!

Viva la heroica revolución española!

Fraternalmente,

Emma Goldman.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[To All My Dear Comrades and Friends...] / [Emma Goldman]. — pp. 1-2 ; 27 cm.

In C.N.T.-F.A.I. [Barcelona]. — (Oct. 8, 1936).

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Barcelona, October 8th, 1936.

To all my dear comrades and friends in the U.S., Canada and England!
I greet you in the name of the Spanish comrades of the CNT (The National Confederation of Labour) and the FAI (The Anarchist Federation of Iberia).

Though I am here but three weeks, I have already seen more of the marvellous achievements of these two organisations, than others could have done in six months. For our comrades have not only received me as their own. They have also given me every help and cooperation to make the study and investigation for which they had called me to Spain. And I can tell you that the part already played by these spokesmen of the Spanish people in revolt since the street battles with Fascism in Barcelona, and the part they are destined to play, is embracing the entire social and economic life of the Spanish people. Their objective is not only the extermination of fascism, but also the transformation of the old social order.

Far from having destroyed and demolished everything, as they have been so charged in some English and American papers, the CNT-FAI have proceeded almost immediately after having cleared Barcelona from the black scourge, to socialise a number of industries and cultural institutions, the railroads, the entire network of transportation, included aeroplanes, ships, metro, streetcar, omnibus and taxi construction works and management. And they have set to work for the benefit of all.

It is profoundly moving to find a whole people as one man in their determination to persevere in the battle to the last man and to the last drop of blood until fascism will be driven from the land. In making such a heroic stand, the CNT-FAI is motivated not only by their great love of liberty and their attempt of economic achievement for themselves. They are also moved by the certainty that a victory over fascism in Spain, would mean a victory over this enslaving force in all other countries. Just as the defeat against fascism would plunge the whole world into the darkness and savagery already in existence in a number of European countries.

Among the many constructive efforts of the CNT-FAI is the very necessary information of the outside world about the real nature of the struggle our comrades are making, and the work of transformation they have begun from the first moment of the July days. The International News Service they have started is far from perfect. But this is largely due to the lack of funds. It is yet sadly true. Cataluña unfortunately has no gold reserve. All of this is in Madrid. And the Madrid government, socialist to a large extent has been sabotaging Cataluña in money and in many other respects.

On the other hand not one penny has been turned over to the CNT-FAI from the large sums, collected for the Spanish antifascist war, in England, the U.S. and Canada. Thus the International Ladies Garment Workers Union alone has collected \$86 000 sent to to "Sir" Citrine via the Amsterdam International. This merely goes to prove that the socialists and communists everywhere leave nothing undone to defeat the gigantic labour of the CNT-FAI.

Fortunately, material help is being sent to the struggle here from nearly every part of America. But it is a mere drop in the Ocean compared with the support the fascists as well as the so called antifascists in Marxian ranks are receiving. In view of the almost insurmountable odds the CNT-FAI are having, we of the International Press Service feel it unfair and unjust to add one more material burden and expense.

Knowing the ready and always generous response of my comrades and friends on the American Continent, I have suggested to our heroic Spanish

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comrades to let me make an appeal to you for funds to continue the most necessary work of our foreign section. I appeal to you most fervently to send whatever you can, outside of what you may have contributed or will, to the CNT-FAI. Send all contributions in a registered letter addressed to the given address. Send it not in Pesetas as much would be lost in that way. Dollars, American or Canadian, Pounds or French francs will go a long way to help us enlarge and perfect the work we are doing. I have already put your name on the mailing list of the English Bulletin. When this reaches you, you will have received copies for your information and distribution.

Do help and lose no time. Every hour counts here. The CNT-FAI is invincible in their courage and their determination to crush the fascist foe. And to build a new society along federalist lines. They deserve all the help and support every liberty loving man and woman can give.

Yours for the victory over fascism and the triumph of the social ideal as articulated by the CNT-FAI, fraternally

Emma Goldman

Please address to :

VICTOR GIRAUD, 27, rue Rampeaux, PARIS 20e.

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[Radio address of comrade Emma Goldman in Barcelona. In German]
Radioansprache der Kameradin Emma Goldman in Barcelona / Emma Goldman. — pp.
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INFORMATIONSDIENST der syndikalistischen CNT und der anarchistischen FAI
===== Nummer 19 - 10.X.36. - Casa CNT-FAI, Barcelona.

Radioansprache der Kameradin Emma Goldman in Barcelona.

Wenn die Götter verderben wollen, den schlagen sie mit Blindheit. Dieses alte Sprichwort hat seine Wahrheit in mehr als einem Falle der menschlichen Geschichte bewiesen. Es paßt auch schlagend auf die politischen Führer unserer Zeit. Sie behaupten, dass die Neutralität gegenüber dem heroischen Kampf der spanischen Massen einen neuen Weltbrand verhindern werde. Es ist nur zu wahr, dass politische Führer und Staatsmänner selten ein klares Denken gezeigt haben, wenn sie sich vor schwebenden Fragen befinden. Aber was die Haltung der Staatsmänner zu dem Kampf in Spanien betrifft, so scheinen die Götter ihre Arbeit gründlicher getan zu haben als je zuvor.

Handelte es sich nur um einen Streit von Politikern, so hätte man keinen Grund, darüber erregt zu sein. Unglücklicherweise aber sind diese Politiker am Steuer des Staates. Und ihre Entscheidungen, die durch absolute geistige Verwirrung und ebenso durch verbrecherischen Starrsinn bedingt sind, werden eine neue Weltverschöchterei nicht nur nicht vermeiden, sie beschleunigen den neuen Weltbrand, dessen Flammen wahrscheinlich verheerender sein werden, als die des vorigen.

Man könnte den Politikern bis zu einem gewissen Grade recht geben, wenn sie eine Haltung der Neutralität eingenommen hätten gegenüber beiden kampfenden Kräften im spanischen Bürgerkrieg. Aber die blinde Einseitigkeit ihrer Haltung zeigt die Wahrhaftigkeit und Konsequenz der Befürworter der Neutralität. Ihr Standpunkt ist um so verwerflicher, als die spanischen Massen die ersten sind, die sich gegen die faschistische Weichheit erhoben haben, die schon große Teile von Europa beherrscht, und auch noch sie, die Verteidiger der Neutralität, verschlingen wird. In der Tat, die Götter mahlen langsam aber sicher.

Die Arbeiter Spaniens kämpfen gegen die Ungeheuer menschlicher Verwirrung, die sich Faschismus nennt und aus den Schrecken des Krieges und des Friedens geboren wurde. Statt diese Erscheinung im Keime zu ersticken, haben die Politiker und Staatsmänner der Nachkriegszeit dem aufblühenden Faschismus erst zu wirklichem Leben verholfen. Sie haben ihn genährt und gestärkt bei er zu einem unersättlichen Ungeheuer wurde. Sein Hunger nach Menschenfleisch ist nicht zu stillen und seine Machtier kennt keine Grenzen.

Einer der Väter dieses Ungeheuers war der Grossenwahn Mussolinis, der zum Höhepunkt seines Irrsinns gelangt mit der Eroberung Abessinien. Diese Eroberung wäre vollkommen unmöglich gewesen, wenn die so laut als menschliches und christliches Mittel proklamierten Sanktionen angewandt worden wären. Die Sanktionsstreiter haben aber nichts anderes getan, als Mussolini zu helfen, dieser modernen Proodie eines Caesar. Er hat nicht nur Abessinien, sondern alle Politiker in seiner Hand. Sein eiserner

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Nr. 19

Blatt 2

Griff hielt Europa in der Gurgel. Dieselben Möglichkeiten hat man dem anderen der beiden scheußlichen faschistischen Zwillingsbrüder gegeben.

Hitler und seine wilden Jorden haben ihre starkste Unterstützung gefunden in dem sogenannten Friedensvertrag und der verbrüderlichen Gleichgültigkeit aller anderen Regierungen gegenüber ihrem Schreckensregiment. Das, und dies allein, gab dem Nationalsozialismus die Zeit und die Kraft, seine mörderische militärische Maschine aufzustellen. Nicht nur das Hakenkreuz sondern auch der schwere Militärschuh Hitlers sitzt heute auf den Rücken und Knien der europäischen und asiatischen Völker, wie sie schon dem unglücklichen deutschen Volk aufgezwungen worden sind.

Die Politiker vergessen nie, aber sie lernen auch nie etwas. Was sie mit ihrer Neutralität gegenüber den spanischen Freiheitskämpfen tun, ist nichts anderes, als dem spanischen Faschismus zu helfen, wie sie schon den anderen zwei faschistischen Mächten geholfen haben! Sie tun noch mehr, sie helfen eine furchtbare faschistische Allianz schreiben, die wenn sie zustande kommt, den freiheitlichen Geist fuer viele Jahrzehnte ersticken wuerde. Es ist sonderbar genug, dass die lautesten Verteidiger der Neutralität proklamieren, dass die Demokratie um jeden Preis aufrechterhalten werden muss. Aber sie sehen nicht, dass die Demokratie nie in groesserer Gefahr war und dass die Neutralitätspolitik, wenn sie noch laenger aufrecht erhalten wird, der Demokratie zum groessten Schaden gereichen wird.

Glaubt man, dass Hitler und Mussolini so grossherzig sind, den spanischen faschistischen Abenteuerern aus reiner Liebe zu ihnen Waffen zu liefern? Es bedarf wenig Einbildungskraft um zu verstehen, dass Franco und Wolf den beiden faschistischen Machthabern sehr bestimmte und weitreichende Versprechungen haben machen muessen. Ihre imperialistischen Gelueste sind sicher nicht mit weniger zu befriedigen, als dem groessten Teil der Mittelmeerkueste, den Pyrenäen und anderen wichtigen Punkten fuer den kommenden Krieg. Mit anderen Worten, Hitler und Mussolini hoffen Schlüssellösungen fuer diesen Krieg zu bekommen.

Will Frankreich mit seiner ruhmreichen revolutionären Vergangenheit schweigend einer solchen Entwicklung zusehen? Will England mit seiner jahrhundertalten liberalen Tradition ruhig bleiben angesichts einer so schlimmen Lage? Und wenn beide nicht eine andere Haltung annehmen, bedeutet das nicht eine neue weltanschaulichere?

Mit anderen Worten, gerade das, was die Neutralitätspolitik verhindern will, das ruft sie hervor. Nur ein Geisteskranker koennte blind vor dieser Gefahr bleiben. Aber etwas ganz anderes wuerde geschehen, wenn die spanischen Antifaschisten Hilfe erhielten, um die giftige Epidemie des Faschismus in Spanien aufzuhalten, die alle Quellen des Lebens und der Gesundheit verpestet. Wenn der Faschismus in Spanien ausgerottet wird, so bedeutet das eine Reinigung aller Quellen in ganz Europa, die von gleichen Bazillen infiziert sind. Und das Ende des Faschismus in Europa wuerde die Adresse fuer einen neuen Krieg aus der Welt schaffen. Die uebrigen Völker und die freiheitsliebenden Gruppen der Welt wuerden, durch die spanische Erfahrung inspiriert, eine Umformung des sozialen Lebens einleiten.

Die Neutralität gegenüber Spanien ist das gleiche, wie wenn Leute vor einem brennenden Hause, aus dem Frauen und Kinder um Hilfe schreien, sich nicht ruehen um sie zu retten. Sie bedeuten, gleichgültig zuzusehen, wie ein ertrinkender Mann vergebens sich sucht, das Ufer zu gewinnen. Es gibt keine Worte, um eine solche feige Indifferenz zu kennzeichnen. Gluecklicherweise gibt es nicht viele solcher Kreaturen. Bei Feuerbrunsten, Ueberschneelungen, Sturm, wenn Menschenleben in Gefahr sind, dann setzen andere Menschen ihr Leben ein und geben ihr Bestes, ohne Flammen und Fluten zu fuerchten, um das Leben ihrer Naechsten zu retten. Unter Gefahr fuer ihr eigenes Leben eilen andere Menschen in die brennenden Hauser, wagen sich auf die schreckende See und retten ihre Bruder.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Radio address of comrade Emma Goldman in Barcelona. In German]
Radioansprache der Kameradin Emma Goldman in Barcelona / Emma Goldman. — pp.
1-3 ; 29 cm. In Boletín de Información [Barcelona]. — no. 19 (Oct. 10, 1936).
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Nr. 19

Blatt 3

Spanien steht in Flammen. Die faschistische Lawine geht ueber Land und Volk. Ist es moeglich, dass die uebrige Welt vorbeisteht und zusieht, wie das Land durch die faschistischen Horden in Asche gelegt wird? Oder werden die dankenden und gerechtigkeitsliebenden Voelker genug Mut aufbringen, um die Schranken der Neutralitaet zu zerbrechen und schnell dem spanischen Volk zu Hilfe zu eilen, das bereit ist, den Faschismus zu bekämpfen bis zum Ende?

Ich glaube an die Menschheit. Ich weiss, dass die Regierungen kommen und gehen. Aber ich weiss auch, dass menschliches Fuehlen und Gerechtigkeitsempfinden im Innersten immer sich gleich bleiben. Deshalb appelliert die helienhafte spanische Volk an ihre Hilfe, um den Faschismus auf die Knie zu zwingen und die Welt zu retten vor der Katastrophe, die als sichere Folge der Neutralitaetspolitik sich einstellen muss.

(am 30. September 1936)

Die CNT-FAI und der 6. Oktober.

Die spanische Revolution befindet sich seit mehreren Jahren in ununterbrochen aufsteigender Entwicklung. Heute kempft sie ihre Entscheidungsschlacht.

Die Aprilbewegung von 1931 konzentrierte lediglich die politische Forderung Spaniens. Es war die anarcho-syndikalistische CNT allein, die damals den Versuch machte, die Revolution weiterzutreiben und auf soziales Gebiet zu tragen. Nicht nur die kleine Bourgeoisie und die spanischen Intellektuellen, sondern auch die etatssozialistische Arbeiterbewegung, verkörpert durch die sozialistische Partei und die UGT, stellten sich damals gegen die Forderungen der revolutionären Arbeiter.

Nachdem 1933 die sozialistischen Fuehrer aus der Regierung der Republik verdrängt worden waren und den Funktionären der UGT systematisch alle staatlichen Aemter und Pfruenden entzogen wurden, begannen die Arbeiter der UGT sich zu radikalisieren, und mehrere Fuehrer der Partei und der UGT, ehemals geschworene Reformisten und Parlamentarier, verkueeten offen den Bankrott der Zusammenarbeit mit den bueurgerlichen Institutionen und den Kapitalismus.

Ende 1933 jeoch, im Dezemberaufstand, sah sich die CNT noch immer allein im Kampfe gegen die damals zur Macht gekommene Reaktion. Trotzdem entstand nach der Niederschlagung des Aufstandes innerhalb der Arbeiterbewegung eine Diskussion ueber die Frage des Zusammengehens der beiden grossen Organisationen CNT und UGT.

Am 6. Oktober 1934. Der Prozess der Revolutionierung der spanischen Arbeiterschaft war noch nicht zur Klärung geichen. Nur in Asturien waren die Arbeiter zu einer Allianz gelangt, die ausschliesslich revolutionären Zielsetzungen diente. Hier kempften und starben die Arbeiter der CNT und UGT Schulter an Schulter fuer die soziale Revolution.

Andere in Katalonien. In diesem Landesteil krupte den, die Bewegung der Protesten gegen die Regierung Lerroix-Gil Robles in ein rein bueerliches Aufwieser leiten zu koennen, und die etatssozialistische Arbeiterbewegung Kataloniens, aus einer Menge kleiner Gruppen bestehend, stellte sich an die Seite einer rein separatistischen, linksbueerlichen Bewegung. Gewisse separatistische Nationalisten, deren Zeit heute vuerueber ist und deren verantwortlicher Fuehrer nach dem 19. Juli 1936 nach Italien entflo, um nicht der Feinde der katalonischen Arbeiter zum Opfer zu fallen - wollten in Katalonien eine angeblich linke Republik verteidigen bei gleichzeitigem Vernichtungskampf gegen die revolutionären Arbeiter Kataloniens, das heisst gegen die CNT und FAI. Sie sperrten die Militanten der CNT-FAI in die Gefengnisse und liessen die syndikalistischen Arbeiter Barcelona durch die Polizei aus ihren Syndikaten treiben.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] E[m]ma Goldman en la Casa de "Acracia" [Emma Goldman at the house of "Acracia". In Spanish] / E[m]ma Goldman. — p. 1 ; 26 cm. In Acracia [Lerida]. — (Oct. 17, 1936).

Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

EMMA GOLDMAN EN LA CASA DE "ACRACIA."

Anoche estuvo en nuestra Redacción Emma Goldman. Viene del frente aragonés, donde había pasado dos días conversando con los bravos guerrilleros de la revolución. En prestigio internacional de nuestra buena Emma se adivina anoche capotando por espacio de una hora, que nos pareció corta, con las camaradas que redactamos esta publicación, tan afín a las ideas de la veterana luchadora.

En verdad que no podían darse circunstancias tan propicias como las actuales para conversar con Emma. En plena guerra a sangre y fuego contra el esclavismo y en plena lucha silenciosa de idealidad y delicadeza subversiva nuestra, distante la conversación tuvo por parte de Emma inolvidables réplicas.

—Durruti es todo el ímpetu y conocimiento. Esta mañana mañana salió a la primera línea de fuego fusil en mano, como si no hiciera nada—dijo Emma.

—Seguramente que en una oficina sería lo contrario, un escritorio—comentó el camarada que estaba más próximo a Emma.

Se habló de distintas fases de la guerra y de distintos fases de la paz que se torja en estos días memorables. La palabra de Emma era tan razonada como valiente. Sin avaricia y sin rencor, en un blando estilo matizado por la firmeza de convicciones y por esa solidez en las ideas que puede permitirle la línea más bondadosa, con una experiencia incuestionable en la lucha social, fué la camarada Goldman desarrollando sus puntos de vista tan emotivos y decisivos.

Recordó sus campañas liberadoras, sus años de cárcel y su entrevista—en unión del malogrado y excelente Berkman—a Lenin. La evocación fué oportuna, porque ayer se conmemoraba unánimemente la llegada a Barcelona del barco soviético, recibido apotósicamente. Y dijo un compañero:

—Hubiera estado bien en la recepción una voz pidiendo la libertad de los anarquistas presos en territorio soviético. Yo creo que faltó aquella voz.

Y fué entonces cuando Emma Goldman relató la visita que hizo con Berkman a Lenin en plena apoteosis de éste.

—Queremos que luchéis con nosotros—les dijo el dictador.

—¿Por qué tenéis anarquistas presos?—interrogó Berkman.

—En todo el territorio de Rusia no hay un solo preso anarquista—admiró Lenin.

—¿No?—preguntó asombrada Emma.

—No—replicó Lenin repentinamente—. Los presos que llamáis anarquistas no son anarquistas, sino bandidos.

Nosotros creemos que aun contando por anticipado con esta absurda contestación valdría la pena de que se pidiera a la autoridad soviética en ocasión de la memorable visita del barco, la libertad de los camaradas anarquistas, hermanos de los "bandidos con carnet" que se juegan la vida por la libertad de los hombres todos, sin excluir a los súbditos soviéticos.

Nosotros pedimos aquella libertad encarecidamente a quien pueda darla. Ahora los políticos soviéticos detienen hasta a Radek, sumo pontífice teorizante de la disciplina bolchevique y de su dictadura. Y en España, está ahora el camarada Hem Day, secretario del Comité Internacional de Defensa Anarquista establecido en Brusel, y copocedor como nadie de las persecuciones perpetradas contra los anarquistas en Rusia.

Apoyados en el alto deseo de la libertad que nos anima y en la noble convicción de Emma Goldman, insistimos en pedir la libertad de los camaradas anarquistas presos en Rusia. El mensaje de libertad sería más admirable que el azúcar y que el trigo.

El aspecto violento de la revolución se prolonga en las fábricas y en las escuelas.

—El escultor perfecciona con el cincel

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Address at the Mass-Meeting of the Youth of the F.A.I., Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. — [1936 Oct. 18]. — 2 p. ; 27 × 21 cm.

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12530

Barcelona, Oct. 18/36.

Address at the Mass-Meeting of the Youth of the F.A.I.

Comrades of the FAI and CNT, Anarchist youth of Catalonia and the Rest of Spain, I greet you. The great Norwegian Dramatist Henrik Ibsen who was also a revolutionist and Anarchist in his opposition to the state, in his drama *The Master Builder* wrote: "THE YOUNG GENERATION IS KNOCKING AT THE DOOR". You, the youth of Catalonia and Spain have not only knocked at the door. You have crashed through it. You have broken all doors and windows behind which were hidden ignorance, superstitions and crimes. The crimes of the Capitalistic system, of exploitation and misery, the black force, superstitions of the church, the brutal power of militarism. You have demolished them all. You have let in the light so that all might see the abuses and wrongs of the ages. You have done more. You have brought to the Spanish masses a new hope and new faith in its own possibilities.

You, my young comrades of the FAI and CNT have stormed forward to annihilate all false gods and all false values. It was your fiery spirit, your flaming courage that brought about your Revolution and that has proceeded to build on the ruins of the old the new edifice, we of the old generation have dreamed about, and worked for.

Until July 19th no one outside of Spain knew of the existence and meaning of the FAI or the CNT. Now the two have become the torch bearer for the youth of the rest of the world. Indeed they are blazing the path all will eventually have to take to reach the goal you have set before you.

To be sure there have been other revolutions. The human struggle for freedom is as old as humanity itself. And always, in all parts of our planet, at all periods of the upward march of progress it was nearly always the youth who rushed forward head foremost in every revolution the oppressed and disinherited had made to break their chains. And yet, and yet Your Revolution is the first of its kind. It is the first in human history advanced and lead by Anarchists and Anarcho-Syndicalists. The very people maligned, vilified and persecuted by all those who have ever tried to check the spirit of man. For whether Fascist, Monarchist, Republican, or by whatever name governments call themselves, they all hated us and all act alike against us and our ideal. The Spanish Revolution inspired by you Catalonian Youth, you of the FAI and CNT, is therefore of tremendous historic importance and of the utmost significance not merely to Spain but to the youth and to the masses in all other countries.

Though only three months old your Revolution has destroyed forever the stupid idea, even among so called intellectuals, that Anarchism stands for crime, for chaos, for the bomb and the dagger only. That it has no social programme, or capacity for organised concerted action. You, young comrades of the FAI and CNT, have disproven this lie. You have shown that you can build as well as destroy. You have demonstrated this in the face of the greatest danger from the Fascist hords and the deadly blockade of your so-called friends. You are going ahead in your supreme daily task with a courage bordering on recklessness, and with an iron will to create a new conception of human and social values of the right of every individual to freedom and well-being. It is therein that YOUR Revolution is far ahead of any revolution in the past.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Address at the Mass-Meeting of the Youth of the F.A.I., Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. — [1936 Oct. 18]. — 2 p. ; 27 × 21 cm.

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2.

Dear Comrades you have every reason to be proud of your wonderful achievement. But your just pride must not obscure the fact that your enemies are still lurking in the dark. Not only your Fascist enemies. There are others abroad. All those who talk of the necessity of new governments, of new rulers are making ready to forge new chains for your enslavement. They are trying consciously or unconsciously to lead your glorious revolution into channels that will inevitably end in a new form of dictatorship. That would mean the death of your revolution and new fetters for all.

Comrades, Anarchist youth of Catalonia and all of Spain, be on guard against these well-wishers. You are fighting heroically on the Anti-Fascist front. That is the supreme need of the hour. But also you must make ready to fight on every other front that is threatening the Revolution in Spain and is endangering the free and unhampered growth and development of the Revolution, you comrades of the FAI and CNT, you the young and fiery generation of Catalonia and the rest of Spain are in the process of bringing to a glorious end.

With my dear old comrades Sebastien Faure and Bertoni I feel deeply indebted to you, young comrades. To you, brave fighters who have articulated in daring action what we have propagated for well-nigh a half century. To me you are not only comrades but my children as well, the children I love and who have gone farther than I. Who will not halt on the way. Who will give living proof that Anarchism is the surest and strongest basis for a new free society. You have already given this example and by doing so you have instilled part of your young blood in our old veins. Together with you, dear comrades, we of the old generation want to march on, climb higher and higher to the summit of our glorious ideal, and see it realized in all its splendour and beauty.

Long live the youth of the FAI and CNT,
Long live the Social Revolution.
Long live Anarchism.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Comrades of the F.A.I. and the C.N.T. In Spanish] Camaradas de la F.A.I. y de la C.N.T.! / Emma Goldman. — pp. 13-15 ; 25 cm. In Boletín de Información [Barcelona]. — (Oct. 19, 1936).

Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

EMMA GOLDMAN (inglés)
Camarada de la F.A.I. y de la C.N.T.!
Juventud anarquista de Cataluña y del resto de España, os saludamos.
El gran escoteo de la guerra, el también, la
revolucionaria y anarquista, en la República el Estado, en su guerra, la
Maestro Constructor, que ha sido el gran constructor golpea a la guerra.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Comrades of the F.A.I. and the C.N.T. In Spanish] Camaradas de la F.A.I. y de la C.N.T. / Emma Goldman. — pp. 13-15 ; 25 cm. In Boletín de Información [Barcelona]. — (Oct. 19, 1936).

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BOLETÍN DE INFORMACIÓN

19 de Octubre 1936

Vosotros, juventud de Cataluña y de España, no sólo habéis golpeado la puerta; la habéis derribado. Habéis roto todas las ventanas y todas las puertas, detrás de las cuales se escondían la ignorancia, las supersticiones y los crímenes.

Los crímenes del capitalismo, de explotación y miseria, las supersticiones de la Iglesia, la tiranía del militarismo; vosotros los habéis destruido todos. Habéis dado luz, en forma que todos puedan ver los abusos y las injusticias de todos los tiempos. Habéis hecho más. Habéis traído a los españoles una nueva esperanza, una nueva confianza en sus propias posibilidades.

Vosotros, mis jóvenes camaradas de la F.A.I. y de la C.N.T., os habéis echado alante para destruir a todos los falsos dioses y a todos los valores falsos. En vuestra fiero espíritu, vuestro gran coraje, los que han traído vuestra revolución y han procedido a edificar lo nuevo sobre las ruinas del viejo mundo, el cual la antigua generación jamás había soñado, por el cual jamás han trabajado.

Hasta el 19 de Julio, nadie fuera de España conocía la existencia y la importancia de la C.N.T. y de la F.A.I. Actualmente las dos se han convertido en faros de la juventud del resto del mundo. Efectivamente han enseñado el camino que todos deberán seguir, para lograr el objetivo que queréis alcanzar.

Claramente, no habéis oído otras revoluciones. La lucha humana por la libertad, es vieja como la propia humanidad. Y siempre, donde sea, en todas las períodos de progreso, era casi siempre la juventud la que se echaba alante en esta revolución que han promovido los oprimidos y los desvalidos para romper sus cadenas. Y ahora, ahora, vuestra revolución es la primera en su género. Es la primera vez en la historia humana que una revolución es fomentada y dirigida por anarquistas, anarco-sindicalistas, por el pueblo oprimido. Porque fascismo, monarquismo, republicano y todo otro nombre que proclama el Estado, todos odian y obran contra nosotros y contra nuestro ideal.

La revolución española, inspirada por vosotros, juventud catalana, vosotros de la F.A.I. y de la C.N.T., significa tanto para España, como para las demás juventudes y masas de los otros países.

A pesar de sus tres meses, vuestra revolución ha destruido para siempre la idea estúpida, hasta entre los llamados intelectuales, de que anarquismo significa caos y destrucción. Que no tiene programa social ni capacidad para una acción de conjunto? Vosotros, jóvenes camaradas de la F.A.I. y de la C.N.T. habéis desmentido esta calumnia, habéis demostrado que sabéis construir lo mismo que destruir. Habéis demostrado esto frente a las hordas fascistas y al bloqueo mortal de vuestros supuestos amigos. Avanzáis en vuestra catibana tarea con un valor que se aproxima a la audacia y con una voluntad férrea habéis creado una nueva concepción del valor humano y social, del terreno de cada individuo al bienestar y a la libertad. Es por eso que vuestra revolución es muy superior a cualquiera de las revoluciones del pasado.

Amigos míos, tenéis el derecho de estar orgullosos de vuestra obra. Pero vuestra orgullo no debe haceros olvidar que vuestros enemigos están siempre al acecho. Y no solamente vuestros enemigos fascistas. Hay aún otros. Todos los que hablan de la necesidad de nuevos gobiernos, preparan nuevas cadenas para vuestra esclavitud. Intentan, conscientes o inconscientes, conducir a la España a una nueva forma de dictadura. Esto significaría la muerte de la Revolución y la opresión para todos.

Camaradas, juventud anarquista de Cataluña y de toda España! Vosotros que lucháis heroicamente en el frente antifascista, tendréis necesidad de todo vuestro valor para destruir toda vuestra tentativa de destrucción de vuestros nobles objetivos. Esta es la necesidad suprema del momento. Aun debéis prepararos para luchar en cualquier otro frente traidor a la revolución española.

Vosotros, camaradas de la F.A.I. y de la C.N.T., vosotros la joven y orgullosa generación de Cataluña y del resto de España, estáis en la posibilidad de conducir a un glorioso fin la revolución!

Con mis queridos y viejos camaradas Sebastian Faure y Luis Bertoni, yo me siento atraído hacia vosotros, jóvenes camaradas. Hacia vosotros, combatientes valerosos que habéis traducido en acción temeraria lo que hemos propagado durante mucho tiempo.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

Hoja 16

BOLETÍN DE INFORMACIÓN

19 de Octubre 1936

Para mí, no soy solo unos camaradas, os considero mis hijos, los cuales han ido más lejos que yo. Vosotros no os detendréis en el camino. Vosotros demostraréis que la anarquía es la base más firme y la más sólida para una sociedad nueva y libre. Vosotros habéis dado ya ese ejemplo, y con éste habéis introducido una parte de vuestra sangre joven en nuestras viejas arterias. Con vosotros, queridos camaradas, nosotros, la vieja generación, deseamos alcanzar el pináculo de nuestro glorioso ideal y verlo realizado en todo su esplendor, en toda su belleza!

Viva la juventud de la F.A.I. y de la C.N.T.!

Viva la Revolución Social! Viva la Anarquía!

CAMILLO BERNERI (Italia) :

Compañeros españoles!

Os traigo el saludo de los adheridos al primer grupo italiano de la F.A.I., cuya constitución confirma y suelda las íntimas y continuas relaciones entre el movimiento anarquista de vuestro país y del mio, relaciones que se remontan a los tiempos de la primera Internacional y que han sido siempre de naturaleza simpática.

Para los anarquistas italianos de nuestra generación, España ha aparecido siempre como la Tierra Santa de la Revolución Social. Mientras la prensa anarquista de lengua castellana difundía los escritos de Malatesta, de Caffaro, de Fabbri y de otros teóricos y agitadores del anarquismo italiano, eran divulgados, leídos y apreciados por los compañeros italianos, los escritos de Anselmo Lorenzo, de Pedro Esteve, de Farrida del Marmol y de otros muchos escritores libertarios de vuestro país. Y desde el martirio de Francisco Ferrer, florece en Italia la Escuela Moderna.

Cada represión reaccionaria del clericalismo y del militarismo de España, ha encontrado siempre en Italia un fuerte eco de protesta. Cada heroísmo del anarquismo español, ha encontrado siempre entre los anarquistas italianos la más entusiasta de las admiraciones. A las calumnias contra los compañeros españoles, hemos respondido siempre con indignación, tanto de palabra como con la pluma.

Hoy España nos aparece el último baluarte de la libertad. Hoy España nos aparece el principal punto de apoyo para hacer un revolucionario y derrocar al fascismo que ya se extiende por todo el mundo.

De 180 adheridos al grupo italiano de la F.A.I., 175 pertenecen a la milicia de la C.N.T. y de la F.A.I., en el frente de Huesca y en el de Zaragoza, se batan contra el enemigo común y han sellado con su sangre el sagrado pacto de la alianza revolucionaria internacional. Combatir en España al fascismo español, equivale para nosotros a combatir en Italia al fascismo italiano. Estamos seguros de que nuestros muertos no han caído inutilmente; estamos seguros de que nuestras fatigas, nuestros sufrimientos y el riesgo serán fecundos.

Bajo nuestra mirada atenta y conmovida, vemos surgir la nueva España. Construida con manos poderosas, sobre amplios y audaces diseños la nueva España! Que la tierra de la Inquisición se convierta en la tierra de la Libertad! No es hacia Moscú o Ginebra donde miramos, felices de ver en marcha la anarquía, sino hacia Barcelona. Y estamos seguros de que la victoria antifascista desplegará sus alas desde el Pirineo a Gibraltar y estamos seguros también de que España será el primer país sobre el cual brillará el gran sol de la anarquía.

FEDERACIÓN LOCAL DE SINDICATOS ÚNICOS DE BARCELONA

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The Emma Goldman Papers

Emma Goldman in Spain Appeals for World Aid / Emma Goldman. — pp. 1, 3 ; 28 cm. In Spanish Revolution [New York]. — Vol. 1, no. 4 (Oct. 19, 1936).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

SPANISH REVOLUTION

A BULLETIN PUBLISHED BY THE UNITED LIBERTARIAN ORGANIZATIONS

Vol. 1, No. 4

NEW YORK, OCTOBER 19, 1936

Price 3 cents

Workers' Councils to Clear Spain of Fascism

ONLY REVOLUTIONARY
DEFENSE COUNCILS CAN
ASSURE VICTORY

Any undertaking can succeed only if it maintains its hold on reality and does that which the hour calls for. All gains must be made secure against reverses. At the same time care must be taken that future advances may not turn into obstacles.

The conflict which started on July 19th is more than an ordinary dispute between a ruling clique and another seeking to replace it. The swift and determined intervention of the people carried the struggle far beyond its original scope, and what started as a "putsch" against a government or a regime, has now become a social-revolutionary movement with all its implications. July 19th signified, contrary to the intentions of the provocateurs, the end of a regime which made possible the preparation for and the outbreak of the civil war that is costing the Spanish proletariat so much blood. This regime must not come back.

Of the entire legal apparatus in force before July 19th, there remain only a few decorative official figures who rule no one save certain trade unions which, whether through tradition or through calculation, still cling to

C.N.T. Demands
Moroccan Freedom

A tremendous excitement prevails among the Moroccans, amounting almost to a direct rebellion against the Fascists. This revolutionary spirit, "Solidaridad Obrera," syndicalist daily, points out, must be cultivated.

"We consider the workers of Rif capable of providing for themselves in their life and their social organization. The fight against Fascism

theor. We recognize all those who did their duty against Fascism. However, had Fascism encountered no opposition but that of the so-called legal powers, it would have won out without difficulty in Catalonia and in Spain. To-day the situation is still exactly this. If the "legal" powers of the pre-July 19th government had had to face Fascism alone, the Fascists would have been in Madrid and Barcelona in less than a week. It was the workers who fought the reaction from the very first. (Continued on page 4)

C.N.T. Takes Part
In New Council

The newspapers have already reported the important change in the Catalan governing body (Generalidad). Three of our comrades of the C.N.T. accepted positions in the council of the Generalidad.

It is known that outside of political power the C.N.T. controls effectively the economic and social life of Catalonia.

We must also keep in view the fact that in Catalonia it is the union syndicates—and everyone knows that the C.N.T. has a preponderant influence in the unions—that also controls the political life of the region. Under those conditions and in view of the gravity of the situation from the view of the anti-Fascist defense and the economic reconstruction of the country, it was normal that the C.N.T. should assume, at least in part, the responsibility for the political direction of public affairs. Its acceptance from the councils of the Generalidad placed it in an un-

Militia Heroism
Inspiring

by PIERRE VAN PAASEN
MADRID—(FP)—Franco is at the gates of Madrid. So was Yudenitch at the gates of old Petrograd in 1918. The Fascist rebels are fighting desperately for a quick decision before their money runs out. But the nearer Franco comes, the higher rises the combative ardor of the masses. There is not the slightest sign of weariness or wavering among the men and women of the militia.

And in Oviedo, the Asturian miners, with a gallantry that elevates one's respect for the potentialities of the human race, are blasting their way, street by street, into the heart of that important city.

The capture of 5,000 gas masks from the Fascists on the front southwest of Madrid shows that Franco will in a last extremity, even as Mussolini in Ethiopia, use poison gas to gain his ends. Fascists have no scruples when it comes to inhumaneness or a respect for the prescriptions of international law.

But no more than the Caproni bombers can blast a breach in the human wall of the workers' militia, no more can Franco's spirit gas bring him victory. The Spanish proletariat, fighting on one of the last citadels of freedom in Europe (France is next) will have the last word, if not today, then tomorrow. History is on their side. The struggle will be hard, long and cruel, but the final victory is certain.

PEASANTS CALL FOR
LAND COLLECTIVIZATION

On the 25th of September a convention of peasants and land workers belonging to the C.N.T. took place in Barcelona. The following provinces were represented: Catalonia, Aragon (that part which was cleared of the Fascists), Tarragon and the

EMMA GOLDMAN IN SPAIN
APPEALS FOR WORLD AID

Enlarged text of radio talk in Barcelona, Sept. 23, 1936:

Men and women in English speaking countries, I greet you in the name of the CNT (The National Confederation of Labor) and FAI, The Iberian Anarchist Federation.

The part already played by these spokesmen of the Spanish people in revolt since the battle with Fascism in the streets of Barcelona and the part they are destined to play is embracing the entire social and economic life of the Spanish people. Their objective is not only the extermination of Fascism, but also the transformation of the old social order.

The workers' battalions of Spain, who are holding the 50 times better equipped Fascist enemy at bay with their bare hands and by the ramparts of their own bodies, are displaying a heroism that would cause the world to gasp if the capitalist press had the slightest sense of fairness.

The liberal-democratic Giral government was incapable, and insufficient to mobilize and direct the new energies that were required to beat back the assault of feudalism, obscurantism and monopolistic capitalism represented by its militant advance guard: the Fascist militarist clique headed by Gen. Franco. (Continued on page 4)

Far from having destroyed and demolished everything, as they have been charged in some English and American papers, the CNT-FAI have proceeded almost immediately after having cleared Barcelona from the black scourge to socialize a number of industries and cultural institutions. And they have also socialized the railroads, the entire network of transportation including airplanes, ships, street cars, omnibuses and taxis; construction works and management. They have set to work to run them for the benefit of all.

During the week since my arrival in Barcelona, I had ample opportunity to verify the changed conditions and I was amazed to find everything in perfect order. Nothing destroyed or demolished, not a nail moved in factories, work-shops or the former luxurious houses now occupied by the numerous departments of. (Continued on page 3)

Militiamen Demand
Russia Free
Anarchists

The delegates of the anti-Fascists took the initiative in sending a telegram to the Russian government demanding that the Anarchists arrested by Stalin's government should be permitted to leave for Spain in order to take part in the anti-Fascist struggle allegedly given the moral support of Stalin's government.

The text of the telegram follows:

Zik, Staline, Moscow, USSR
The delegates of the anti-Fascist militia of the Arragonian front demand that the Russian government allow the departure

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The Emma Goldman Papers

Emma Goldman in Spain Appeals for World Aid / Emma Goldman. — pp. 1, 3 ; 28 cm. *In Spanish Revolution* [New York]. — Vol. 1, no. 4 (Oct. 19, 1936).
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columns of other columns also commanded by comrades. When everything is in readiness, in accordance with our general plan, we will attack Zaragoza.

You should not conclude from the above, however, that we limit ourselves to waiting. Last night we crossed to the other side of the Ebro river and we captured the entire first squadron of the 9th Castillejos regiment of cavalry.

At 7 o'clock in the evening our artillery began an intense bombardment of a house in which the general headquarters of the Fuentes de Ebro sector was located. Simultaneously, our infantry militia forded the river and captured several machine guns. Then, our men continued the attack and forcing their way forward with hand grenades, they reached the house just at the moment when the officers were trying to flee. They succeeded in killing all of them. There were, among these officers, one captain, two lieutenants, and several sergeants.

The soldiers came to us shouting: "Brothers, please do not kill us!" and with smiling faces surrendered to our militiamen, to those who are struggling to create a free Spain, a generous Spain, a productive Spain.

These soldiers told us that the Fascists claim that we are murderers. But no one is able or will ever be able to say specifically which are our crimes. No town has been shelled by us. On the other hand, when we shell a military objective, they retaliate by shelling towns which they know are inhabited by women, children and old men.

They also claim that all soldiers captured have to join our columns or else are immediately shot. But no one can say that the deserters are not well received. When they join our column they become one of ours, another militia man, just like myself.

Fascists of Zaragoza! The soldiers which you say we are shooting are now eating with us and sleeping in our beds. Why do you force the soldiers to fight by pointing your pistols at them? Why do you disarm them? Why do you tell them that we burn the feet of the deserters who come

now represent the men in the factories and the men in the streets.

We are fighting to have a Spain that will not be the private property of a few dictatorial generals representing capitalism.

The workingmen have awakened and will crush Fascism with their arms. Then, the C.N.T., the U.G.T. and the Popular Front, if possible, will get together and will come to an understanding.

Companies or an Azaña. The crops will be harvested by everybody and everyone will have his share.

Workingmen of Spain, be brave! If there was ever a moment when it was necessary to risk our lives, this is it. Workingmen, be optimistic! We are led by an ideal!

Forward against Fascism! Fascism should not be discussed. It should be destroyed! Salute, comrades!

C.N.T.-F.A.I. LEADS FIGHT AGAINST FASCISM FOR FREEDOM SAYS GOLDMAN

(Continued from page 1)

the CNT-FAI: I made it my business to talk to some of the workers and to express to them my astonishment that they had been able to prevent wholesale damage to the property now in their possession. In a direct and simple manner I was told that the workers felt they had produced the wealth and that they felt it would have been nothing short of stupidity to destroy anything that can now be made accessible to the use of all who labor. This marks a new departure in revolutionary consciousness of the value and sanctity of human effort and sets a convincing example for the quality, intelligence and practical judgment of the CNT-FAI.

True a number of churches were burned. But those who know the sinister influence of the Church on the Spanish masses, the superstitions fostered, the toll exacted and the alignment of the Church with the monarchist and military as well as the capitalist interests, will not blame the masses for having vented their wrath on these structures. In addition it is a fact as I have been able to ascertain, that in a number of cases the workers set fire to the churches only after they had been attacked by priests. These men though sworn to live up to the admonition "THOU SHALT NOT KILL," yet sent volley after volley from the high church windows into the masses below. It is also significant that very few churches of historic or artistic importance have been touched.

However, it is the spirit of the people, their great courage and their high aims that should be considered and not a few de-

molished stone buildings. This sublime spirit is giving birth to a new conception of the dignity and value of every man, woman and child in the new Spain which the CNT-FAI is working for.

It is profoundly moving to find a whole people as one man in their determination to persevere in the battle to the last man and last drop of blood until Fascism has been driven from the land. In making such a heroic stand the CNT-FAI is motivated not only by their great love of liberty and economic achievements for themselves. They are also moved by the certainty that a victory over Fascism in Spain would mean a victory over this enslaving force in all other countries. Just as the defeat against Fascism would plunge the whole world into darkness and savagery already in existence in a number of European countries.

While the ultimate aim of the CNT-FAI is a new social order on federalist, and not centralist lines, and while they have already begun to build the new edifice they do not forget for a moment the imperative need of concentrating on the elimination of the immediate menace within Spain. And they will not rest until that menace has been crushed utterly.

Men and women, are you aware of the fact that the supporters of Fascism are supplying Franco with tremendous amounts of modern weapons of warfare while the defenders of liberty have to battle almost with bare hands?

True, the Spanish people are invincible, and overwhelming in their fortitude, courage and will to consecration while the enemies are waging war with hirelings. But the most inspired men

2. The political and economic administration is to be based upon local, provincial, and regional federalism. The offices of Civil governors of provinces as well as of the municipal government are to be abolished, their places to be taken by Councils of Defense built upon the same proportional representation as the National Council.

3. To transform the offices of the various ministries (state

the form of a War Commissariat designated by the National Council of Defense and giving representation to the three sectors of the anti-Fascist front (Anarcho-Syndicalists, Socialists and Republicans).

5. To establish a Popular Proletarian and provisional judicial body designated by the National Council of Defense, the trade union organizations and political anti-Fascist organizations.

6. The socialization of the banks, the abolition of usury and speculation and the ultimate elimination of the national provincial and local debts.

7. The socialization of the wealth of the Church, as well as of the large landed estates, of the big industries, large commercial enterprises, the entire transport as well as of any enterprise, the owner of which gave any assistance to the Fascists; work control of the private industrial and commercial establishments; the syndicates (industrial unions) to make use of the socialized means of production and exchange; the right of free experimentation for every community inasmuch as it does not conflict with the normal course of economic life; the introduction of a plan in the working of the big industries and more important land economies.

The struggle for peace upon the basis of the international action of the proletariat, the reorganization of diplomacy and the calling together of an international conference of all the anti-Fascist elements with the view of laying down the basis for a workable international solidarity.

All funds collected for our bulletin, "Spanish Revolution," should be turned in at once. If sufficient money is forthcoming we will be able to print the paper more regularly and perhaps soon make a weekly of it.

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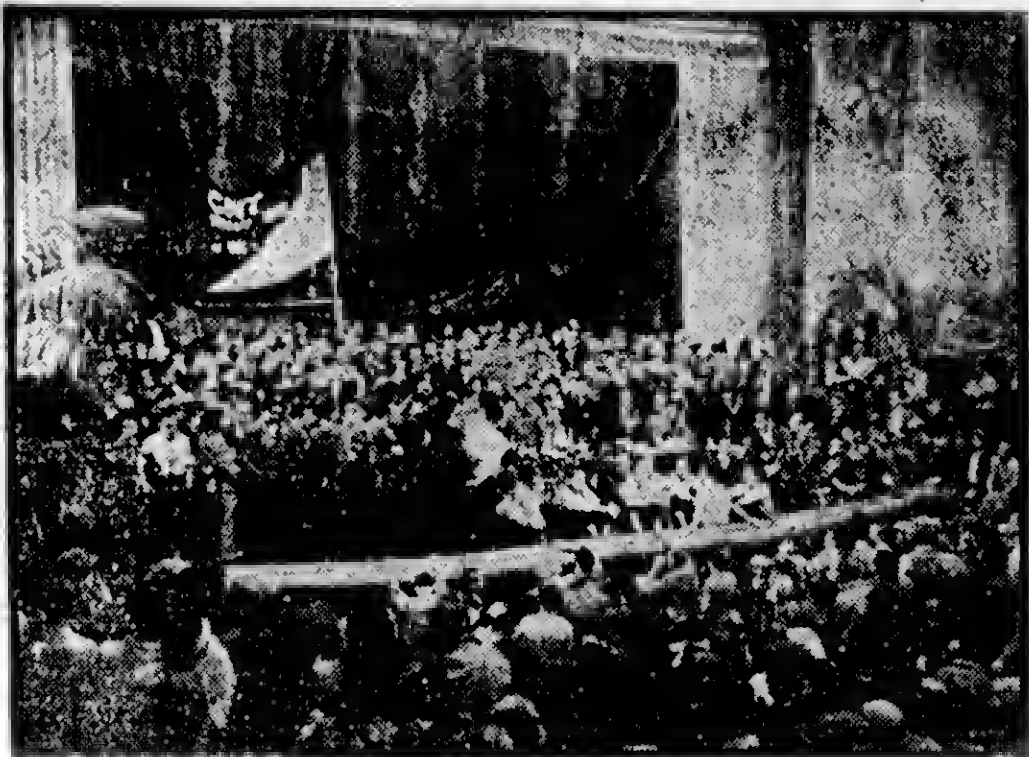
—EMMA GOLDMAN

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Comrades! Anarchist youth of Barcelona and Catalonia. In Spanish] Camaradas! Juventudes Anarquistas de Barcelona y Cataluña / Emma Goldman. — p. 11 ; 22 cm. In Solidaridad Obrera [Barcelona]. — (Oct. 20, 1936, fragment).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

SOLIDARIDAD OBRERA

Página 11



La tribuna, invadida por el público.

Si me siento particularmente dichoso de hablar esta noche ante un auditorio tan numeroso y tan atento, es porque tengo que defender delante de este inmenso pueblo la causa que me es más querida, la causa que un anarquista coloca por encima de todas las otras. Este bien supremo que los anarquistas defienden, este bien supremo, es la libertad. La libertad es el bien supremo incomparable, el bien más querido. Sin ella, los otros no tienen ningún valor; ¿estaría, por ejemplo, satisfechos vosotros, de comer a dos carrillos, si os vierais obligados a comer en la cárcel; estaríais satisfechos de conocer el bienestar, si, al mismo tiempo se os obligase a no conocerlo más que con una cadena o un dogal al cuello? La libertad es el bien supremo, es el bien absoluto, y es precisamente este bien el que vosotros defendéis. Vuestro movimiento tiene un doble carácter. Es a la vez defensivo y ofensivo. Es defensivo en el sentido de que defendéis aquellas pequeñas libertades que habéis conquistado. Anotad bien que digo conquistado. Estas libertades, por pequeñas que sean, no se os han acordado de buena voluntad; ha sido preciso batallar, sufrir, conocer la cárcel, el destierro, para poscer aquellas parcelas de libertad, y es perfectamente natural que, cuando se quiere poner la mano sobre estas libertades, vosotros os levantéis y defendáis estos pequeños patrimonios que tan penosamente, tan dolorosamente, habéis conquistado.

Os imagináis a los amos recono-

bras; el muro que divide la humanidad, toda entera, en dos clases netamente opuestas, cuyos intereses son enteramente contradictorios. He aquí lo que significa entre nosotros la barricada. Pues bien, la hora ha llegado, o quizá nunca, de escoger cada cual su sitio; ya no hay la posibilidad de mantenerse a caballo sobre esta barricada. Es preciso estar con los explotadores o con los hambrientos. Nosotros, anarquistas, hemos escogido desde hace tiempo nuestro sitio; nosotros estamos siempre con los oprimidos, y sus victorias serán las nuestras. (Interrupción: Esto no es Francia, sino España).

Me admiro, camaradas, del movimiento apasionado provocado en esta sala, por las palabras que he pronunciado. He dicho que los trabajadores de Francia, y principalmente los anarcosindicalistas y los anarquistas, están de todo corazón con vosotros. Yo no he citado a nadie. Me permitiré todavía decirlos que seguimos al otro lado de los Pirineos con una atención diaria y con un interés apasionado, la lucha que habéis emprendido.

Nosotros estamos convencidos de que vuestra victoria será la nuestra, y que vuestra derrota, si llegara a producirse, sería nuestra derrota. Pero tenemos confianza. Nosotros permanecemos optimistas. Sabemos que sois hombres de hierro, hombres valientes y que por consecuencia no os dejaréis, de ninguna manera, abatir, sean cualesquiera los medios poderosos de que vuestros adversarios dis-

da, mañana tendrán algo; los que no tenían nada, empezarán a disfrutar una parte de lo que les había sido robado. Los que no comprendían así la Revolución, no la comprenderán jamás. Vosotros no realizaréis la justicia más que expropiando aquella que os había sido robada y lo haréis con profunda convicción.

Vengo de Ginebra, donde se lanza el último grito contra el trabajador. Esta Sociedad de Naciones que apoya a todos los opresores y donde ya no hay imperialismo, ni fascismo ni nada. Hemos visto apoyar este nazismo que reclama territorios y colonias. Sociedad de Naciones que sólo consume millones y esclavizas, tiraniza al pobre trabajador, al proletariado mundial. Vosotros dais el ejemplo; tenéis en contra todo un mundo, pero poseéis el entusiasmo que hace a los pueblos libres.

¡Camaradas! Os digo de todo corazón que no tengo la esperanza de ver realizado el anarquismo en el curso de mi vida. No es una cuestión de esperanzas, es una cuestión de conciencia. Vosotros realizáis prácticamente el anarquismo y permitidme daros las gracias y que vuestra victoria signifique la victoria de todos nosotros y el aplastamiento de una clase carcomida, papista, podrida, corrompida y que de ninguna manera tiene razón de existir.

¡Nosotros, los trabajadores; nosotros, los revolucionarios, en quienes vibra la conciencia, que luchamos por una causa de justicia, al aplastar el fascismo, conseguiremos el bienestar y la libertad para todos!

A continuación habló

HEMMA GOLDMANN

camarada alemana, del siguiente modo:



che y día contra vuestros enemigos, luchad sin descanso!

Yo también he luchado toda mi vida, al igual que mis camaradas Faure y Berton, por el anarquismo, y os saludo, no solamente como luchadores, sino como apóstoles del Anarquismo.

¡Viva la Revolución! ¡Viva la Libertad! ¡Por el Anarquismo y la sociedad libre! ¡Salud!

CAMILLO BERNERI

¡Compañeros españoles!

Os traigo el saludo de los adheridos al primer grupo italiano de la F. A. I., cuya constitución confirma y saluda las íntimas y continuadas relaciones entre el movimiento anarquista de vuestro país y del mío, relaciones que se remontan a los tiempos de la Primera Internacional y que han sido siempre de calurosa simpatía.

Para los anarquistas italianos de nuestra generación, España ha aparecido siempre como la Tierra Santa de la Revolución Social. Mientras la Prensa anarquista de lengua castellana difundía los escritos de Malatesta, de Caffero, de Fabbri y de otros teóricos y agitadores del anarquismo italiano, eran divulgados, leídos y apreciados por los compañeros italianos, los escritos de Anselmo Lorenzo, de Pedro Esteve, de Tarrida del Mármol y de otros muchos escritores libertarios de vuestro país. Y desde el martirio de Francisco Ferrer, florece en Italia la Escuela Moderna.

Cada represión reaccionaria del clericalismo y del militarismo de España, ha encontrado siempre en Italia un fuerte eco de protesta. Cada heroísmo del anarquismo español, ha encontrado siempre los anarquistas italianos la más entusiasta de las admiraciones. A las calumnias contra los compañeros españoles, hemos respondido siempre con indignación, tanto de palabra como con la pluma.

Hoy España nos aparece el último baluarte de la libertad. Hoy España nos aparece el principal punto de apoyo para hacer un reclutamiento y derrocar al fascismo que ya se extiende por todo el mundo.

De 180 adheridos al grupo italiano de la F. A. I., 175 pertenecen a la milicia de la C. N. T. y de la F. A. I., en el frente de Huesca y en el de Zaragoza, se batan contra el enemigo común y han sellado con su sangre el sagrado pacto de la alianza revolucionaria internacional. Combatir en España al fascismo español, equivale para nosotros a combatir en Italia al fascismo italiano. Estamos seguros de

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Es la primera vez en la Historia... [It is the first time in history... In Spanish] / Emma Goldman. — 36 cm. In Tierra y Libertad [Barcelona]. — (Oct. 22, 1936).

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TIERRA Y LIBERTAD

El fascismo es criminal por esencia

Abundan las personas que por ignorancia o insuficiente información se figuran que la ayuda que prestan ciertos países a los rebeldes de España es una invención de ese ensayo de flagelar al pueblo por medio de la tiranía que hemos dado en llamar fascismo. Nosotros, por desgracia, tenemos para calificar la tiranía un vocablo bien auténtico: el absolutismo.

En el fondo no es más que el intento de realización de una conocida frase de Luis XIV: «Yo soy yo». En Alemania y Austria — a diferencia de España y Francia — adopta la forma del «kaiserismo» como adaptación moderna del antiguo Sacro Romano Imperio. Pero en Italia, donde no hubo unidad nacional ni estatal durante la Edad Media y el Renacimiento, formas aun más regresivas y busca en la Roma de los Césares — incluso en las más antiguas denominaciones de la vida política y militar — el origen teatralizado de uno de los muchos movimientos reaccionarios que han existido en la historia de la civilización humana.

No es hoy la intervención de los Estados absolutistas y tiránicos contra los pueblos que de modo más o menos consciente han enarbolado y sostenido con energía la bandera de libertad. Recordemos las guerras religiosas de la Reforma en Francia y Alemania. No nos en olvido, aquí en España, la Santa Inquisición y aquellos cien mil hijos de San Juan que recibimos como obsequio de los Borbones de Francia al felón Fernando VII, que, al abandonar a su país, se había humillado ante Bonaparte.

La reacción ha sido siempre solidaria cuando ha visto en peligro los baluartes levantados contra el pueblo. Ellos han realizado la «internacional» mucho antes que vosotros, trabajadores de todos los pueblos! Tan sólo los grandes espíritus — sacrificados muchos de ellos en la lucha por la independencia — han podido empujar a los pueblos durante los siglos de opresión sobre la ruta de Progreso y Libertad que es la suprema aspiración del hombre civilizado.

Pero entremos en el caso concreto: en el caso de la lucha que hoy sostenemos en España contra todas las fuerzas progresivas frente a las fuerzas fatalmente retardatarias. A esos agentes enfermos que se llaman Plutocracia, Clericalismo y Militarismo, les han dado, desde las oligarquías, unas inyecciones de optimismo que se convierten en la sangre de millones y millones de españoles...

Si sólo fuera optimismo, apoyo moral, quedaría algo en pie de la incubadora fascista de las tierras ibéricas? Mas no se trata de eso, sino de algo más profundo y más grave: de la corrupción material de algunos Estados — no queremos decir pueblos — en la obra destructora de cuanto había de generoso y liberal en España que la reciente sublevación militar ha intentado.

Y ante esa evidente colaboración — como vamos a demostrar seguidamente con pruebas palpables — los trabajadores de España, manuales e intelectuales necesitamos algo más que simpatía y el afecto de los trabajadores de otros países, algo más que el platonismo de una declaración verbal. Necesitamos que las masas populares de todos los pueblos sepan y comprendan que los trabajadores de España están muriendo a millones por la causa de la Libertad, que el enemigo es común y que si la reacción extranjera se mueve, sin escrúpulos, en favor de los fascistas, las energías de los antifascistas del mundo ha de aplicarse sin vacilaciones y sin demora a que nosotros tengamos los medios de ataque y defensa que nos son necesarios para destruir rápidamente al enemigo.

Los hechos comprobados que relatamos a continuación no dejan lugar a dudas.

Alemania parece haber tomado a Galicia por una especie de colonia. Un barco de esa nacionalidad, con el nombre borrado, descargó el 27 de agosto en La Coruña 19 vagones de material de guerra, zarpando luego con rumbo al Ferrol, para dejar también en esa base su armamento para los rebeldes. Y concretando aún más: de un buque de guerra alemán, el buque al servicio directo del Estado, el crucero «Leipzig», se ha desembarcado material de guerra, hecho de manifiesta gravedad desde el punto de vista de las relaciones internacionales.

Como si estuviesen en su propia casa, las dotaciones de buques alemanes han desembarcado, recorriendo las calles mañana y tarde, mientras entonaban sin ningún reparo himnos fascistas.

Respecto a Italia, puede asegurarse que el buque mercante «Italia Alba» descargó en Vigo aviones, acompañados por algunos mecánicos y pilotos.

Portugal envió también a Vigo un barco cargado de armas y municiones, con destino a las tropas sediciosas. Este país ha llegado a las mayores iniquidades, violando las prácticas del derecho internacional, pues en diversos puntos de su frontera ha detenido a los trabajadores que, abrumados por la superioridad del armamento de los fascistas, buscaban allí un refugio, entregándoles a los rebeldes para que fueran vilmente asesinados, sin distinción de edad ni sexo.

Lo sucedido en Galicia es, realmente, algo espantoso. Orense fue tomado por los fascistas disparando un solo tiro, pues la Guardia Civil allí concentrada siguió a sus jefes, traicionando al Gobierno, a la fuerza de Asalto y a los trabajadores gallegos. ¡Afortunada ciudad! que de un mes llevaban ejecutados ya los defensores de Cristo a más de 1.400 hombres de diferentes fuerzas de Izquierda.

Pueden referirse infinidad de episodios de un sadismo repugnante. En Orense y en Mondoñedo, las mujeres de significación izquierdista fueron cruelmente atropelladas. En muchas atrocidades con ellas cometidas figuran el rapar su cabeza, y la bárbara acción de arrear su frente con un hierro al rojo. Esta marca consiste en las gloriosas letras U.H.P.

Se puede acusar por eso a Galicia de falta de resistencia, en el Ferrol la marinería se pasó fiel al Gobierno, pero como los buques se hallaban en los diques y no podían salir, la numerosa y moderna artillería de la plaza los sometió, después de una heroica resistencia que duró 48 horas. En toda Galicia han sido fusilados en masa los anarquistas, socialistas, republicanos, masones y nacionalistas gallegos. Es uno de los lugares donde más se ha ensañado la furia salvaje del fanatismo clerical, simbolizado en ese obispo de Mondoñedo que, vestido de seglar y con pistola en mano, dirigía una columna preparada para romper el cerco que los valientes asturianos tienen puesto a Oviedo.

Una de las víctimas de la reacción ferrolana ha sido el sacerdote-publicista Matías Usero. Los discípulos de Loyola han saldado una antigua cuenta. No han olvidado que el Usero Torrente escribió con dignidad y firmeza contra los jesuitas. Uno más de muchos que hay que apuntar en el trágico historial de la funesta Compañía.

En contraste con esa innoble conducta, los revolucionarios españoles han procurado en las naturales represalias y actos de defensa, en el ejercicio estricto de una justicia que es implacable sobre los culpables, saben matizar los grados de responsabilidad y culpabilidad que pueda haber en la actuación de los acusados, antes y después de la sublevación.

No es lo que calla la venal prensa del capitalismo extranjero, lo que oculta voluntariamente a los hombres de conciencia libre de todos los pueblos, presentando a las masas revolucionarias de España como una horda que se complace en el saqueo, el incendio y la destrucción. Es que no pueden atestiguar cuál es el verdadero desarrollo y control de nuestra Revolución. Los numerosos soldados extranjeros que viven en las ciudades que permanecen...

Es la primera vez en la Historia que los que han hecho la Revolución son anarquistas

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¡Camaradas de toda España! Vosotros habéis enseñado al mundo que deben destruirse estas instituciones manchadas de lodo y sangre. En todo el mundo hay una juventud que ha procurado hacer Revolución; muchos de ellos la han hecho, pero ninguna Revolución en la historia del trabajador y del socialismo ha tenido tanta resonancia, ha penetrado tanto en el corazón de las juventudes del mundo, como vosotros, revolucionarios. Es la primera vez en la Historia que aquellos que han hecho la Revolución son anarquistas, demostrando al mundo que el anarquismo no es criminal, no se forma por bandas de foragidos armados de bombas y puñales, sino que es una idea constructiva, un ideal de mejoramiento de la Humanidad.

Por primera vez en la Historia del anarquismo, se lee en la Prensa que es la F.A.I. y la C.N.T. quienes mantienen la lucha. El 19 de julio no sabía nadie fuera de España, quiénes eran la F.A.I. y la C.N.T. Hoy no existe rincón del mundo, cabaña, fábrica o taller donde no se sepa quiénes son la F.A.I. y la C.N.T. Esas letras han caído como un rayo, y han iluminado a todo el mundo. Toda la juventud mira hacia vosotros, trabajadores de España y Cataluña. Miran hacia vosotros porque habéis dado el ejemplo y tenéis la fuerza suficiente para destruir al capitalismo y sobre sus ruinas edificar un mundo nuevo, noble, donde todos, jóvenes y viejos, puedan disfrutar su vida en libertad.

(Palabras pronunciadas por la compañera Emma Goldman en el mitin celebrado el pasado domingo en el Teatro Olympia de Barcelona.)

Los obreros rusos dicen en un mitin "que los vapores cargados de vive"

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3

Quelques heures avec la colonne Durruti

PEUT-ON VAINCRE LE CAPITALISME, ACCOMPLIR LA REVOLUTION SOCIALE ET SUPPRIMER L'EXPLOITATION DES MASSES A L'AIDE D'UN GROUPE D'HOMMES OU D'UN HOMME QUI MENERA CES MILLIONS D'HUMAINS AU MOYEN DE LA VIOLENCE POLITIQUE ? OU, AU CONTRAIRE, SONT CE CES MILLIONS D'HUMAINS EUX-MEMES QUI, PAR LEUR ACTION LIBRE ET LIBREMENT COORDONNEE POURRONT SEULS ATTEINDRE LE BUT ? QUI FERA LA REVOLUTION SOCIALE : UNE ELITE D'OTATOTRE BOLCHEVISTE QUI TIRERA A PAR LES C



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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Long-time anarchists speak to the Spanish people. In French] Les Anciens de l'Anarchie parlent au peuple espagnol / Emma Goldman. — 28 cm. In L'Espagne Anti-Fasciste [Paris]. — (Oct. 28, 1936).

Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

ANTIFASCISTE

3

Les Anciens de l'Anarchie parlent au peuple espagnol

Le discours de Sébastien Faure au meeting de la jeunesse de la F.A.I.

Camarades,

Je suis vieux. Au cours de ma carrière longue et, comme c'est la règle pour tous les militants révolutionnaires et surtout anarchistes, au cours d'une carrière passablement mouvementée, j'ai vécu bien des batailles, j'ai pris part à une foule de campagnes, et je n'ai pu rendre ce témoignage, c'est que c'est toujours la cause de la justice, de la vérité, de la liberté que j'ai plaidée. Je n'ai jamais tiré aucune vanité, je n'aurais pu faire autrement, il m'aurait été impossible de plaider tout à ma conscience, de me lever contre la justice, contre la liberté. Je n'ai donc aucun mérite d'avoir consacré ma vie aux causes les plus nobles et les plus fondées.

Et cependant je puis dire que je ne me suis jamais trouvé en face d'événements aussi tragiques que ceux que traverse l'Espagne, jamais en face d'un mouvement pouvant entraîner pour le monde entier les conséquences aussi redoutables soit dans un sens, le bon, ou dans le sens contraire, le mauvais.

Si je suis particulièrement heureux de parler ce soir devant un auditoire aussi nombreux et aussi attentif, c'est que je dois plaider devant ce peuple immense la cause qui m'est la plus chère, la cause qu'un anarchiste place au-dessus de toutes les autres. Ce bien suprême que les anarchistes défendent, ce bien suprême c'est la liberté. La liberté c'est le bien suprême incomparable, le bien le plus cher. Sans lui, les autres n'ont aucune valeur. Seriez-vous satisfaits, par exemple, de manger à vos volontés si vous étiez obligés de manger en prison ? Seriez-vous satisfaits de connaître le bien-être si en même temps vous étiez obligés de ne le connaître qu'avec une chaîne ou un cou à la gorge ? La liberté c'est le bien suprême, c'est le bien absolu, et c'est précisément ce bien que vous défendez. Votre mouvement a un double caractère. Il est à la fois défensif et offensif. Il est défensif en ce sens que vous défendez les quelques minces libertés que vous avez conquises. Seriez-vous bien que la liberté, si minces qu'elles soient, on ne vous les a pas accordées de bonne volonté. Il a fallu batailler, souffrir, connaître la prison, l'exil, pour posséder quelques parcelles de liberté ; et il est tout naturel, lorsqu'on veut mettre la main sur ces libertés, que vous vous levez et que vous défendez ces petits patrimoines que vous avez si péniblement, si douloureusement conquis. Vous imaginez-vous des maîtres reconnaissants de bonne volonté, et sans y être forcés, abandonner une partie de leur puissance ? Mais vous savez bien qu'ils ne se trouvent jamais trop puissants et trop forts, et qu'ils cherchent toujours à augmenter leur puissance. Vous ima-

ginez-vous, de l'autre côté les oppresseurs, d'un côté ceux qui souffrent de l'indigestion, de l'autre côté ceux qui souffrent de la faim, le mur qui divise l'humanité tout entière en deux classes nettement opposées, dont les intérêts sont entièrement contraires. Voilà ce que signifie chez nous la barricade. Et l'heure est venue où j'ai le droit de vous dire que nous n'avons plus de possibilité de se tenir à cheval sur cette barricade. Il faut être avec les affamés ou avec les affamés. Nous anarchistes, nous avons depuis longtemps déjà choisi notre place, nous sommes avec ceux qui sont opprimés et ceux qui sont opprimés. Tout le peuple travailleur de France est à vos côtés. (Interruption : « Ce n'est pas vrai, il n'a pas fait son devoir envers nous ! »)

Je mentionne, camarades, du mouvement, passionné, profond, dans cette salle par les paroles que j'ai prononcées. J'ai dit que les travailleurs de France, et notamment les anarchosyndicalistes et les anarchistes, sont de tout cœur avec vous. Je n'ai dit personne, je me permets, et c'est à vous de dire que nous suivons de l'autre côté des Pyrénées avec une attention de tous les jours et avec un intérêt passionné la lutte que vous avez engagée.

Nous avons pris conscience de ce que votre victoire sera notre victoire, tandis que votre défaite, si elle se produisait, serait notre défaite. Mais nous avons confiance. Nous restons optimistes. Nous savons que vous êtes des hommes de fer, des hommes courageux et que, par conséquent, vous ne vous laisserez en aucune façon abattre, que ce soient les moyens puissants qui vos adversaires disposent. C'est vous qui serez victorieux !

Vive la révolution sociale !

Discours de Louis Bertoni

Camarades,

Après le discours de notre camarade Sébastien Faure, je n'aurais qu'une parole à vous dire. Merci ! Lorsque, hier matin, j'ai quitté Genève, je ne m'attendais pas à parler ce soir devant une foule aussi nombreuse, aussi enthousiaste. Camarades, ce soir se réalise le rêve de cinquante ans de ma vie, se réalisent mes espoirs, ma foi, ma conviction, mes hautes et mes amours. Ce soir, camarades, en votre présence, je sens que l'idée pour laquelle j'ai vécu pendant cinquante ans, c'est vous qui la réalisez dans son intégralité, dans toute sa force, dans toute son énergie, dans toute sa noblesse.

Camarades, l'émotion m'opprime. Mais je voudrais encore vous dire quelques mots. Vous avez eu le courage de pousser intégralement la question de notre émancipation. La justice, la liberté n'a jamais eu aucun sens en dehors de cette expro-

avez démolis tout. Vous les avez mis dans la lumière, de sorte que tous puissent voir les atouts et les injustices de tous temps. Vous avez fait plus. Vous avez apporté aux masses espagnoles un nouvel espoir et une nouvelle confiance dans leurs propres possibilités.

Vous, mes jeunes camarades de la F.A.I. et C.N.T., vous vous êtes levés en avant pour défendre tous les idéaux et toutes les valeurs. C'est votre fier esprit, votre grand courage qui ont animé votre Révolution, et qui ont commencé à construire sur les ruines de l'ancien édifice le nouveau.

Jusqu'au 19 juillet, personne en dehors de l'Espagne ne connaissait l'existence et l'importance de la F.A.I. ou de la C.N.T. Maintenant toutes les deux sont devenues les éclaireurs de la jeunesse du reste du monde. En effet, ils ont montré le chemin que tous ont maintenant à suivre pour atteindre le but que vous voulez atteindre.

Certes, il y a eu d'autres révolutions. La lutte humaine pour la liberté est vieille comme l'humanité même. Et toujours, partout, dans toutes les périodes de progrès, c'est la jeunesse qui se lève en avant dans chaque révolution des opprimés et des déshérités pour briser leurs chaînes. Mais maintenant votre Révolution est la première dans son genre. C'est la première dans l'histoire humaine créée et dirigée par des anarchistes et anarchosyndicalistes. La Révolution espagnole inspirée par vous, jeunesse catalane, vous de la F.A.I. et C.N.T., signifie un appel à la jeunesse et aux masses dans tous les autres pays.

Quoique seulement âgée de trois mois, votre Révolution a détruit à jamais, même auprès des soi-disant intellectuels, l'idée stupide que l'anarchisme signifie crimes et destruction, qu'il n'a pas de programme social ou de capacité pour une action d'ensemble. Vous, jeunes camarades de la F.A.I. et C.N.T., vous avez renversé ce mensonge. Vous avez montré que vous pouvez aussi bien construire que détruire. Vous avez démontré cela en face du grand danger des hordes fascistes et du blocus mortel de vos soi-disant amis. Vous avancez dans votre tâche journalière avec une audace qui approche de la témérité, et avec une volonté de fer vous créez une nouvelle conception de la valeur humaine et sociale, du droit de chaque individu à la liberté et au bien-être. C'est par cela que votre Révolution est par beaucoup supérieure à toute révolution du passé.

Chers camarades, vous avez le droit d'être fiers de votre œuvre merveilleuse. Mais votre fierté ne doit pas vous faire oublier que vos ennemis sont toujours aux aguets. Et pas seulement vos ennemis fascistes. Il y en a encore d'autres. Tous ceux qui parlent de la nécessité de nouveaux gouvernements, préparent de nouvelles chaînes pour votre esclavage. Ils essaient, conscients ou inconscients, de conduire votre révolution vers une nouvelle forme de dictature. Cela signifierait la mort de votre révolution et l'oppression pour tous.

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«L'homme est un être sensible, et, en même temps, un être libre. Sans lui, les autres n'ont aucune valeur. Seriez-vous satisfaits, par exemple, de manger à vos volontés et vous étiez obligés de manger en prison? Seriez-vous satisfaits de connaître le bien-être si en même temps vous étiez obligés de ne le connaître qu'avec une chaîne ou un cou? La liberté, c'est le bien absolu, et c'est précisément ce bien que vous défendez. Votre mouvement a un double caractère. Il est à la fois défensif et offensif. Il est défensif en ce sens que vous défendez les quelques minces libertés que vous avez conquises. Notez bien que je dis conquises. Ces libertés, si minces qu'elles soient, on ne vous les a pas accordées de bonne volonté. Il a fallu batailler, souffrir, connaître la prison, l'exil, pour posséder quelques parcelles de liberté. et il est tout naturel, lorsqu'on veut mettre la main sur ces libertés, que vous vous leviez et que vous défendiez ces petits patrimoines que vous avez si péniblement, si douloureusement conquis. Vous imaginez-vous des maîtres reconnaissant de bonne volonté, et sans y être forcés, abandonner une partie de leur puissance? Mais vous savez bien qu'ils ne se trouvent jamais trop puissants et trop forts et qu'ils cherchent toujours à augmenter leur puissance. Vous imaginez-vous et pouvez-vous concevoir un capitaliste, un patron, trouvant que ses bénéfices sont trop élevés, que la part qui est accordée à ses ouvriers n'est pas suffisante? Vous savez très bien que si vous obtenez une augmentation de salaire, c'est grâce à votre travail, à votre effort, aux luttes que vous menez. Vous voulez tout d'abord, et c'est tout naturel, garder les petites libertés que vous avez conquises. Vous ne vous arrêtez pas en route. Vous êtes même prêts de verser votre sang, d'exposer votre vie uniquement pour conserver les libertés déjà conquises et pour conquérir celles qui vous manquent. Et tout cela, c'est ce que vous êtes en train de faire. C'est ce que non seulement vous avez à cœur de repousser l'ennemi, le fascisme tant détesté et détestable, mais vous avez à cœur aussi d'améliorer l'existence que vous est faite, l'organisation sociale, de démolir les institutions qui vous écrasent et d'édifier sur ces ruines un monde entièrement nouveau. L'heure est venue, mes chers camarades, où jamais de se prononcer et choisir. C'est le moment de démolir ce que nous appelons en France «la barricade». Je ne sais pas si ce mot a en Espagne la même signification qu'en France. En France, la barricade signifie le mur, le côté duquel se trouvent les riches, de l'autre côté duquel les pauvres, d'un côté les

Vive la révolution sociale!

Discours de Louis Bertoni

Camarades,

Après le discours de notre camarade Sébastien Faure, je n'aurais qu'une parole à vous dire. Merci! Lorsque, hier matin, j'ai quitté Genève, je ne m'attendais pas à parler ce soir devant une foule aussi nombreuse, aussi enthousiaste. Camarades, ce soir se réalise le rêve de cinquante ans de ma vie, se réalisant mes espoirs, ma foi, ma conviction, mes haines et mes amours. Ce soir, camarades, en votre présence, je sens que l'idée pour laquelle j'ai vécu pendant cinquante ans, c'est vous qui la réalisez dans son intégralité, dans toute sa force, dans toute son énergie, dans toute sa noblesse.

Camarades, l'émotion m'aveugle! Mais je voudrais encore vous dire quelques mots. Vous avez eu le courage de pousser intégralement la question de notre conception. La justice, la liberté n'a jamais eu aucun sens en dehors de cette expropriation à laquelle vous avez mis main. C'est la votre mérite. L'homme qui n'a rien, qui ne possède rien, ne peut rien, et par cela même il n'est pas libre. L'injustice consiste essentiellement dans le fait que la plus grande partie de biens, de possibilités, de richesses appartient à une infime minorité.

Je viens de Genève, de cette Genève où la Société des Nations a combattu contre la classe travailleuse le dernier des crimes. Après avoir été fondée pour assurer la paix au monde, cette Société des Nations a donné des primes à tous les agresseurs. Genève est, aujourd'hui, à la renouance du fascisme. Ce qui faisait la grandeur de Genève a été renié par le fascisme.

Camarades, j'ai toujours dit, je vous le répéterai encore: Nous n'avons sans doute pas l'espoir de voir se réaliser l'anarchisme au cours de notre vie. Mais aujourd'hui vous en avez commencé la réalisation.

Merci, merci, camarades, et que votre victoire signifie la victoire de nous tous! Que votre victoire signifie la défaite d'une classe arrivée à la dernière pourriture, d'une classe arrivée à la dernière des abjections.

C'est nous qui réaliserons la liberté et le bien-être pour tous!

Discours d'Emma Goldman

Camarades de la F.A.I. et C.N.T. de Catalogne et de toute l'Espagne, je vous salue.

Le grand travailleur, le grand homme, qui lui-même était révolutionnaire et anarchiste dans son opposition à l'Etat, par son œuvre, sa vie, sa construction, écrit: La jeune génération frappée à la porte. Vous la jeunesse de Catalogne et d'Espagne vous n'avez pas seulement frappé à la porte. Vous l'avez entrée. Vous avez brisé les portes et vous avez les fenêtres de ces fenêtres où les riches gardent leurs superstitious et crimes. Les crimes du capitalisme, exploitation et misère, les superstitions de l'Eglise, la tyrannie du militaire.

une terreur, une terreur qui est le fascisme signifie crimes et destruction, qu'il n'a pas de programme social ou de capacité pour une action d'ensemble. Vous, jeunes camarades de la F.A.I. et C.N.T., vous avez renversé ce mensonge. Vous avez montré que vous pouvez aussi bien construire que détruire. Vous avez démontré cela en face du grand danger des hordes fascistes et du blocus mortel de vos soi-disant amis. Vous avancez dans votre tâche journalière avec une audace qui approche de la témérité, et avec une volonté de fer vous créez une nouvelle conception de la valeur humaine et sociale, du droit de chaque individu à la liberté et au bien-être. C'est par cela que votre Révolution est par beaucoup supérieure à toute révolution du passé.

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Camarades, jeunesse anarchiste de Catalogne et de toute l'Espagne, méfiez-vous d'eux! Vous luttez héroïquement sur le front antifasciste. Vous aurez besoin de tout votre courage pour abattre cette tentative de destruction de vos nobles buts. Cela est le besoin suprême du moment. Mais encore vous devez vous préparer pour lutter sur tout autre front, contre tout traître à la Révolution en Espagne. Vous, camarades de la F.A.I. et C.N.T., vous la jeune et fière génération de Catalogne et du reste de l'Espagne, vous êtes dans la possibilité de mener la Révolution à une fin glorieuse.

Avec mes chers vieux camarades, Sébastien Faure et Louis Bertoni, je me sens très obligée envers vous, jeunes camarades. Envers vous, combattants courageux qui avez traduit en action courageuse ce que nous avons propagé pendant environ un demi-siècle. Pour moi, vous n'êtes pas seulement des camarades, mais je vous considère comme mes enfants, qui sont allés plus loin que moi. Vous ne vous arrêterez pas sur le chemin. Vous prouverez que l'Anarchisme est la base la plus sûre et la plus solide pour une nouvelle et libre société. Vous avez déjà donné cet exemple, et par cela vous avez introduit une part de votre jeune sang dans nos vieilles veines. Avec vous, chers camarades, nous de l'ancienne génération, nous désirons atteindre le sommet de notre glorieux idéal et le voir réalisé dans toute sa splendeur et sa pureté.

Vive la Jeunesse de la F.A.I. et C.N.T.!

Vive la Révolution sociale!

Vive l'Anarchisme!

Abonnez-vous à
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Médica par le Peuple

The Emma Goldman Papers

Buenaventura Durruti, In Memorium / [Emma Goldman]. — [1936 Nov.?, draft]. — 2 p. ; 23 × 18 cm.

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BUENAVENTURA DURRUTI.

IN MEMORIUM

 Roc

*I made this
for Comintern.*

I find it impossible to write about our comrade Buenaventura Durruti in a few words or even in a long article. The wound his cruel death has struck the Spanish Revolution, the Anti-Fascist struggle and all who knew and loved Durruti is still too raw to be able to detach oneself sufficiently to give an objective appraisal of his importance to the great events of 19th July and his gigantic work until his untimely end. Not that Durruti was the only outstanding personality in the valiant battle that nipped Fascism in the bud in Barcelona, and all of Catalonia. The great heroes of the battle are the Spanish masses. Herein lies the grandeur of the Spanish Revolution. It rose from the very bowels of the Spanish earth. It was entirely imbued with the collective spirit of the Spanish masses. It is therefore difficult to treat and speak of individual figures as separate and distinct from the force that swept over Spain on the 19th July. If then I nevertheless consider our comrade Durruti the very soul of the Spanish Revolution it is because he was Spain. He represented her strength, her gentleness as well as her rugged harshness so little understood by people outside of Spain. It was this in the make up of our dead comrade which so impressed me when I met him at the Front he and his gallant comrades were defending with their bare hands but with a spirit that burned at red white heat. There I found Buenaventura Durruti on the eve of an offensive surrounded by scores of people ^{coming} seeking to him with their problems and their needs. To each one he gave sympathetic understanding, comradely direction and advice. Not once did he raise his voice or show

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2.

 Roc

impatience or chargin, Buenaventura had the capacity to put himself in the place of another, and to meet everyone on his own ground, yet retaining his own personality. I believe it was this which helped to create the inner discipline so extraordinary among the brave militias who were the pioneers of the Anti-Fascist struggle. And not only discipline but confidence in the man and deep affection for him.

The last tribute paid Durruti by half a million people may not be an indication of the place he held in the minds and hearts of the masses. What proved more significant to me was to find the same admiration, the same love for our comrade a year after his death. One had but to mention the name to see faces transformed and people express the thought that the treacherous bullet that pierced Durruti's heart also struck the Revolution a frightful blow. Time on end I was assured that had Durruti lived the counter-revolutionary forces within Anti-Fascist Spain would not have raised their ugly head, nor would they have succeeded in destroying so much of the revolutionary gains of the CNT-FAI. Durruti would have swept Anti-Fascist Spain clean from all the reactionary and parasitic elements now restlessly trying to undermine the revolution as he and his comrade had driven out Fascism.

I have already stated that in the stress and storm of Revolution the mass takes first importance. Yet we cannot get away from the fact that the individual too must play its part. And nothing decides the importance and significance of that part as the greatness of the personality that paves the way and illumines the path the masses take. In this sense alone can one adequately appraise Buenaventura Durruti, his passionate love of freedom, the fiery revolutionist, the undaunted fighter who gave his all to the liberation of his people.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Emma Goldman's address to the F.A.I. youth in Barcelona. In German] Ansprache Emma Goldmanns in der Massenversammlung der F.A.I.-Jugend von Barcelona / Emma Goldman. — pp. 10-12 ; 29 cm. In Boletín de Información [Barcelona]. — (Nov. 2, 1936).
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Nr. 22

Blatt 10

oekonomischsozialem Gebiete im geringsten Abstand zu nehmen.

WIEDERGEBOURT DER ALTEN ARMEE? NEIN!

Unter diesem Titel schreibt SOLIDARIDAD OBRERA:
Die Presse hat das Dekret ueber die Militarisierung der kataloni-
schen Milizen veroffentlicht, das sich auf der gleichen Linie
haelt wie die entsprechenden Anordnungen des Kriegsministeriums
von Madrid. Wir haben diese Verordnungen geprueft und festgestellt,
dass eine Tendenz besteht, die Perspektiven der Revolution zu be-
schränken und die von ihr erweckten Krafte einzugliedern in
die alten Formen, die am Militaerputsch des 19. Juli die Schuld
tragen. Wir alle ohne Unterschied anerkennen die Notwendigkeit,
auf den Milizen jede Betätigung von Privatleuten und alle Unbe-
stoenigkeit zu verbrennen und ihnen eine feste Basis der Verant-
wortlichkeit jedes Einzelnen gegenueber dem Ganzen zu geben, die
soweit gehen muss, dass strenge Sanktionen gegen den angewendet
werden muessen, der seine feierlich uebernommene Pflicht nicht
erfuellt. Es ist jedoch ein bedauerlicher Fehler des Dekrets, dass
es bis zur Schaffung eines neuen Rechtszustandes einfach das alte
Militaerstrafgesetz wieder in Kraft setzt. Hier fehlt es absolut
an Wirklichkeitseinn, an Verstaendnis fuer das, was geschehen ist.
Fuer viele Antifaschisten freiheitlicher Tendenz ist die Revolution
noch keine vollzogene Tatsache... es existiert noch immer eine
Mentalitaet der Lauheit, die unfreiwillig den Wiederaufbau dessen
foerdert, was nach dem 19. Juli dem revolutionaeren Geschehen zum
Opfer fiel. Wir koennen die Revolution kanalisieren, Exzesse ver-
meiden, die Ungeduld zuegeln, den aufbauenden Geist der Massen
langsam wirksam werden lassen. Aber wir koennen dem Krieg, der
heute gefuehrt wird, nicht seinen revolutionaeren Charakter
nehmen. Wir sind entschlossen, alles zu akzeptieren, was diesen
Krieg wirksam machen kann, indem es die kaempfernden Kader festigt,
eine freiwillig angenommene Disziplin einfuehrt, ohne dem Kampfe
einen revolutionaeren Sinn zu nehmen. Aber das alte Militaer-
strafgesetz, die alten Hierarchien, der ganze impotente alte
militaerliche Apparat der alten Armee koennen uns nicht zum
Siege verhelfen. Neue Werte muessen an ihre Stelle treten. Mit
solchen Methoden koennen die Massen nur entmutigt, kann ihre Be-
geisterung nur verringert werden. Die Militarisierung der Milizen,
die Mobilisierung des Proletariats, der ganzen antifaschistischen
Bevoelkerung kann und darf keine Wiedergeburt der alten Armee sein.
Wir brauchen Verantwortlichkeitseinn bei den Kommandostellen und
den Milizionaeren. Wir brauchen Disziplin als Grundbedingung des
Sieges. Energie gegenueber allen denen, die ihre Pflicht nicht
erfuellen. Das ist das revolutionaere Gesetz unseres Gewissens,
und es kann in wenigen Worten zum Ausdruck gebracht werden, die
tausendmal mehr bedeuten und wirksamer sind als alle Militaer-
strafgesetze der Welt.

Nr. 22

→

Ansprache Emma Goldmanns in der Massenversammlung der FAI-Jugend
von Barcelona am 18. Oktober 1936

Genossen der FAI und der CNT, Anarchistische Jugend von Katalonien
und des uebrigen Spanien, ich gruesse euch. Der grosse norwegische
Dramatiker Henrik Ibsen, der auch Revolutionaer und Anarchist in
seiner Opposition gegen den Staat war, schrieb: "Die junge Gene-
ration klopft an die Tuer." Ihr, die Jugend von Katalonien und
Spanien habt nicht nur an die Tuere geklopft. Ihr habt sie einge-
schlagen. Ihr habt alle Tuere und Fenster aufgebrochen, hinter
denen Unwissenheit, Aberglaube und Verbrechen sich verborgen, die
Verbrechen des Kapitalismus durch Ausbeutung und Elend, der
schwarze Aberglaube der Kirche, die brutale Gewalt des Mili-
tarismus. Ihr habt das Licht hereingelassen, so dass alle die

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[Emma Goldman's address to the F.A.I. youth in Barcelona. In German] Ansprache Emma Goldmanns in der Massenversammlung der F.A.I.-Jugend von Barcelona / Emma Goldman. — pp. 10-12 ; 29 cm. In Boletín de Información [Barcelona]. — (Nov. 2, 1936).
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Blatt 11

Missbrauche und Verbrechen der Zeiten gesehen werden koennen. Ihr habt noch mehr getan. Ihr habt den spanischen Massen eine neue Hoffnung und einen neuen Glauben in ihre eigenen Moeglichkeiten gebracht.

Ihr, meine jungen Genossen der FAI und der CNT, seid vorwaerts-gestuermt, um alle falschen Goetzen zu stuerzen und alle falschen Wertungen. Es war euer feuriger Geist und euer flammender Mut, die eure Revolution machten und die auf den Ruinen des alten ein neues Gebaude errichteten, das neue Gebaude, von dem wir aus der alten Generation traemten und fuer das wir arbeiteten,

Bis zum 19. Juli wueste niemand ausserhalb Spaniens etwas von der Existenz und Bedeutung der FAI oder der CNT. Jetzt sind die beiden die Fekeltaeger geworden fuer die Jugend der ganzen uebrigen Welt. Sie zeigen den Pfad, den alle vermutlich werden einschlagen muessen, um das Ziel zu erreichen, das ihr ihnen gesetzt habt.

Gewiss hat es schon andere Revolutionen gegeben. Der menschliche Kampf um Freiheit ist so alt wie die Menschheit selbst. Und immer, in allen Teilen unseres Planeten, in allen Perioden des Vormarsches des Fortschritts war es die Jugend, die sich kopfueber in jede Revolution stuerzte, die die Unterdrueckten und Enterbten unternehmen um ihre Ketten zu zerbrechen. Und doch ist bisher eure Revolution die erste ihrer Art. Sie ist die erste in der Geschichte der Menschheit, die von Anarchisten und Anarchosyndikalisten gefuehrt und gefoerdert wurde, von ihnen, die herabgebetzt und verleumdet und verfolgt wurden von allen jenen, die versuchten, den menschlichen Geist zu hemmen. Denn sei es Faschismus, Monarchismus oder Republikanismus oder irgendein anderer Name, mit dem sich die Regierungen bezeichnen, sie alle hasen und verfolgen uns in der gleichen Weise, uns und unsere Ideale. Die spanische Revolution, die ihr, die katalonische Jugend, ihr von der FAI und CNT inspiriert habt, ist deshalb von ungeheurer historischer Wichtigkeit und von der groessten Bedeutung nicht nur fuer Spanien, sondern fuer die Jugend und die Massen in allen anderen Laender.

Obgleich sie nur drei Monate zaehlt, hat eure Revolution doch schon fuer immer die toerichte Idee sogar unter den sogenannten Intellektuellen zerstoert, dass der Anarchismus nur fuer Verbrschen, fuer Chaos, fuer Bomben und Dolche eintritt, daes er kein tatsaechliches Programm habe und keine Fehigkeit fuer organisierte vereinigte ~~Organisationen~~ Aktion. Ihr, junge Kameraden von der FAI und CNT, hebt diese Luege widerlegt. Ihr habt gezeigt, dass ihr bauen koennt so gut wie einreissen. Ihr habt dies bewiesen im Angesicht der groessten Gefahr von Seiten der faschistischen Horden und der moerderischen Blokade von Seiten eurer sogenannten Freunde. Ihr schreitet weiter in eurer hohen und heiligen Pflicht des Tages mit einem Mut, der an Unbekuemmertheit grenzt, und mit einem eisernen Willen, eine neue Auffassung der menschlichen und sozialen Werte und des Rechtes eines jeden Individuums auf Freiheit und Wohlbefinden zu schaffen. Hierin liegt es, dass eure Revolution so weit ueber jeder anderen Revolution der Vergangenheit steht.

Liebe Genossen, ihr habt jedes Recht, auf eure wundervolle Leistung stolz zu sein. Aber euer gerechter Stolz darf die Tatsache nicht verdunkeln, dass eure Feinde immer noch im Verborgenen lauern. Und nicht nur eure faschistischen Feinde. Andre sind unterwegs. Alle jene, die von der Noetwendigkeit neuer Regierungen sprechen und neuer Herrscher, sind bereit, neue Ketten fuer eure Versklavung zu schmieden. Sie versuchen wissentlich oder unwissentlich, eure herrliche Revolution in Bahnen zu leiten, die unvermeidlich in einer neuen Form von Diktatur enden werden. Das wuerde aber den

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Blatt 12

Tod eurer Revolution und neue Fesseln fuer alle bedeuten.

Kameraden, anarchistische Jugend von Katalonien und ganz Spanien, seid auf der Hut gegen diese Freunde. Ihr kaempfe heldenhaft in der antifaschistischen Front. Das ist das hoechste Gebot der Stunde. Aber ihr muesst euch ruesten, an jeder anderen Front zu kraempfen, die die Revolution in Spanien bedroht und die das freie und unbehinderte Wachstum und die Entwicklung der Revolution gefaehrdet, die ihr, Kameraden der FAI und CNT, ihr, die junge und feurige Generation von Katalonien und des uebrigen Spanien im Begriff seid zu einem herrlichen und ruhmreichen Ende zu fuehren.

Ich fuehle mich tief in eurer Schuld, junge Genossen. Ihr, tapfere Kaempfer, habt in kuehner Tat deutlich ausgesprochen, was wir fast durch ein halbes Jahrhundert verbreiteten. Fuer mich seid ihr mehr als Genossen, ihr seid mir wie meine Kinder, die Kinder, die ich liebte, die Kinder, die weitergegangen sind als ich, die auf dem Wege nicht haltmachen werden, die lebend-igen Beweisdaefuer ablegen werden, dass der Anarchismus die sicherste und staerkste Basis fuer eine neue freie Gesellschaft ist. Ihr habt dies Beispiel schon gegeben, und indem ihr es tatet, habt ihr uns neues Blut in die alten Adern gegossen. Zusammen mit euch, liebe junge Genossen, wollen wir Alten von der alten Generation weiter gehen, hoeher steigen, immer hoeher bis zu dem Gipfel unseres ruhmvollen Ideals, um es verwirklicht zu sehen in all seinem Glanz und seiner Schoenheit.

Es lebe die Jugend der FAI und der CNT!
 Es lebe die soziale Revolution!
 Es lebe der Anarchismus!

Radiorede eines Marokkaners in Barcelona

Am Sender der CNT-FAI in Barcelona hielt der Araber Ahmed Ben Thami eine Rede, in der er u. a. folgendes sagte:

Ich, Ahmed Ben Thami, geboren zu Rabat in Marokko, marokkanischer Infanterist im Weltkriege, kaempfe jetzt Seite an Seite mit den Antifaschisten an der Front von Aragón, in den Reihen der Kolonne Ascaso. Ich habe meine Arbeit in Frankreich aufgegeben um nach Spanien zu gehen und mit fuer die Freiheit Spaniens zu kaempfen.

Ich wende mich an die marokkanischen Kameraden.

Die Spanier, die heute Marokko beherrschen, sind Faschisten. Alle Araber muesen sich gegen General Franco erheben, der ueber Spanien und Marokko eine Diktatur nach italienischem Muster errichten will. Moegen die marokkanischen Kameraden nicht die Verbrechen vergessen, die die italienischen Faschisten in Abessinien begangen haben. Die marokkanischen Kameraden sollen nicht nur fuer die Freiheit ihrer spanischen Brueder kaempfen, sondern die Freiheit der spanischen Arbeiter ist zugleich die Freiheit der spanischen Kolonien. Franco betruengt die Eingeborenen. Wir werden unseren Kampf gewinnen, wenn ihr, Brueder, eure Waffen gegen die Generaale kehrt, und auch gegen die eingeborenen Fuehrer, die euch kommandieren, denn sie werden von Franco fuer ihren Verrat bezahlt.

Wir, die spanischen Kameraden und die Revolutionaere anderer Laender, ebenso wie die Marokkaner, die hierhergekommen sind, wir kaempfen fuer die Freiheit aller Voelker und auch des marokkanischen. Wenn ihr euch gegen den General Franco und den Kalifen von Tetuán erhebt, der der Freund Francos ist, dann helft ihr allen unseren

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VENTURAS LIBERTARIAS EN BARCELONA

Emma Goldman

Camaradas de la F.A.I. y de la C.N.T.!

¡Juventud anarquista de Cataluña y del resto de España, os saludo!

El gran escritor noruego Enrique Ibsen que era, él también, un revolucionario y anarquista, en su obra "El Maestro Constructor," escribió: La Joven Generación golpea a la puerta.

Vosotros, juventud de Cataluña y de España, no sólo habéis golpeado a la puerta; la habéis derribado. Habéis roto todas las ventanas y todas las puertas, detrás de las cuales se escondían la ignorancia, las supersticiones y los crímenes.

Los crímenes del capitalismo, de explotación y miseria, las supersticiones de la Iglesia, la tiranía del militarismo; vosotros los habéis destruido todos. Habéis dado luz, en forma que todos

puedan ver los abusos y las injusticias de todos los tiempos. Habéis hecho más. Habéis traído a las masas españolas una nueva esperanza, una nueva confianza en sus propias posibilidades.

Vosotros, mis jóvenes camaradas de la F.A.I. y de la C.N.T., os habéis echado adelante para destruir a todos los falsos dioses y a todos los valores falsos. Es vuestro fiero espíritu, vuestro gran coraje, los que han traído vuestra revolución y han procedido a edificar lo nuevo sobre las ruinas del viejo edificio, el cual la antigua generación jamás había soñado, por el cual jamás han trabajado.

Hasta el 19 de Julio, nadie fuera de España conocía la existencia y la importancia de la C.N.T. y de la F.A.I. Actualmente las dos se han convertido en faros de la juventud del resto del mundo. Efectivamente, han enseñado el camino que todos deberán seguir, para lograr el objetivo que queréis alcanzar.

Ciertamente, ha habido otras revoluciones. La lucha humana por la libertad, es vieja como la propia humanidad. Y siempre, donde sea, en todos los periodos de progreso, era casi siempre la juventud la que se echaba adelante en cada revolución que han promovido los oprimidos y los desvalidos para romper sus cadenas. Y ahora, ahora, vuestra revolución es la primera en su género. Es la primera vez en la historia humana que una revolución es fomentada y dirigida por anarquistas, anarco-sindicalistas, por el pueblo oprimido. Porque fascismo, monarquismo, republicano y todo otro nombre que reclama el Estado, todos odian y obran contra nosotros y contra nuestro ideal.

La revolución española, inspirada por vosotros, juventud catalana, vosotros de la F.A.I. y de la C.N.T., significa tanto para España, como para las demás juventudes y masas de los otros países.

A pesar de sus tres meses, vuestra revolución ha destruido para siempre la idea estúpida, hasta entre los llamados intelectuales, de que anarquismo significa crimen y destrucción. ¿Que no tiene programa social ni capacidad para una acción de conjunto? Vosotros, jóvenes camaradas de la F.A.I. y de la C.N.T. habéis desmentido esta calumnia, habéis demostrado que sabéis construir lo mismo que destruir. Habéis demostrado esto frente a las hordas fascistas y al bloqueo mortal de vuestros supuestos amigos. Avanzáis en vuestra cotidiana tarea con un valor que se aproxima a la audacia, y con una voluntad férrea habéis creado una nueva concepción del valor humano y social, del derecho de cada individuo al bienestar y a la libertad. Es por eso que vuestra revolución es muy superior a cualquiera de las revoluciones del pasado.

Vosotros que lucháis heroicamente en el frente antifascista, tendréis necesidad de todo vuestro valor para destruir toda tentativa de destrucción de vuestros nobles objetivos. Esta es la necesidad suprema del momento. Aun debéis prepararos para luchar en cualquier otro frente traído a la revolución española.

Vosotros, camaradas de la F.A.I. y de la C.N.T., vosotros la joven y orgullosa generación de Cataluña y del resto de España, estáis en la posibilidad de conducir a un glorioso fin la revolución!

Vosotros no os detendréis en el camino. Vosotros demostraréis que la anarquía es la base más firme y la más sólida para una sociedad nueva y libre. Vosotros habéis dado ya ese ejemplo, y con éste habéis introducido una parte de vuestra sangre joven en nuestras viejas arterias. Con vosotros, queridos camaradas, nosotros, la vieja generación, podemos alcanzar el pináculo nuestro glorioso ideal y ver realizado en todo su esplendor en toda su belleza.

¡Viva la juventud de la F.A.I. y de la C.N.T.!

¡Viva la Revolución Social! ¡Viva la Anarquía!

C. Bernieri (Italia)

¡Compañeros españoles!

Os traigo el saludo de los adheridos al primer grupo italiano de la F.A.I., cuya constitución confirma y suelda las íntimas y continuadas relaciones entre el movimiento anarquista de vuestro país y del mío, relaciones que se remontan a los tiempos de la Primera Internacional y que han sido siempre de calurosa simpatía.

Para los anarquistas italianos de nuestra generación, España ha aparecido siempre como la Tierra Santa de la Revolución Social. Mientras la prensa anarquista de lengua castellana difundía los escritos de Malatesta, de Caffero, de Fabbri y de otros teóricos y

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QUE CUNDA EL EJEMPLO

Cada día que pasa, los anarquistas del mundo van comprendiendo la necesidad de estrechar filas a través de todas las fronteras. El ejemplo del fascismo abrazándose a través de todos los países para dar el tiro de gracia al mundo liberal que halló su cuna en la Península Ibérica, ha servido a muchos de nuestros camaradas de lección, pues puesto que todo es relativo en el mundo, se impone el entendimiento de nuestros elementos para hacer frente a la reacción que trata de ahogar nuestras relativas libertades. Como ya hemos dicho otras veces, el mundo se encogió por el progreso de la velocidad y lo

hoy se encoge por el aislamiento de los individuos. En las líneas en que se expresan todos los anhelos y deseos de los anarquistas del mundo, que no son otros que los de organizar la propaganda y acción universalmente. Estamos en todo de acuerdo con vuestra circular publicada en el No. 430 de Cultura Proletaria, y también con las sugerencias de la Sección Austriaca de la FAU.

Desde ahora, empezamos a trabajar en distintas formas a fin de ayudar al proletariado español en su lucha contra la tiranía de arriba, para que con la ayuda nuestra y de todos rompa sus cadenas.

También opinamos que la FAU deberá adoptar en un congreso mundial, un idioma universal

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CUSDA EL EJEMPLO

que que casa, los anar del mundo van compren- la necesidad de estrechar través de todas las fron- El ejemplo del fascismo dose a través de todos los para dar el tiro de gracia do liberal que halló su la Península ibérica, hu a muchos de nuestros ca- s de fección, pues puesto lo es relativo en el mun- impone el entendimiento stros elementos para hacer a la reacción que trata de nuestras relativas liberta- omo ya hemos dicho otras el mundo se encogió por greso de la velocidad y lo fecta hay a un individuo, o nación, afecta a todos tes del Universo. movimiento de Chile, que anizarse la FAU se hallaba hesión orgánica, recibimos niente "comunicación:

retariado Universal de la Casi simultáneamente a os, es decir, hace cosa de os, los anarquistas de Chi- orábamos en torno a una acción Anarquista, como el entendimiento universal. los factores habían obsta- do esta labor tan necesaria ente. Pero ahora, como lo por nuestro órgano "U.H. emos logrado dar forma a omité Relacionador de Gru- Anarquistas. Estamos en te acuerdo en que los anar- s deben federarse en todos ises, y, por lo tanto, en un o congreso, daremos las s definitivas al Comité de ones Anarquistas.

mos seguido, con todo dete- to, vuestra serie de bole-

lines en que se expresan todos los anhelos y deseos de los anar- quilistas del mundo, que no son otros que los de organizar la propaganda y acción universal- mente. Estamos en todo de acuer- do con vuestra circular publica- da en el No. 430 de Cultura Pro- letaria, y también con las suge- rencias de la Sección Austriaca de la FAU.

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También opinamos que la FAU deberá adoptar en un congreso mundial, un idioma universal para su entendimiento. Aunque sabemos que ha sido rechazada la adopción del Esperanto y del Ido, comprendemos que para nuestro entendimiento de be ra adoptarse alguno...

"Por el pronto afianzamiento de la Federación Anarquista Uni- versal, queda

El Comité Relacionador de Grupos Anarquistas de Chile."

El ejemplo de Chile, como el de Uruguay hace poco, no debe caer en saco roto. Los anarquistas de los países donde aun no se han organizado o asociado a fin de entenderse nacionalmente para hacer frente a la reacción de su respectivo país y del mun- do exterior, deben darse prisa a unirse y entenderse, pues es ne- cesario dar el empujón final al fascismo que ya da los últimos alfileres. Permanecer inactivos ante el peligro fascista, es hacer causa común con él.

Hay que abandonar la torre- cilla de marfil, olvidar todos

rica crimen y destrucción. ¿Que no tiene programa social ni capa- cidad para una acción de con- junto? Vosotros, jóvenes cama- radas de la F.A.I. y de la C.N.T. habéis desmentido esta calumnia, habéis demostrado que sabéis construir lo mismo que destruir. Habéis demostrado esto frente a las hordas fascistas y al bloqueo mortal de vuestros supuestos amigos. Avanzáis en vuestra coti- diana tarea con un valor que se aproxima a la audacia, y con una voluntad férrea habéis creado una nueva concepción del valor humano y social, del derecho le cada individuo al bienestar y a la libertad. Es por eso que vues- tra revolución es muy superior a cualquiera de las revoluciones del pasado.

Amigos míos, tenéis el derecho de estar orgullosos de vuestra obra. Pero vuestro orgullo no debe haceros olvidar que vues- tros enemigos están siempre al acecho. Y no solamente vuestros enemigos fascistas. Hay también aún otros. Todos los que hablan de la necesidad de nuevos gobier- nos, preparan nuevas cadenas para vuestra esclavitud. Inten- tan, conscientes o inconscientes, conducir la revolución hacia una nueva forma de dictadura. Esto significaría la muerte de la Re- volución y la opresión para todos.

Camaradas, juventud anarquista de Cataluña y de toda España!

nuestros resquemores y unirse como un solo hombre para aca- bar de romper de una puñetera vez las cadenas que nos aprisio- nan, camaradas.

¡Salud y optimismo, anarquistas del Universo!

El Secretariado Universal.

¡Viva la Anarquía!

C. Bernieri (Italia)

¡Compañeros españoles!

Os traigo el saludo de los ad- heridos al primer grupo italiano de la F.A.I., cuya constitución confirma y suelda las lútimas y continuadas relaciones entre el movimiento anarquista de vues- tro país y del mío, relaciones que se remontan a los tiempos de la Primera Internacional y que han sido siempre de entera simpá- tia.

Para los anarquistas italianos de nuestra generación, España ha aparecido siempre como la Tierra Santa de la Revolución Social. Mientras la prensa anarquista de lengua castellana difundía los escritos de Malatesta, de Caflero, de Fabbri y de otros teóricos y agitadores del anarquismo italia- no, eran divulgados, leídos y apreciados por los compañeros italianos, los escritos de Anselmo Lorenzo, de Pedro Esteve, de Tarrida del Mármol y de otros muchos escritores libertarios de vuestro país. Y desde el martirio de Francisco Ferrer, florece en Italia la Escuela Moderna.

Cada represión reaccionaria del clericalismo y del militarismo de España, ha encon- siempre en Italia un fuerte eco de protesta. Cada heroísmo del anarquismo español, ha encon- trado siempre entre los anarquistas italianos la más entusiasta de las admiraciones. A las calum- nias contra los compañeros espa- ñoles, hemos respondido siempre con indignación, tanto de pala- bra como con la pluma.

Hoy España nos aparece el último baluarte de la libertad. Hoy España nos aparece el prin- cipal punto de apoyo para hacer un rociutamiento y derrocar al fascismo que ya se extiende por todo el mundo.

De 180 adheridos al grupo italiano de la F.A.I., 175 perte- necen a la milicia de la C.N.T. y de la F.A.I., en el frente de Huesca y en el de Zaragoza, se batan contra el enemigo común y han sellado con su sangre el pacto sagrado de la alianza revo- lucionaria internacional. Combati- r en España al fascismo espa-

OPRESION EN PERU

tes criaturas, recae sobre orreguiles masas obreras de pues son ellas la base le unia cruel y sangrienta que rce en su país con todos

estatuas, sois la base de esa cruel tiranía que sufrís. No se os olvi- de.

Para que se vea que no fabri- camos historias, cuentos, etc.,

ter no tener corazón y sentimien- tos humanos para no conmoverse ante semejante tragedia, ocasiona- da por los ociosos que basan su felicidad sobre un sinnúmero de crímenes, sobre un valle de tragedias y lágrimas. Cuatro niños lanzados a la mendicidad callejera porque su liado padre cometió el crimen de dar a cono-

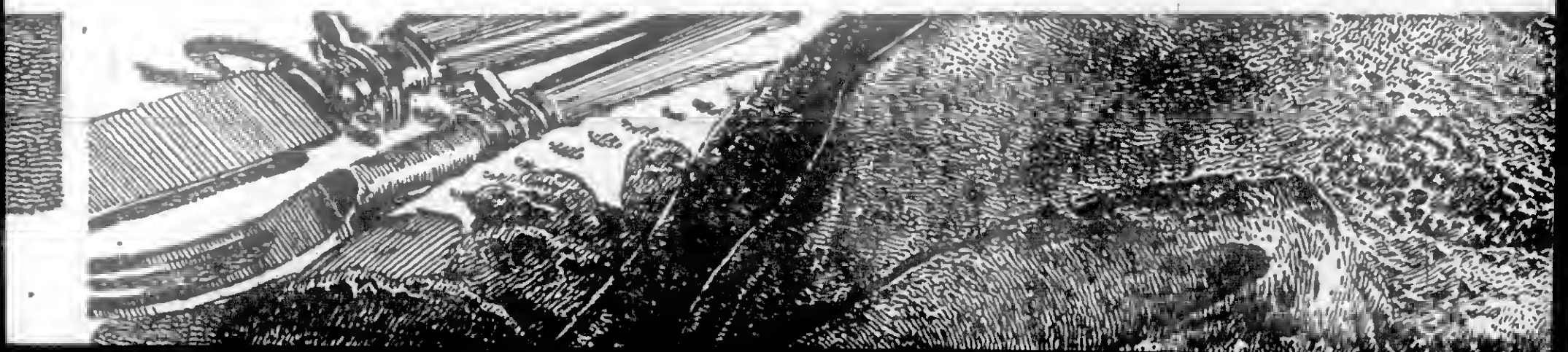
MONDAY, NOVEMBER 23, 1936.

Can you Dance
Your Wife

BREST, Nov. 22 (AP).—Three German destroyers which put in here yesterday during a storm continued today toward the Mediterranean for manoeuvres, but a fourth, the Wolf, was delayed at the arsenal for repairs for a damaged rudder. The crew received shore leave.

ARTHUR MURRAY 7 EAST 43

46 EAST 57th STREET



295

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Durruti is dead, yet living. In Spanish] "Durruti Ha Muerto" / Emma Goldman. — pp. 5-6 ; 32 cm. In Boletín de Información [Barcelona]. — (Nov. 27, 1936).
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Hoja 5

BOLETIN DE INFORMACION

27 de Noviembre 1936

ALOCUCION DIRIGIDA POR LA COMPAÑERA "EMMA GOLDMAN" A TODOS
 LOS CAMARADAS Y AL PUEBLO EN GENERAL DE HABLA INGLESA.

"DURRUTI HA MUERTO"

"Durruti a quien vi hace un mes por última vez, perdió la vida en la lucha de las calles de Madrid.

"Mi primer conocimiento de este gran luchador anarquista y del movimiento revolucionario en España, fué por lo que acerca de él había leído. Cuando llegué a Barcelona oí muchas anécdotas referentes a Durruti y a su columna. Estas hicieron que yo sintiera gran ansiedad por ir al frente de Aragón, donde él era espíritu dirigente de las valientes milicias que luchaban contra el fascismo.

"Llegué al Estado Mayor de Durruti al anochecer, completamente agotada, del largo viaje en coche por un camino accidentado. Unos pocos minutos con Durruti fueron como un gran tónico para mí, refrescante y de vigor. Hombre fornido, como cincelado en piedra a golpes de martillo, Durruti representaba fácilmente la más dominante figura entre los anarquistas que yo había encontrado desde que llegué a España. Su enorme energía me impresionó, como parecía producir el mismo efecto sobre todo aquel que estaba cerca de Durruti.

"Encontré a Durruti en una verdadera actividad de colmena. Hombres iban y venían, el teléfono estaba continuamente llamando a Durruti, y al mismo tiempo no cesaba un ensordecedor martilleo de los obreros que estaban construyendo un cobertizo de madera para el Estado Mayor de Durruti. A través de esta continua y bulliciosa actividad, Durruti permanecía sereno y paciente. Me recibió como si toda su vida me hubiese conocido. La cordial y cálida acogida de este hombre empeñado en una lucha a vida o muerte contra el fascismo, era algo para mí inesperado.

"Mucho había oído respecto a la fuerte personalidad y prestigio de Durruti en la columna que llevaba su nombre. Tenía curiosidad de saber por qué medios, ya que no habían sido los militares, había llegado a concentrar a 10,000 voluntarios sin previa experiencia ni entrenamiento. Durruti pareció sorprenderse de que yo, veterana militante anarquista, hiciera tal pregunta.

"He sido toda mi vida un anarquista, me contestó, y espero continuar siéndolo. Es por esto que consideraría muy desagradable, si tuviese que convertirme en un general y mandar a mis hombres bajo la estúpida disciplina del criterio militar. Han venido a mí por su voluntad, dispuestos a jugarse la vida en nuestra lucha antifascista. Creo, como siempre lo he hecho, en la Libertad. La Libertad que descansa en el sentido de la responsabilidad. Considero indispensable la disciplina, pero debe ser auto-disciplina, motivada por un ideal común y un fuerte sentimiento de camaradería". Había ganado la confianza y el afecto de sus hombres, porque él nunca se había considerado un superior. Era uno de ellos. Comía y dormía como ellos lo hacían. A menudo renunciaba de su parte en beneficio de un enfermo o de un débil que estuviera más necesitado que él. Compartía el peligro con ellos en todas las batallas. Esto era sin duda alguna el secreto del éxito de Durruti con su columna. Sus hombres le adoraban. No solo obedecían todas sus órdenes sino que estaban siempre dispuestos a seguirle en las más peligrosas acciones para conquistar las posiciones del fascismo.

"Llegué la víspera de un ataque que Durruti había preparado para la mañana siguiente. A la hora señalada, Durruti, como el resto de sus milicias, con el mauser colgado del hombro, abrió la marcha. Juantamente con ellos hizo retroceder cuatro kilómetros al enemigo. También consiguió coger un número considerable de armamento, que el enemigo dejó abandonado en su huida.

"El ejemplo de simple igualdad moral era sin duda alguna la única explicación de la influencia de Durruti. Había otra: su gran capacidad para hacer comprender a los milicianos el profundo significado de la guerra antifascista. El significado que había dominado su propia vida y que él había enseñado a articular a los más pobres y más incapacitados.

"Durruti me habló de los difíciles problemas que le planteaban sus hombres al solicitar de él permiso para ausentarse en los momentos que más necesarios eran en el frente. Es evidente que conocían a su dirigente; conocían su decisión, su férrea voluntad. Pero también sabían la simpatía y

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Durruti is dead, yet living. In Spanish] "Durruti Ha Muerto" / Emma Goldman. — pp. 5-6 ; 32 cm. In Boletín de Información [Barcelona]. — (Nov. 27, 1936).
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Hoja 6

BOLETIN DE INFORMACION

27 de Noviembre 1936

gentileza que encerraba su austero exterior. Como resistirse cuando los hombres le hablaban de enfermedades en sus casas, padres, esposa e hijos!

"Durruti fué perseguido como una fiera salvaje en todos los países, antes de los gloriosos días de Julio de 1936. Era continuamente encarcelado como un criminal. Incluso condenado a muerte. El, el odiado anarquista, odiado por la siniestra trinidad, la Burguesía, el Estado y la Iglesia. Este vagabundo sin hogar, era incapaz de albergar los sentimientos que le achacaba el odioso capitalismo, dando pruebas de lo poco que conocían a Durruti. Cuán poco comprendían su corazón, siempre rebosante de amor. Jamás supo estar indiferente a las necesidades de sus compañeros. Ahora estaba ocupado en una lucha desesperada contra el fascismo en defensa de la Revolución, y era preciso que cada uno ocupara su puesto. Verdaderamente una difícil ocupación a mi entender. Oía pacientemente las historias de dolor, diagnosticaba sus causas, aconsejaba los remedios en todos los casos en que un mal moral físico se adueñaba del desvalido. Exceso de trabajo, nutrición insuficiente, falta de aire puro, y la no alegría de vivir.

"No ves camarada, que la guerra que tú, yo y todos nosotros estamos sosteniendo, es para salvaguardar la revolución y que la revolución es para que terminen las miserias y sufrimientos de los hombres? Debemos derrotar a nuestro enemigo fascista. Debemos ganar la guerra. Tú eres una parte esencial de ella. ¿No lo ves camarada?" Los camaradas de Durruti, sí que lo veían; generalmente se quedaban.

"Algunas veces un camarada se resistía a atender estas razones, insistía en dejar el frente. Muy bien; —le decía Durruti—, pero irás a pié, y cuando llegues a tu pueblo todo el mundo sabrá que te ha faltado el valor, que has desertado del cumplimiento del deber que te impusiste!" Estas palabras producían magníficos resultados. El hombre rogaba para quedarse. Ninguna seriedad militar, ninguna coacción, ningún castigo disciplinario para sostener la columna de Durruti en el frente. Solamente la gran energía del hombre los arrastra y les hace sentir y pensar al unísono con él.

"Un gran hombre, este anarquista Durruti. Un predestinado para dirigir y para enseñar. Un atento y cariñoso camarada; todo en uno. Y ahora Durruti está muerto. Su corazón ya no late. Su cuerpo poderoso cayó como un árbol gigante. Y así y todo, Durruti no ha muerto. Los centenares de miles que el Domingo, Noviembre 22 de 1936, pagaron su último tributo a Durruti, lo testifican.

"No: Durruti no está muerto. El fuego de su ardiente espíritu iluminó a todos los que le conocieron y le amaron; jamás se extinguirá. Ya las masas levantaron la antorcha que cayó de la mano de Durruti. Triunfalmente la están llevando sobre el sendero que Durruti alumbró por muchos años. El sendero que conduce a la cúspide del ideal de Durruti. Este ideal era el anarquismo, la gran pasión de la vida de Durruti—, al cual sirvió en su totalidad. Permaneció fiel hasta su último aliento. ¡No: Durruti no ha muerto!

COMITE NACIONAL DE LA C.N.T.

= Consignas =

La economía es la coordinación de la producción y del consumo. La guerra se ganará cuando éstas se acoplen a la economía. Donde se desperdicia no puede haber economía. De la economía nace la fuente de producción para engrandecerla.

Camarada: trata con el ejemplo de demostrar esta economía y lo harán los demás. Procura por todos los medios producir lo indispensable. Produce hasta donde tus fuerzas te lo permitan. Considera, cuando malgastas que saboteas la guerra.

Mientras el enemigo destruye, tu misión es construir. La reconstrucción ha de ser obra común de todos los trabajadores. Rechaza todo egoísmo y mira las necesidades de los demás.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] "Superior Revolution" / Emma Goldman. — 29 cm. In The New York Times. — (Nov. 29, 1936).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

turning them at the appropriate moment to a Spanish, half-Jewish agent, one thus, who thereby reaped the reward of superior Viking intelligence, age and initiative. In short, said Reinsch, it was a "plot" to rob the annals of historical credit. Other historians have long speculated whether Columbus ever heard of the Vikings' travels. He is said to have visited Iceland in 1477, where he may have stumbled upon stories on the old Norse sagas of Eric the Red and Leif Ericson. No Viking has been found of the voyages of his fellow-Norsemen to the Western Hemisphere by way of Iceland and Greenland.

NEWS FROM ITALY: An official announcement from Rome last week that Crown Princess Marie José had successfully delivered the fifth month of pregnancy; if it is a boy, Italy will have a new heir to the throne in the line of male descent.

FREScoes REMOVED: The satirical and revolutionary frescoes of the eminent artist, Diego Rivera, in a way of displeasing those who dislike them. In 1933

D. Rockefeller engaged the artist for murals in Radio City. Rivera depicted Lenin as the savior of the world. Mr. Rockefeller objected and the artist refused to alter his work. He paid him off



ordered work men to destroy it. Last week Rivera's latest frescoes, in the new Hotel Reforma, Mexico, were removed by the management because they were "offensive." In figures depicted were said to portray important political persons, there was a suggestion that the United States was a dictatorship. The management had first retouched Rivera's

work. In a radio speech, unfortunately, he represents the reactionary wing of the Republican party and is not fitted, as one who made a dismal failure in the campaign by attacking the Social Security Act and charging Roosevelt with being a Communist, to reorganize the Republican party along liberal lines."

"SUPERIOR REVOLUTION": In the province of Catalonia, stronghold of the Spanish Leftists, Emma Goldman has found her vision of a perfect society taking shape. The celebrated anarchist asserted last week that Catalonian villages were adopting "voluntary communism."



"This," she said, "makes the Spanish revolution superior to all others. There has been no coercion of the

peasant. The Spanish anarchists wanted him to see the advantages of collectivization and come in of his own free will. In the same way the small trader in the city has been left free."

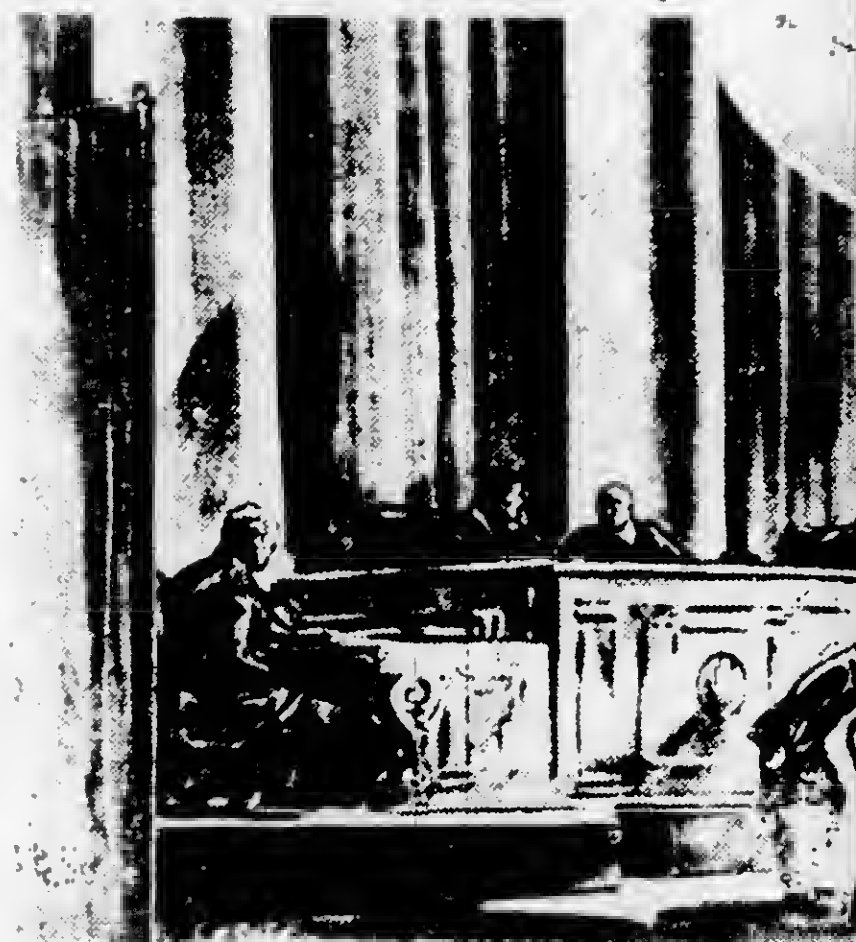
Miss Goldman is now 67 years old. Born in Russia, she emigrated to the United States in 1886, gained great notoriety as an agitator, was imprisoned for two years as a "dangerous radical" by the Federal Government, and upon her release was deported to the then new Soviet Russia. She found enforced communism distasteful and after two years left the Soviet. In 1934 she was permitted to visit the United States for ninety days, during which she defined an anarchist as "one who loves liberty and hates oppression."

ENCOMIUM: The members of the New York City Charter Revision Commission, whose work was crowned by public affirmation in November, were additionally honored last week by Mayor La Guardia, who presented to them individual certificates of merit in a ceremony at City Hall.

In 1901 the Supreme Court, in the "Insular cases," decided that—as most commentators interpreted it—"the Constitution does not follow the flag." The question arose from the acquisition, during the first McKinley administration, of Puerto Rico and the Philippines. The Bryan-McKinley campaign of 1900 was fought largely on the issue of isolation vs. Imperialism, with the Democrats unsuccessfully attacking the administration for its handling of the ceded islands. The McKinley government—which was re-elected—had insisted on keeping possession of the islands without giving their inhabitants the full rights guaranteed by the Constitution to citizens of the United States. Thus the Foraker act imposed duties on imports from Puerto Rico, which strict constructionists—especially Democrats—argued were in violation of the constitutional provision that all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States. In a celebrated and complicated declaration

—for the —a sign garded as tions will People's O Supreme O will be rem A bill speech, as ship and—the Soviet work, wh Soviet spok these liber "strengthen

AS MR



The decision on unemployment insurance recalled Mr. Dooley's creator,

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The social situation of woman. In Spanish] Situacion Social de la Mujer / Emma Goldman. — 22 cm. In Mujeres Libres [Barcelona]. — [(Dec.? 1936, fragment)].
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Semana 21 de la REVOLUCION

SITUACION SOCIAL DE LA MUJER

por EMMA GOLDMAN

El progreso humano es muy lento. Se ha dicho que por cada paso hacia delante, la Humanidad ha dado dos hacia la esclavitud. Sólo al cabo de los siglos ha ido liberándose de su actitud de adoración sumisa ante la Iglesia, el derecho divino de los reyes y el poder de la clase dominante. En realidad, esta calamitosa trinidad impera todavía sobre muchísimos millones de seres en todos los países del mundo; pero ya sólo puede gobernar con mano férrea y exigir ciega obediencia en los países fascistas. Aunque el fascismo no tiene existencia histórica sino como manifestación fugaz, bajo su pesada negra se presiente cómo se aproxima la tormenta y cómo crece su furia. Es en España donde hallará su Waterloo, mientras en todo el mundo va aumentando la protesta contra las instituciones capitalistas.

Pero, en general, el hombre, dispuesto siempre a luchar heroicamente por su emancipación, está muy lejos de pensar lo mismo respecto a la del sexo opuesto.

Sin duda alguna, las mujeres de muchos países han hecho la verdadera revolución para conseguir sus derechos sociales, políticos y éticos. Los han logrado a costa de muchos años de lucha y de ser derrotadas infinidad de veces, pero han conseguido la victoria.

Desgraciadamente, no puede afirmarse lo mismo de las mujeres de todos los países.

cuanto más perfecto su desarrollo moral y físico, más perfecta será la raza humana. Ya sería esto bastante para probar la importancia de la mujer en la sociedad y en la lucha social; pero hay otras razones. La más importante de todas es ésta: que la mujer se ha dado cuenta de que tiene perfecto derecho a la personalidad y de que sus necesidades y aspiraciones son de importancia tan vital como las del varón.

Los que pretenden todavía tener a la mujer en un puño, dirán seguramente que sí, que todo eso está muy bien, pero que las necesidades y aspiraciones de la mujer son diferentes, porque ella es inferior. Esto sólo prueba la limitación del hombre, su orgullo y su arrogancia. Debería saber que lo que diferencia a ambos sexos tiende a enriquecer la vida, tanto social como individualmente.

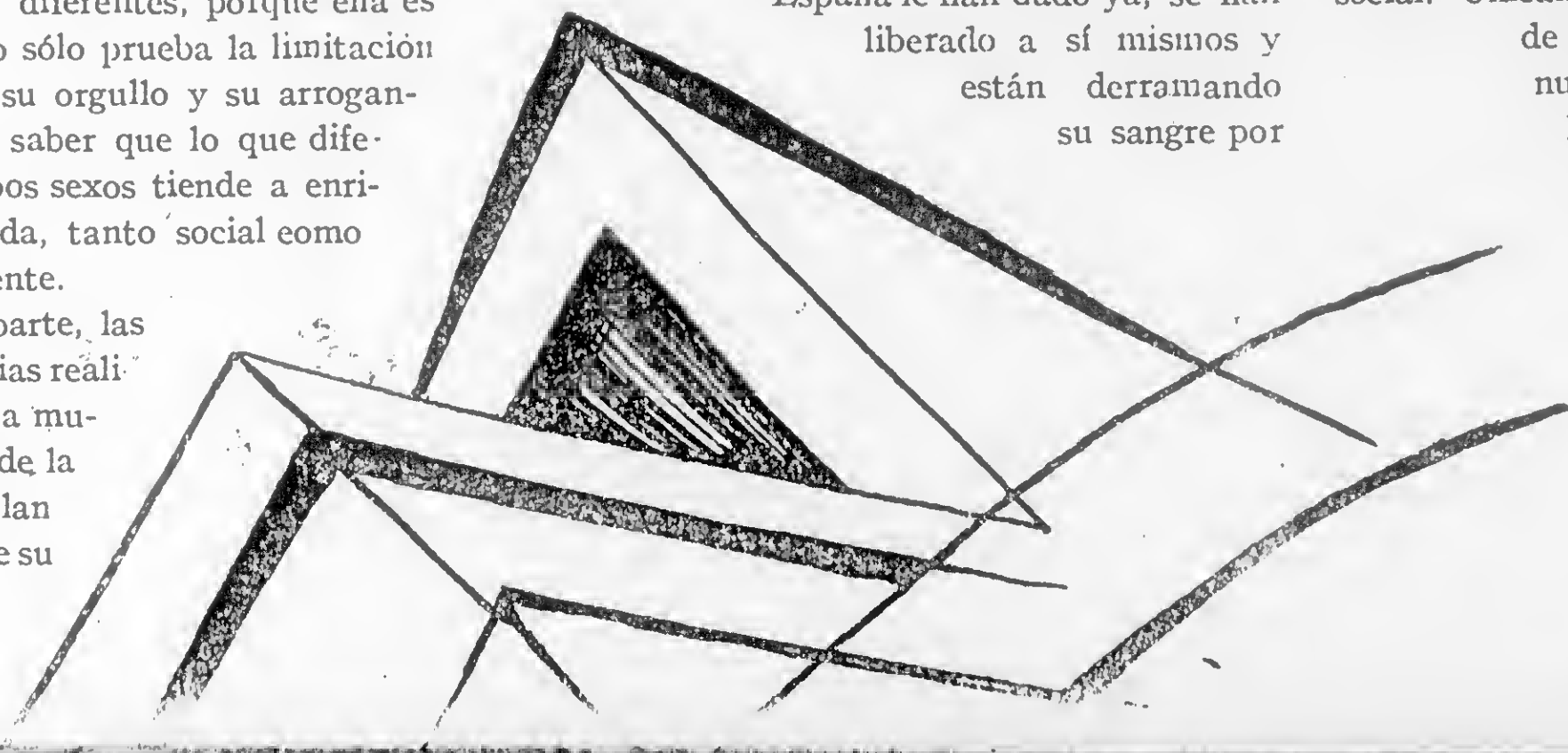
Por otra parte, las extraordinarias realizaciones de la mujer a través de la Historia anulan la leyenda de su inferioridad. Los que insisten en

porque no pueden tolerar que su autoridad sea disautida. Ello es característico de todo sentido autoritario, sea el del amo sobre sus esclavos sea el del hombre sobre la mujer. No obstante, la mujer procura en todas partes liberarse; camina hacia delante, libremente; ocupa su puesto en la lucha por la transformación económica, social y ética. Y la mujer española no tardará mucho en emprender el rumbo de su emancipación. El problema de la emancipación femenina es análogo al de la emancipación proletaria: los que quieran ser libres deben dar el primer paso.

Los obreros de Cataluña y de toda España le han dado ya, se han liberado a sí mismos y están derramando su sangre por

asegurar esta libertad. Ahora os toca a vosotras, mujeres españolas. Romped vuestras cadenas. Os ha llegado el turno de elevar vuestra dignidad y vuestra personalidad, de exigir con firmeza vuestros derechos de mujer, como individualidades libres, como miembros de la sociedad, como camaradas en la lucha contra el fascismo y por la Revolución social.

Unicamente cuando os hayáis liberado de la superstición religiosa, de los prejuicios de la moral corriente y de la esclavizante obediencia a un pasado muerto, llegaréis a ser una fuerza invencible en la lucha antifascista y una garantía de la Revolución social. Unicamente entonces seréis dignas de colaborar en la creación de la nueva Sociedad en la que todos los seres serán verdaderamente libres.



The Emma Goldman Papers

[The social situation of woman. In Spanish] Situacion Social de la Mujer / Emma Goldman. — 22 cm. In Mujeres Libres [Barcelona]. — [(Dec.? 1936, fragment)].

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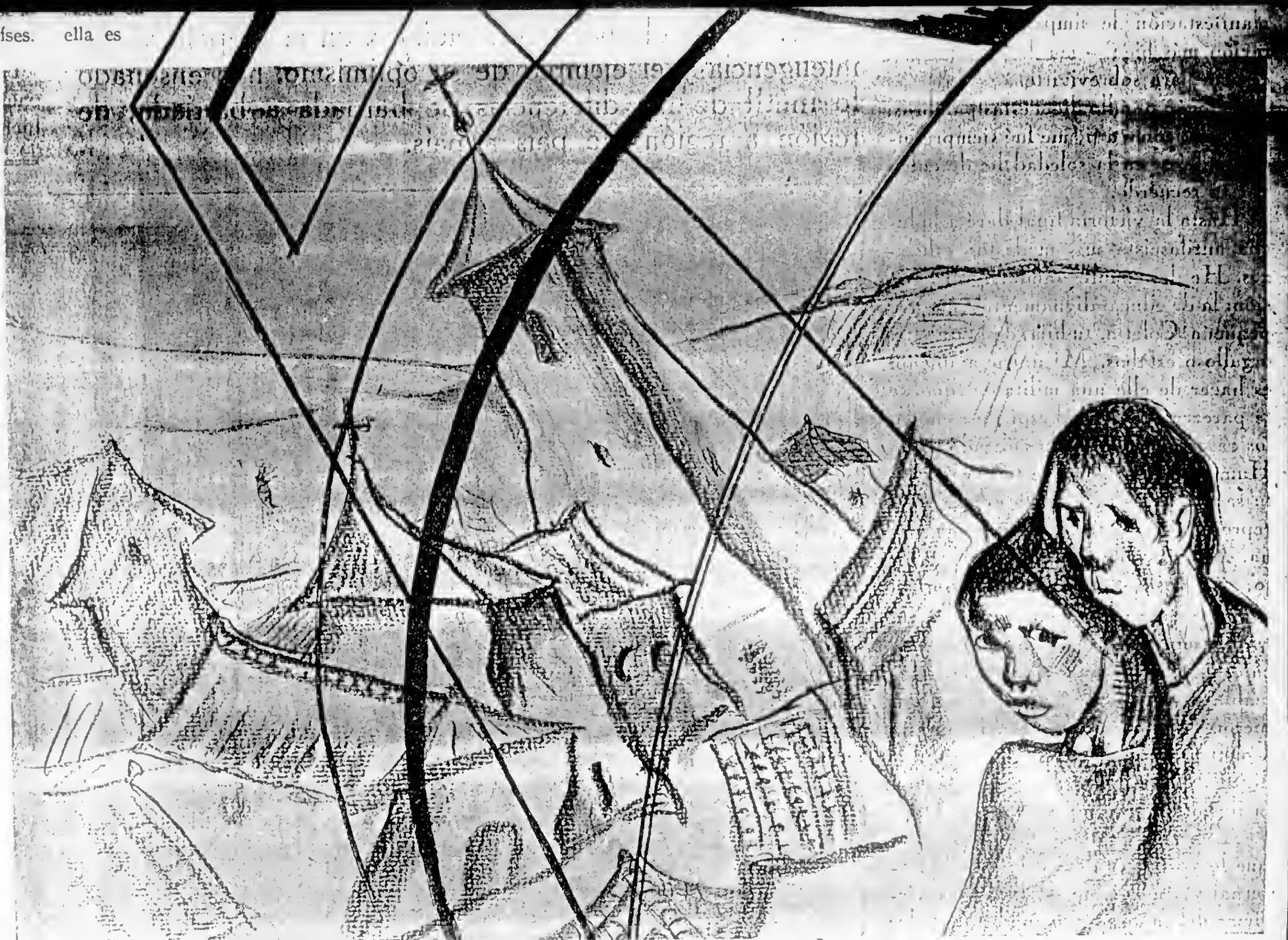
Desgraciadamente, no parece animarse a
inismo de las mujeres de todos los países.

En España, por ejemplo, a la mujer se la considera muy inferior al hombre, con mero objeto de placer y productora de niños. No me sorprendería si sólo los burgueses pensasen así, pero es increíble comprobar el mismo antediluviano concepto entre los obreros, hasta entre nuestros propios camaradas.

En ningún país del mundo siente la clase obrera el Comunismo libertario como lo siente la clase obrera española. El gran triunfo de la Revolución que se inició en los días de julio, demuestra el alto valor revolucionario del obrero español. Debería suponerse que en su apasionado amor por la Libertad incluye la libertad de la mujer. Pero, muy lejos de esto, la mayoría de los hombres españoles parecen no comprender el sentido de la verdadera emancipación, o, en otro caso, prefieren que sus mujeres continúen ignorándolo. El hecho es que muchos hombres parecen convencidos de que la mujer prefiere seguir viviendo en su posición de inferioridad. También se decía que el negro estaba encantado de ser propiedad del dueño de la plantación. Pero es lo cierto que no puede existir una verdadera emancipación mientras subsista el predominio de un individuo sobre otro o de una clase sobre otra. Y mucho menos realidad tendrá la emancipación de la raza humana mientras un sexo domine al otro.

En lo demás, la familia humana

ella es



Las taras de una herencia sífilítica, alcohólica y depauperada que

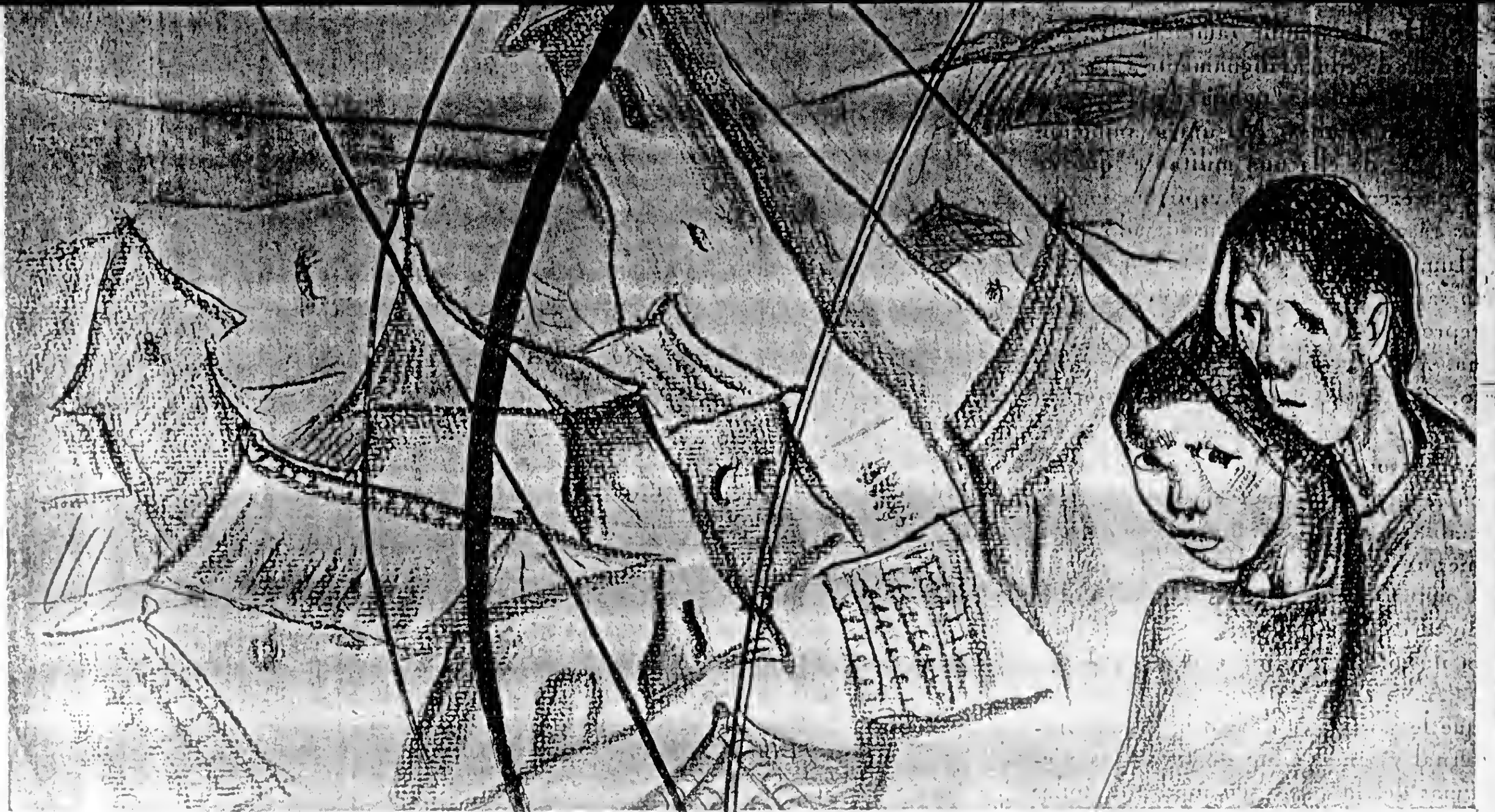
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Por lo demás, la familia humana la integran ambos sexos y la mujer es el más importante de los dos, ya que ella perpetúa la especie, y



Las taras de una herencia síndica, alcohólica y depauperada que aun existen en los pueblos de España, son prueba evidente de la injusticia y la miseria que han dominado siempre en nuestros campos. Quisiéramos que este complejo atávico desapareciera definitivamente y que todas las caras campesinas reflejaran plena salud física y espiritual. Todos debemos preocuparnos de este problema enorme y de su solución.

Cooperativa Obrera AVANT-Cortes Catalanas, 719

PRECIO DEL EJEMPLAR

20 cénts.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman on Spain / Emma Goldman. — 22 cm. In The Manchester Guardian. — [(Dec.? 1936?)].

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1385

EMMA GOLDMAN ON SPAIN

The Collectivist Movement in Catalonia

From our London Staff

FLEET STREET, WEDNESDAY.

Emma Goldman, the veteran and famous revolutionary, arrived in London to-night from Spain, where during the last three months she has visited almost every district except those in rebel hands, and has investigated thoroughly the constructive work carried on in all parts of Catalonia.

"I have come as an accredited delegate from the Government of Catalonia, and from my own comrades the Iberian Anarchists and the National Federation of Workers," she told a "Manchester Guardian" representative. "I have come to appeal to the thinking element in England for three things. We want clothing for the women and children, and if possible also for the soldiers at the front; we want medical supplies, and we want moral and financial help in the struggle for freedom. At present there are thirty thousand children evacuated from Madrid, which has to feed its own population and its fronts. It seems to me that the conscience of England should do more than it has done so far. It is true that a good deal has been done, but it is insignificant in comparison with the great need.

Bitterness Against England

"Sympathy is growing in England for the gallant fight the men and women are making to save Spain from Fascism and to free Europe from Fascism and war, but in Spain there is great bitterness against France and England because they are democratic countries, and they were trusted, yet they have stood aside watching thousands of innocent men and women being killed; they have not only given no help to the Government, but have allowed help to be given to the Fascist side."

Emma Goldman will not only address meetings in this country. She is going to have an exhibition to demonstrate the war pictorially. She has pictures of

methods of torture practised by the rebels. When she was reminded that atrocities were said to be practised also by the Government forces, Emma Goldman said: "No, sir; it is true that on the Government side they shoot people who are found carrying weapons, but they use no method of torture of any kind."

Collectivist Enterprise

Another part of her exhibition contains photographs of the collectivist factories, and of the collectivist lands with peasants working on them, that have so impressed her in Catalonia. She said that she was particularly interested in the constructive work being done in Catalonia. It was the first time in the history of revolutions that constructive work was started immediately on the outbreak, almost as fighting was going on in the streets. She had visited every factory and shop and collectivist village and small town from Barcelona to Madrid. She saw them making motor-cars, buses, train coaches, textiles, and a variety of other things. Collectivist farms were being worked without coercing the small peasant holders who, it was hoped, might come into the scheme as they realised its value. Spain was making war supplies, but in nothing like the quantities that Italy and Germany were sending in.

Emma Goldman considers that with few exceptions the English newspapers have misrepresented the struggle. The British public should be aware, she says, that the Spanish people are fighting not only for their own country and their own freedom, but that fighting against Fascism they are fighting for the whole world.

"I believe the Spanish people, and especially the Catalonians, are determined to fight to the last man. They know they may as well die in war as under Fascism. It is reasonably certain that if Franco enters Madrid or Barcelona he will exterminate everyone. Fascism triumphant could not last long. The Spanish people may be subdued, but they cannot be kept subdued. I cannot see Spain under a dictatorship."

The Emma Goldman Papers

"Which Flag, Madrid or Moscow" / Emma Goldman. — pp. 7-8 ; 24 cm. *In* Boletín de Informacion [Barcelona]. — Vol. 17 (Dec. 1, 1936).

Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

realisation by the CNT-FAI of Iberia.

"Which flag, Madrid or Moscow".

The bourgeois press, always the mouthpiece of capitalism is rejoicing openly over the mere thought of a fascist victory in Spain. Franco, the butcher of thousands of innocent men, women and children in every city and hamlet seized by his savage hordes, is their hero. His march on Madrid and the blood drunken orgy he will inaugurate should he succeed in entering the Spanish Capital, are already being brazenly hailed in nearly every news-paper in the world. One expects such glee from the capitalist scribes in fascist countries, or even the reactionary press in democracies. But to find the same sadistic glee in the loud proclaimers of high democratic principles merely proves, that they are more fascist than the fascists. They hate with an implacable hatred the least change of the old order. Indeed, so black is their hatred of social and human progress and consequently so stark their fear, that the most intelligent among them become incapable to distinguish facts from fiction.

The Emma Goldman Papers

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A case in point is the LONDON OBSERVER. Its editor, by no means a fool, seems to have lost all his critical judgement of the real issue involved in the struggle between the antifascist forces and the group of adventurers led by Franco. In an editorial of the OBSERVER of October 25th, entitled: "Which flag? Madrid and Moscow", he makes it appear that the popular uprising in Spain was staged by Soviet Russia. And that its aims are nothing else but the dictatorship of the third International. Had this man but taken the trouble to send one of his intelligent correspondents (if there is such a breed among news-paper men) to investigate the real situation in Spain, he would soon have had all the data needed to prove the utter stupidity of his perverted notion about origin and purpose of the Spanish Revolution.

In point of truth, the adherents of the Soviet-regime in the anti-fascist united front represent the smallest group. The rest of the political alignments of the Spanish struggle for social and economic freedom are not only not backed by Moscow. They are damned with faint praise.

The superior value of the Spanish Revolution over nearly all other such uprooting historical events, consists in the fact that it sprung from the loins of the people themselves, and by their inner urge and will to freedom from the crushing yoke they had endured so long. The Revolution is a mass avalanche, and not the device of one or more leaders, who have planned its sweep. The hope and the security of the Spanish Revolution lies in the villages with their awakened peasantry and in every factory and workshop where Spanish toilers produce the wealth of the country. No one outstanding personality is at the helm of the gigantic social and political transformation that has been conditioned by the heroic July battle. It is therefore the height of folly and deliberate falsification to say, as the editor of the OBSERVER does, that "the red regime under Largo Caballero represents nothing but the desperate minority of Communists, Anarchists and Extremists of other stripes." Or that "Franco is already sure of three quarters of the country, backed by a growing majority of the population". One must indeed be stricken blind, deaf and dumb to thus pervert the actual state of affairs in Spain.

Of course, the editor of the OBSERVER knows as well as we do, that there is not a scintilla of truth in his whole editorial. He is not stupid. He is merely a good servant of capitalist and fascist interests. Hence his hatred of the Spanish Revolution and his love for Franco. It is said: Birds of one feather, flock together".

For the heroic people of Spain, engaged in a life and death struggle against these black vultures it is important to know their enemies. And they are not only the Spanish fascists aided by their worthy colleagues in the profession of wholesale butchery. Our enemies are also in democratic countries and their satraps who poison public opinion by daily outpourings of their venom against the Spanish masses and their magnificent revolutionary struggle.

Emma Goldmann.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Expressions of the revolutionary and anarchist potentialities. In Spanish] Expresiones de Capacidad Revolucionaria y Anarquista? / Emma Goldman. — 22 cm. In La Protesta [Buenos Aires]. — (Dec. 1, 1936).
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Confederación Nacional del Trabajo y Federación Anarquista Ibérica

Expresiones de Capacidad Revolucionaria y Anarquista

Bajo su Signo se Levantarán las Nuevas Bases Sociales, Afirman las Primeras Figuras del Anarquismo

De Sebastián Faure

Llegado a Barcelona para colaborar con los anarquistas y llevar luego a Francia su impresión, se dirigió por la Radio E.C.N. el 18 de octubre:

Según los periodistas vendidos, los fascistas serían ángeles de dulzura. No creáis esto, camaradas.

Toda guerra tiene sus leyes y sus necesidades. Estas son inflexibles; son una condición misma de la victoria.

Nuestros amigos de España tienen conciencia de estas necesidades. Ellos se adaptan a sus exigencias, pero ellos no se entregan a ninguna brutalidad, a ninguna destrucción, a ningún acto de terrorismo que no les sea impuesto por las circunstancias. Es en el otro campo donde se encuentran los crueles, los feroces y los salvajes.

Dicho esto, yo quisiera, mis queridos amigos, haceros comprender el sentido exacto y profundo de la lucha gigantesca que han emprendido y prosiguen nuestros hermanos españoles.

Esta lucha es, ante todo, si batalla destinada a abstrir el fascismo generador de miseria, de ignorancia y de esclavitud política, económica, intelectual y moral.

El fascismo es la última fortaleza en la cual se refugian y se concentran todas las fuerzas del capitalismo. En su carrera evolutiva, el capitalismo ha acumulado todas las faltas, todos los errores, todos los abusos, todos los crímenes; él ha llegado a un punto tal de contradicciones, de incoherencia, de excesos y de corrupción, que está decidido a todo con tal de no ser arrastrado por la ola de indignación y de revuelta que levanta.

El fascismo tiene para sí, las potencias del dinero, la soldadesca, la clericalia; tiene para sí, la influencia oculta de la rutina y de la tradición; tiene para sí, la masa de creencias y prejuicios que la educación ha grabado, incrustado, desde hace siglos, en la mentalidad humana.

Pero tiene contra él la multitud popular que está cansada de sufrir la dominación, la estrechez y la represión; tiene contra él, a los obreros y a los campesinos que ya están hartos de hacer, de vivir y de morir en las privaciones, por más que ellos sean los creadores de la abundancia.

Tiene contra él, todos los espíritus clarividentes, todos los corazones afeccionados y todas las conciencias rectas.

Tiene contra él, el conjunto de los tra-

la cual he vivido durante cincuenta años, solo vosotros quienes la resitáis en su integridad, en toda su fuerza, en toda su energía, en toda su nobleza.

Camaradas, la emoción me ahoga, pero quisiera todavía deciros algunas palabras. Vosotros habéis tenido el valor de empujar integralmente la cuestión de nuestra emancipación. La justicia, la libertad, no han tenido jamás sentido alguno fuera de esta expropiación a la que vosotros habéis puesto mano. Este es vuestro mérito. El hombre que nada tiene, que nada posee, no puede nada y por lo mismo no es libre. La injusticia consiste en el hecho de que la mayor parte de los bienes, de las posibilidades, de las riquezas, pertenecen a una ínfima minoría.

Yo vengo de Ginebra, de esa Ginebra donde la Sociedad de las Naciones ha cometido contra la clase trabajadora, el último de los crímenes. Después de haber sido fundada para asegurar la paz del mundo, esta Sociedad de Naciones ha dado prima a todos los agravios. Ginebra va hoy a remolque del fascismo. Lo que constituía en la cuna de Ginebra, ha sido renegado por el fascismo.

Camaradas, yo he dicho siempre, y os lo repetiré todavía: nosotros, sin duda alguna, no teníamos la esperanza de ver realizarse la anarquía en el curso de nuestra vida. Pero hoy vosotros habéis comenzado su realización.

Gracias, gracias, camaradas, y que vuestra victoria signifique la victoria de todos nosotros! Que vuestra victoria signifique el fracaso de una clase llegada a la descomposición última, de una clase llegada a la última de las abyecciones.

Solo vosotros los que realizaréis la libertad y el bienestar para todos!

De Agustín Souchy

En un discurso, este activo militante de la A. I. T. y que hace ocho años lo tuvimos entre nosotros, ha dicho entre otras cosas:

!Camaradas! !Obreros de Barcelona! Me siento muy antisfeco de poder hablar ante vosotros, ante el proletariado de Barcelona, que está en la vanguardia del proletariado internacional, en la lucha contra toda opresión y contra el fascismo internacional. Solo vosotros, los portadores de las banderas de la C. N. T. y la F. A. I. los que el 19 de julio habéis dado el golpe decisivo al fascismo. Para la clase de los

De Jacinto Torhyo

Este camarada, encarado de la sección Prensa y Propaganda de la F. A. I., ha dicho en nombre de la entidad que representaba un interesante discurso, del cual extraemos lo siguiente:

!Trabajadores de Barcelona! !Proletariado catalán y obreros de España entera! En momentos de algaría dramática como los presentes y de honda inquietud internacional, cuando se está escribiendo con sangre de la juventud proletaria le rumbo nuevo que ha de imprimirse a la vida española, la Federación Anarquista Ibérica, síntesis de la gallardía, de la generosidad y el desinterés, la F. A. I., en nombre de la cual os dirijo la palabra, no pierde ocasión de ponerse en contacto directo con las masas obreras para brindarles una vez más sus orientaciones y sugerencias.

!Hoy que trabajar intensamente!

!Primero tratar ante vosotros!

Camaradas que escucháis, presentes o ausentes, camaradas todos: Estamos comenzando a hacer la revolución, estamos en los preliminares de la revolución. No os entusiasmeis con tópicos fáciles ni os dejéis arrastrar por el latiguito tradicional. Cuando oigáis decir que hemos hecho tanto y cuanto, no prestéis mucho crédito al orador, pues no hemos hecho hasta ahora gran cosa, sino que estamos comenzando a hacer. Y cómo se hace, cómo se comienza a hacer con éxito? ¿Cómo se comienza a "hacer" con eficacia, para que al otro día no se desmorone la obra construida? Amigos: se comienza a "hacer" trabajando! !!Hoy que trabajar! Esta es la consigna de la C. N. T., que la F. A. I. hace suya.

En estos instantes hay que trabajar con la mayor intensidad del mundo por dos razones decisivas:

Primera: !porque hay que ganar la guerra!

Otra: !porque estamos haciendo la revolución!

En estos instantes en que los trabajadores de todas las tendencias de la Península, estrechamente unidos, civil jamás lo han estado, defienden fuertemente sus derechos y los libertades populares ploteadas, no se puede entretener, no podemos ninguno de nosotros perder el tiempo en reclamaciones más o menos ocultas e insubstanciales. Hoy yo no os diré la peseta ni a la hora menor. La hora presente es la hora de trabajar desde que el sol

compañeros italianos, los escritos de Anselmo Lorenzo, de Pedro Esteve, de Tarrida del Mármol y de otros muchos escritores libertarios de vuestro país. Y desde el martirio de Francisco Ferrer, florece en Italia la Escuela Moderna.

Cada represión reacciona del clericalismo y del militarismo de España, ha encontrado siempre en Italia un fuerte eco de protesta. Cada heroísmo del anarquismo español, ha encontrado siempre entre los anarquistas italianos la más entusiasta de las admiraciones. A las columnas contra los compañeros españoles, hemos respondido siempre con indignación, tanto de palabra como con la pluma.

Hoy España nos aparece el último baluarte de la libertad. Hoy España nos aparece el principal punto de apoyo para hacer un reclutamiento y derrocar al fascismo que ya se extiende por todo el mundo.

De F. Montseny

En el acto organizado por la Federación Ibérica de Juventudes Libertarias, como cierre del pleno nacional de Regionales y Provinciales celebrado recientemente en Madrid, dijo esto, militante del anarquismo:

!Si algún día se hiciera un balance de la organización que más hombres ha perdido, veríamos que este trágico balance se cierra en favor de la F. A. I. y C. N. T. con un saldo muy grande. La única diferencia es que nuestros hombres mueren anónimamente. Nuestros hombres van al cementerio, a la fosa común, sin música, sin desfiles, sin paños en alto, sin banderas, sin nada. En los hogares quedan las compañeras floridas, los hijos que ya no tienen padre, pero nuestros hombres van a la muerte así, de la manera heroica como salen nuestros batallones, sin ruidos, con la sobriedad, con el pudor de los verdaderos revolucionarios, sin formar parte de los Estados Mayores. Nuestros militantes, que aquí como en Rusia, como en todas partes, son los primeros que dan la cara, el pecho y la vida, en vez de ser los clementes disculpados, hemos sido los puntales más firmes."

De Emma Goldman

LA CRUZ SVASTICA EN BARCELONA



TRUNFANDO EL PUEBLO en España, tanto este símbolo como el haz victorioso fascista y cuanto otro aparezca como muestra serán abolidos porque habrán sido vencidas las fuerzas que los talaba lo ahora demoliendo las bases del viejo mundo

Boletín de Informa

Informes y Noticias Facilitadas por
Confederación Nacional del Trabajo
la Federación Anarquista Ibérica

Acaba de crearse un Comité de Inspiración nueva y noble, por la hemos ejercido cerca de los problemas económicos Importancia secundaria. Dicho Consejo, de acuerdo con los trabajadores, esta perfecta coordinación entre actividades económicas de la zona.

Quien haya leído la prensa anarquista española ha de confesar que nosotros camorras de la península no olvidamos ninguna enseñanza de las experiencias del pasado, no han cometido el error de la revolución francesa que fue el de la revuelta a los campesinos contra la indemnización, sino que se provocó un congreso de campesinos orientado por los anarquistas, apenas empezada la lucha contra el fascismo. Con toda seguridad que el campesino español está con amor y vida en favor del movimiento libertario y procura deshacerse de la banca, al revés de la revolución de 1848. Corrige el error de la Comuna enfilando la política de reconstrucción hacia la desprivatización y socialización de los productos, y por encima de todo, afirma bien claro y alto: luchar con el mismo ahínco que luchan contra el fascismo, contra cualquier tentativa de dictadura. Si esto no es la revolución que hemos propagado

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El Movimiento Revolucionario Español Confirmó la Practicabilidad del ANARQUISMO

Frente a la magnífica gesta española y al tesonero e inteligente trabajo de reorganización, nos hemos preguntado si ello significaba algo discutible para el anarquismo; o si los que se alientan fríos, casi indiferentes, y que le dan más bien un significado de político en vez de social, están ciegos o han fracasado como militantes de un movimiento anárquico revolucionario cuya línea nutritiva del mismo ha sido siempre el pueblo, y cuya concepción de la revolución fue siempre la de una evolución espontánea incontinentemente desbordable gracias a la slembra anárquica, que el movimiento había hecho en el pueblo.

Hay quien justifica, o mejor, quiere justificar su apatía e discrepancia hacia el movimiento español alegando que alterna con otros movimientos no solamente discrepantes sino enemigos hasta ayer, enemigos hoy y enemigos mañana. Nos parece pueril esta excusa, puesto que la verdad no es exactamente esa. Luchan esas tendencias tan dispares, no mancomunadas, sino contra un enemigo que hoy lo es de todos por circunstancias de la política y de la economía tan especiales en estos momentos.

En cuanto a nosotros estamos firmemente convencidos que si en alguna parte se mantiene en alto el pendón anárquico es en España, y también sostenemos que en líneas generales el apoyo INCONDICIONALMENTE A LA REVOLUCION SOCIAL ESPAÑOLA, cumplimos con una misión de consecuencia con lo que siempre ha sostenido y propagado el movimiento obrero finalista, en esta región de América. ¿Que todavía hay mascarones de proa, que aun corre el dinero en alguna parte, que aquello es una especie de fundición, en donde hay materiales viejos a fundirse y algunos están ya espléndidamente fundidos? ¿Pero acaso triunfó la revolución y acaso hay al-

guien que haya pensado seriamente que al día siguiente de la revolución se viviría en plena ANARQUIA? No creemos que, quien esté en sus cabales tenga de la revolución social y de la reorganización en todos sus órdenes tan simplista concepción; por lo tanto no nos explicamos cómo pueda haber alguien que se diga anarquista y que frente a la grandiosa y trágica epopeya española no se haya sentido levantado en vilo de entusiasmo, y que no esté dispuesto a hacer lo imposible en solidaridad con quienes se están jugando la vida en bien de la civilización y de la humanidad.

Gracias a los productores españoles ya nunca más — aunque fracasara el movimiento — se podrá hablar del anarquismo como de cosa utópica. El movimiento español demostró al mundo la practicabilidad de ese ideal que el fascismo pretende ahogar en sangre y que lo conseguirá al el mundo del trabajo no acude a tiempo. Hay en la historia de las luchas sociales un caso semejante al de España. El de Sacco y Vanzetti, en aquella ocasión no se supo acudir a tiempo; muchos, no creyeron que el peligro fuese tan inminente, y ese concepto equivocado favoreció al verdugo. Convengamos de una buena vez que, en la vida social no entra para nada el derecho ni los preceptos del honor en ningún sentido ni los sentimientos de humanidad; sino la fuerza violenta y cruda con todo descaro. A esto nos ha reducido el fascismo y, o lo hacemos frente o morimos; ya no tan sólo como individuos, sino también como fuerza social, es decir, para que no desaparezca hasta la más mínima partícula de civilización en el amplio sentido de la palabra, hay que destruir al fascismo. En esta tarea con una visión clarísima que asombra, está el proletariado español y en su vanguardia como símbolo y como guía el movimiento anarquista español.

Quien haya leído la prensa anarquista española ha de confesar que nuestros camaradas de la península no han olvidado ninguna enseñanza de las experiencias del pasado, no han cometido el error de la revolución francesa que entregó la tierra a los campesinos con indemnización, sino que se provocó un congreso de campesinos orientado por los anarquistas, apenas empezada la lucha contra el fascismo. ¡Con toda seguridad que el campesino español está con amor y vida en favor del movimiento libertario y procura deshacerse de la banca, al revés de la revolución de 1848. Corrige el error de la Comuna enfundando la proa de la reorganización hacia la colectivización y socialización de los productos, y por encima de todo, afirman bien claro y alto: luchar con el mismo ahínco que luchan contra el fascismo, contra cualquier tentativa de dictadura. Si esto no es la revolución que hemos propagado y soñado siempre... será que estamos viviendo en la luna. ¿Que se puede hacer objeciones a esto o a aquello? ¿A qué obra de la ciencia o del arte no se le puede hacer? Pero con todo, antes de hacer objeciones, tengamos en cuenta las inmensas dificultades, y en medio de cuántos enemigos no tienen que luchar y trabajar nuestros camaradas, y sobre todo ¿qué hemos hecho para ayudarles? He aquí una pregunta que debería de adueñarse de nuestras conciencias y de nuestra voluntad.

Pensemos un momento serenamente, sin preconcepción alguna, en este momento de la historia en que nos toca vivir, y comprenderemos que España es la esperanza del mundo; ahí es donde se está destruyendo lo que impide que la vida sea fecunda y libre. Por lo tanto creemos que debemos desear toda otra preocupación que no sea nuestra solidaridad no sólo material, sino también moral.

E. LATELARO

Esta generación jamás había soñado, por el cual jamás han trabajado.

Hasta el 19 de julio, nadie fuera de España conocía la existencia y la importancia de la C. N. T. y de la F. A. I. Actualmente las dos se han convertido en faros de la juventud del resto del mundo. Efectivamente, han enseñado el camino que todos deberán seguir para lograr el objetivo que queréis alcanzar.

Ciertamente, ha habido otros revoluciones. La lucha humana por la libertad, es viejo como la propia humanidad. Y siempre, donde sea, en todos los períodos de progreso, era casi siempre la juventud la que se echaba adelante en cada revolución que han promovido los oprimidos y los desvalidos para romper sus cadenas. Y ahora, vuestra revolución es la primera en su género. Es la primera vez en la historia humana que una revolución es fomentada y dirigida por anarquistas, anarcosindicalistas, por el pueblo oprimido. Porque fascismo, monarquismo, republicano y todo otro nombre que reclama el Estado, todos odian y obran contra nosotros y contra nuestro ideal.

La revolución española, inspirada por vosotros, juventud catalana, vosotros de la F. A. I. y de la C. N. T., significa tanto para España, como para las demás juventudes y masas de los otros países.

LA MONTSENY SE DIRIGE POR RADIO AL PUEBLO

Esta camarada anarquista que integra el Consejo Nacional de Defensa, en una alocución radiotelefónica del día 12 de noviembre, dirigiéndose al pueblo de Madrid, dijo:

"Estáis dando el mayor ejemplo de heroísmo de la historia. ¡Milicianos! Mantened el entusiasmo que ha servido de muro contra el cual las unidades del enemigo estuvieron y están fracasando. Estáis haciendo el camino de la victoria, que está cerca. Estáis demostrando que sois dignos de la libertad por la cual lucháis. Todo nuestro territorio está de nuestra parte. No podemos ser conquistados. Recordad que nada se consigue sin sacrificio. Nosotros hacemos la verdadera revolución. Camaradas, hombres, mujeres y antifascistas de Madrid: socialistas, demócratas y republicanos de la nación: ¡Adelante con la revolución!"

campaña de descrédito y desprestigio que viene realizándose contra nosotros. Toda ella inspirada por la reacción venida, por los elementos que se alzaron contra las reivindicaciones proletarias y fueron derrotados por los trabajadores.

"El capitalismo mundial colabora en esta campaña infame y embustera prestando todo su apoyo a aquellos que en nombre de un patriotismo quisieron labrar la ruina de España.

"Nosotros, la Confederación Nacional del Trabajo y la Federación Anarquista Ibérica, organismos de genuino historial revolucionario nos oponemos en contacto con los trabajadores de todo el mundo para decirles: el fascismo en España ha sido derrotado. La lección de Italia y de Alemania corroborada por la tragedia austriaca de febrero de 1934, no ha sido desolada, ha caído en ranpo fértil. Los obreros españoles hemos sabido escarmentar en cabeza ajena, notando a los cabezillas del movimiento fascista que no pudieron huir a tiempo".

(De una alocución radiada por la emisora C. N. T.-F. A. I. el 3 de setiembre).

LABOR CULTURAL DEL C. E. N. U.

La Escuela Nueva Unificada fue creada en principio para suplantar la escuela confesional desaparecida, y las particulares o libres adictas a las confesionales para implantar un único plan de enseñanza.

La Escuela Nueva Unificada quiere formar la inteligencia y el corazón de los niños sin prejuicios de ninguna clase.

Los hombres de la C. N. T. estamos plenamente convencidos que únicamente de esta manera, con el cumplimiento estricto de estos postulados, será posible alejar del corazón de los hombres los instantes perniciosos y los elementos morbosos que contribuyen quizá de una manera integral las normas de la escuela confesional, sea del orden que sea.

La Escuela Nueva Unificada quiere crear una conciencia libre que permita cincalar el alma de nuestros hijos sin deformidad alguna".

Barcelona, 10 de setiembre.

La columna Durruti recogió 520 niños

De los pueblos ganados al fascismo por la columna Durruti se recogieron 520 niños que fueron traídos a Barcelona. Su cuidado recayó sobre las camaradas de la C. N. T. del Sindicato Unico de Profesiones Liberales y parti-

en las alturas, y que acul m... da puda, o intenten oponerse... so del lenguaje y a las... revolucionarias, intentando... desviaras o adulterarlos! C... pos de trazo serán el blanco... de los multitudes. En España... tlla una guerra; se está pla... Revolución. Por eso la C... tiene sus raíces tan profundas... proletariado ibérico reclama... de un órgano que garantice... ción vital y renovadora de... Consejo Nacional de Defensa... Barcelona, 26 de setiembre.

La economía de...

La Confederación Nacional del Trabajo y la Federación Anarquista Ibérica no son solamente constructores temerarios que arriesgan con espíritu de desprecio la vida; son también organismos de reconstrucción económica.

Acabo de crearse un Consejo Nacional de Defensa, una institución o inspiración nuestra, por la que hemos ejercido cerca de ellos los problemas económicos importantes secundarios. Dichos Consejo, de acuerdo con los trabajadores, esta perfecta coordinación entre actividades económicas de la nación.

Hemos triunfado por la victoria de triunfar ahora por ella.

Fresco habría de usar camisas en Mar del Plata

Días pasados apareció una gineada en Necochea dando en Mar del Plata se obligó a los gobernadores a vestirse negro para un recibimiento. Manuel Fresco, y al almirante se le obligaría a vestir de negro y saludando a la lista con el brazo levantado, ligados con la pérdida de sus estudios.

Buenos Aires progresa. Muchos síntomas. Los últimos completos todavía...

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The tragedy of woman's emancipation. In Spanish] La tragedia de la emancipación femenina / Emma Goldman. — pp. 23-24 ; 29 cm. In Libre-Studio [Valencia] — (Dec. 1, 1936).

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La tragedia de la emancipación femenina

Por Emma Goldman

(Traducido por Concepción Costa, del S. U. P. L. - C. N. T.)

Comenzaré por una afirmación: Dejando a un lado todas las teorías políticas y económicas, las distinciones de clase y de razas, las fronteras trazadas artificialmente entre los derechos de la mujer y los del hombre, yo sostengo que existe un punto donde estas divergencias pueden volver a encontrarse y fundirse en un conjunto perfecto.

La paz o la armonía entre los sexos y los individuos, no depende necesariamente de una nivelación superficial de seres humanos; no exige la eliminación de las particularidades y de los rasgos individuales. El problema que nosotros vamos a enjuiciar hoy y que en un porvenir cercano habrá de resolverse, es este: ¿cómo sentir en comunicación profunda todos los seres humanos conservando intactas sus cualidades características? ¿Cómo ser uno mismo, y, sin embargo, encontrarse unido con otro? Este me parece ser el terreno sobre el cual podrían volver a encontrarse sin antagonismo y sin oposición, la masa y el individuo, el verdadero demócrata y el individualista convencido, el hombre y la mujer. La fórmula no debe ser: perdonarse mutuamente, sino mejor: comprender entre sí. La frase tan frecuentemente citada de Mme. de Staël. «todo comprendido, todo perdonado», nunca se me ha impuesto particularmente; perdonar a otro evoca la idea de una superioridad farisea; esto tiene un sentido confesional. Comprender a su prójimo basta, y esta afirmación que encarna en parte mis ideas sobre la emancipación de la mujer y sus efectos sobre su sexo, está bien definida.

Su emancipación debería dar a la mujer posibilidad de ser humano en el sentido más verdadero. Todo lo que en ella reclama su afirmación y actividad debería alcanzar su expresión más completa; y se debería desembarazar de todas las huellas que han dejado los siglos de sumisión y esclavitud en la ruta que conduce a una mayor libertad.

Este fué el punto original del movimiento en favor de la emancipación femenina. Pero los resultados obtenidos hasta aquí han aislado a la mujer y la han despojado de las fuentes de una ventura que era esencial en ella. La emancipación exterior ha hecho sencillamente a la mujer un ser artificial que hace pensar en los productos de la arboricultura francesa con sus árboles y sus arbustos fantásticos cortados en pirámides,

conos, cubos, etc. Y esto ocurre particularmente en la sedicente esfera intelectual de nuestra vida, que no puede encontrar en gran número estas plantas femeninas artificiales.

¡La libertad y la igualdad para la mujer! Cuantas esperanzas y aspiraciones han despertado estas palabras cuando fueron pronunciadas por vez primera por algunos corazones, los más nobles y valientes de nuestros días. El sol, en todo su esplendor y con todo su brillo, va a elevar un nuevo mundo donde la mujer será libre de orientar su propio destino, fin digno enteramente del entusiasmo, del valor, de la perseverancia y del esfuerzo incesante de la cohorte de pioneros de los dos sexos, que todo lo arriesgan para dirigirse contra un mundo podrido por los prejuicios y la ignorancia.

Mis esperanzas tienden igualmente a este fin; pero yo mantengo que la emancipación de la mujer tal como se practica y se interpreta hoy en día, es totalmente equivocada. La mujer, actualmente, se encuentra en la necesidad de emanciparse de la emancipación, si desea afirmar su personalidad. Esto puede parecer paradójico, no obstante el tropo es exacto.

¿Qué ha obtenido ella gracias a su emancipación? El derecho al voto en algunos Estados. ¿Este resultado ha purificado la vida política como habían profetizado numerosos protagonistas del sufragio femenino? Ciertamente, no. Entre tanto, hace realmente mucho tiempo que las personas dotadas de un juicio sano y claro han cesado de hablar de la «corrupción en el dominio político» con un tono de salón muy corriente. La corrupción, en política, no tiene nada que ver con la moral o el relajamiento de diversas personalidades políticas. Su origen es puramente material. La política es el reflejo del mundo comercial e industrial, cuyas divisas son: «hay más beneficio en tomar que en dar», «comprar a buen precio y revender caro», «una mano sucia limpia a la otra». No se puede esperar que la mujer, provista del derecho al voto, purifique nunca la atmósfera política.

La emancipación ha hecho la mujer económicamente igual al hombre; es decir, que ella puede elegir su profesión o su medio de vida. Pero como su educación física pasada y presente no la ha dotado de la fuerza necesaria para compartir con el hombre, frecuentemente se encuentra obligada

Libre-Studio — 23

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The tragedy of woman's emancipation. In Spanish] La tragedia de la emancipación femenina / Emma Goldman. — pp. 23-24 ; 29 cm. In Libre-Studio [Valencia] — (Dec. 1, 1936).

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a consumir toda su energía, de agotar su vitalidad y de poner en tensión todos sus nervios para poder valorizarse en la competencia entablada. Muy poco todavía y parvamente, por ser un hecho reconocido que las institutrices, las doctoras, las mujeres arquitectas e ingenieras no inspiran la misma confianza que sus colegas masculinos, y que frecuentemente no reciben una remuneración equivalente a la de ellos. Y para las que esperan esta igualdad equivocada, generalmente se produce a expensas de su bienestar físico y psíquico. ¿En cuanto a la gran masa de obreras, qué independencia han ganado cambiando la estrechez y la falta de libertad del hogar por la estrechez y la falta de libertad de la fábrica, del taller de confección, del almacén o de la oficina? Que satisfacción se añade para numerosas mujeres encontrando una casa fría, hostil, en desorden, al salir de su ruda tarea diaria. ¡Gloriosa independencia en verdad! Nada asusta a esos centenares de jovencitas que se muestran tan entusiastas aceptando la primera oferta de matrimonio que se les presenta, disgustadas y aburridas de su «independencia» detrás de un mostrador, ante una máquina de coser o de escribir. Corren hacia el matrimonio igual que las jóvenes de la clase media que aspiran a dejar el yugo de la autoridad familiar.

Una independencia que conduce a un género de subsistencia mediocre, no es tan atractiva ni tan ideal que pueda esperar de la mujer que se sacrifique por lograrla. Después de todo, nuestra independencia tan elogiada no es más que un mé-

todo lento de adormecer y de alejar de la naturaleza femenina los instintos del amor y de la maternidad.

La angusta concepción existente de la independencia de la mujer y de su emancipación; el temor de amar a un hombre que bajo el punto de vista social no es su igual; el temor de que el amor la despojará de su libertad o de su independencia; el terror de que el amor a la alegría de la maternidad perjudique al ejercicio de su profesión; todas estas aprensiones hacen de la mujer moderna emancipada una vestal por fuerza, ante la cual pasa la vida —con sus grandes dolores que purifican y sus profundas alegrías que arroban— sin que su alma sea conmovida o arrebatada.

La emancipación femenina tal como se comprende por la mayoría de aquellas que la aceptan o la exponen, ocupa un horizonte demasiado restringido para dejar lugar a la expansión, con plena libertad, a las emociones profundas de la mujer verdadera: amante y madre. No obstante, si es verdad que la mujer económicamente independiente o que subviene por sí misma a sus necesidades, sobrepasa a su hermana de las pasadas generaciones en el conocimiento del mundo y de la naturaleza humana, es precisamente a causa de esto por lo que en ella resalta la ausencia de lo más esencial en la vida: el amor, que puede por sí sólo enriquecer el alma humana y cuya ausencia hace, de la mayoría de las mujeres, simples autómatas profesionales.



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La lucha y muerte heroicas de nuestros camaradas de Chicago

11 de noviembre de 1887

Este mes hace exactamente 49 años, que el Estado de Illinois asesinó a cuatro hombres en la ciudad de Chicago, indujo a un quinto al suicidio, sentenció dos a cadena perpetua y uno a quince años de encarcélamiento.

Los nombres de estos mártires del Anarquismo, emancipación y liberación del obrero, fueron PARSONS, SPIESS, ENGEL, FISHER, LINGG, SCHWAB, FIELDEN y NEEBE.

Parsons, Spiess, Engel, Fisher y Lingg, eran Anarquistas. Los otros tres, socialistas. Hace 44 años no existían líneas separatorias entre anarquistas y socialistas, porque estos últimos estaban todavía lejos de aspirar a la política y a las tareas gubernamentales. Eran revolucionarios y todavía creían que la liberación económica del proletariado nunca sería llevada a cabo por los políticos, sino que solamente se llegaría a su consecución por la acción directa del mismo proletariado. Era por lo tanto todavía posible para los anarquistas y socialistas trabajar juntos, en bien y provecho de la colectividad obrera.

Entre los tiempos de la guerra civil de los Estados Unidos por la liberación de la raza negra, y los tiempos ochocentistas, el capitalismo había llegado a ser una verdadera absorbente organización. Los burgueses amasaban una fortuna casi de la noche a la mañana. La tierra era fácil de conseguir y la mano de obra barata. El obrero trabajaba 14 ó 16 horas al día por una miseria. Aunque afortunado a la entonces famosa organización llamada CABALLEROS DEL TRABAJO, sus dirigentes no tenían noción alguna de la lucha industrial. Creían todavía que la oveja y el lobo podían estar juntos sin que la primera fuese devorada, que el Capitalismo y el Trabajo podían tener algo en común.

La lucha económica empezó a tener un significado social únicamente cuando aparecieron los Anarquistas. El primero y más importante fue JUAN MOST, el cual había venido a América en los primeros días del ochocientos y había conseguido inculcar la vida y el ardor revolucionarios en las filas de la clase obrera. Pero no estaba solo. En Chicago los mejores militantes y enérgicos luchadores eran: Parsons, Spiess, Engel, Fisher y Lingg, pertenecientes a Los CABALLEROS DEL TRABAJO, pero también eran reconocidos Anarquistas. Parsons, como editor del periódico inglés *La alarma*, Spiess, como editor del periódico alemán *Chicago Arbeiter Zeitung*, tanto como Most, que actuaba en Nueva York, eran también los inteligentes intérpretes del Anarquismo y Comunismo Libertario en Chicago.

En el primer Congreso Anarquista que tuvo lugar en Pittsburg, Estado de Pensilvania, en 1884, la inmediata necesidad de una huelga general para la consecución de la jornada de 8 horas, fue uno de los acuerdos, de los muchos que

libre y que la clase obrera tenía el derecho de organizarse y emplear la huelga como instrumento de lucha. La clase capitalista sabía mejor a qué atenerse. En más de una ocasión había enseñado sus dientes de dragón. Tenía su policía particular y su depósito de armas. La Prensa era de su propiedad, como asimismo los Tribunales de Justicia, y no dudó en emplear estas fuerzas contra toda clase de huelgas, por poca importancia que tuvieran.

Naturalmente, cuando los plutócratas americanos se dieron cuenta de la fuerza arrolladora del movimiento obrero, por la jornada de 8 horas, su indignación no tuvo límites. Los mítines fueron disueltos, y los hombres, mujeres y niños eran golpeados sin compasión.

Fue después del brutal ataque a los huelguistas de la fábrica McCormack, cuando nuestros camaradas convocaron a la clase obrera a una gran manifestación en la Plaza de Haymarket, de Chicago, para protestar contra el salvajismo de los mercenarios de los Reyes americanos.

Los obreros se presentaron por millares; muchos de ellos llevaron a sus compañeras e hijos. La policía se presentó en gran número, tanto de Caballería como de Infantería. El Alcalde de la ciudad, Carter Harrison, también estaba allí. Después de haber oído algunos de los discursos, le dijo al capitán Banfield, jefe de Policía, que todo estaba en perfecto orden y que se iba a su casa. Propuso que la policía hiciera lo mismo. Pero el capitán Banfield había recibido ya las órdenes correspondientes, no solamente del Alcalde, su jefe, sino de más altas esferas. Así es que esperó se presentara ocasión para ganar laurelos y ser premiado por sus señores. Esperó a que más de la mitad de los oyentes se hubiesen marchado a casa, así como la mayoría de los oradores, entre ellos Parsons y Spiess (la mujer de Parsons y sus hijos estaban con él), y entonces el "heroico" Capitán, ordenó a los últimos oradores que callasen. Ellos se negaron alegando el derecho constitucional que tenían. Seguidamente el capitán Banfield y sus hombres atacaron salvajemente a la multitud, haciendo uso de sus cachiporras, y bastones. En este momento preciso explotó una bomba que mató a un policía e hirió a muchos más.

Al día siguiente y semanas y meses después, toda la burguesía pidió las cabezas de nuestros camaradas, los que habían hablado en la manifestación, y que el anarquismo fuera exterminado. Nuestros camaradas fueron detenidos y juzgados con testigos falsos, ante un jurado y por un juez que era el servidor de los intereses capitalistas. Alberto Parsons, no fue encontrado por la policía. Estaba completamente seguro en el país. Nuestros camaradas le rogaron que se quedara con ellos. Sabían que si se entregaba a la policía, no saldría con vida. Pero Alberto Parsons insistió: su sitio era al lado de los camaradas detenidos. Se presentó al Tribunal,

La indignación de los obreros fue enorme. Estaban dispuestos a declarar la huelga general para exigir la condonación de la pena de muerte, por medio de una huelga que afectase a toda la Nación. Pero al Presidente de Los CABALLEROS DEL TRABAJO, Ferruccio Powderly, rehusó solidarizarse con sus camaradas sentenciados. Era contrario a la huelga general, a cualquier acción económica revolucionaria, que hubiera podido rescatar de la horca a las víctimas del capitalismo. Powderly hizo más: se convirtió en un Judas Iscariote. Vendió a sus hermanos por 20 piezas de plata. Poco tiempo después fue premiado por sus señores; se le dio una posición lucrativa. Su trición no solamente ayudó a matar a nuestros camaradas, sino que mató a los CABALLEROS DEL TRABAJO. Todas las organizaciones militantes se volvieron la espalda. Y solamente Sindicatos obreros reaccionarios permanecieron en ella.

El 11 de noviembre de 1887. Nuestros Camaradas se dirigieron orgullosos hacia la horca. Lingg, joven, fiero, y con odio inextinguible al sistema capitalista, se suicidó por medio de un cartucho escondido en su pecho. Schwab y Fielden fueron a la cárcel con cadena perpetua. Neebe para quince años. Siete años más tarde, un hombre valiente y liberal, el gobernador Altgeld, puso en libertad a Fielden, Neebe y Schwab. En su razonamiento por el indulto dijo que después de haber estudiado el caso detenidamente se había convencido de que los anarquistas eran inocentes; que la vista de esta causa había sido una farsa y que las acusaciones habían sido amañadas. Altgeld pagó caramente su valentía y su honradez. Fue arruinado política y económicamente por los "gangsters" del capitalismo que había asesinado a nuestros camaradas. Y no son los cretinos jueces y escribas de la prostituida Prensa que tomaron parte en la muerte de nuestros mártires, los que serán recordados; será John Altgeld.

¡Qué ciegos y estúpidos son los que detentan el poder! Siempre se imaginan que la obstrucción, la cárcel, la silla eléctrica, o el sable, pueden matar una idea. Los verdugos de Chicago respiraron con libertad cuando nuestros mártires camaradas fueron ahorcados. ¡El anarquismo ha muerto! gritaban con ebria alegría. Pero he aquí que ellos, no tenían razón, sino Augusto Spiess, cuando dijo:

"Nuestro silencio hablará más alto que las voces que hoy hacen callar." Si, mil voces al. Las voces sofocadas en el día 11 de noviembre de 1887, no solamente han hablado más fuerte, sino que su eco ha repercutido en el corazón y en las mentes de centenares de millares de hombres de todo el mundo. En América, el martirio de Parsons, Spiess, Engel, Fisher y Lingg, fue la encarnación de uno de los más nobles luchadores americanos, Voltaire de Cleyne, poeta brillante, escritor y gran militante anarquista; de Alexander Berkman, quien en 1892

los martirizada por sus in-
ra que nosotros nos dejemos
ar el principio de liberación
y social que se ha iniciado
aña. Estamos haciendo una
on que abre un horizonte de
s y ensayos anarquistas. Esta
ión pertenece a la clase tra-
de nuestro país, y por ella
s todo lo que poseemos y
que valemos.

útil que los fascistas se em-
en vencer. No podrán. En la
rdia de la lucha estamos los
istas, dispuestos a todo, con
sión eterna de que los fas-
an de morir. Están condena-
uerte, y morirán.

nadie nos hable de paz, de
e, ni de armisticio. No puede
armisticio con quienes han
do a lo mejor de la juventud
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nos son un grito de guerra
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REFERENCIA

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CONFERENCIA

el próximo domingo día 6 del
a las 4 y media de la tarde
nación anarquista "Los de ayer
hoy", en su local social, Cor-
pral, el compañero Doctor
Ruiz dará una conferencia dis-
obre el tema "El pacto alemán
y su repercusión en el mundo",
en invitados todos los simpati-
anarquistas.

Personas: Spies, Engel, Fischer y Lingg, eran Anarquistas.
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sidad de una huelga general para la consecución de la
jornada de 8 horas, fue uno de los acuerdos, de los muchos que
se tomaron para combatir la siempre creciente explotación de
que era objeto la clase obrera. A los pocos meses del Congre-
so, nuestros camaradas, consiguieron atraer la atención e in-
terés de los obreros hacia la propuesta batolla. La ofluencia
de miles de emigrantes en aquel tiempo, hombres persegui-
dos por sus ideas políticas, como por la Ley alemana del
Canciller de Hierro, abastecieron el fértil campo de una
huelga general por el mejoramiento de las condiciones de
trabajo. La idea se extendió rápidamente por Chicago. Pron-
to una huelga siguió a otra y había grandes esperanzas de
alcanzar la victoria. Pero nuestros camaradas no habían con-
tado con la brutalidad de la clase patronal americana. Tenían
todavía la ilusión de que los Estados Unidos eran un país

donde "todas las fuerzas podían tener voz" de "todas las" por "todas"

importancia que tuvieron.
Naturalmente, cuando los plutócratas americanos se dieron
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alazo preparado para él y los demás acusados. El juicio fue
una farsa del principio al fin. No se trató de encontrar a la
persona que tiró la bomba. Esto no le interesaba a la clase
directora. Su blanco era arrollar al anarquismo. El juez mis-
mo lo dijo; repetidamente dijo que se estaba juzgando al
anarquismo. ¡Y qué mejores víctimas que los brillantes ex-
ponentes del Anarquismo! Y por ello tuvieron que morir.

Parsons, descendiente de una familia de militares, rica y
ultraconservadora, hubiera podido conseguir el indulto. Era
el único americano en el grupo y el Gobernador le hubiera
conmutado la pena, en el caso que Parsons hubiese firmado
la apelación.

En el momento de la manifestación, que era una
pública rescata de la tumba a las víctimas del capitalismo.
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"Nuestro silencio hablará más alto que las voces que hoy
hacéis callar." Si, mil voces sí. Las voces sofocadas en el día 11
de noviembre de 1887, no solamente han hablado más fuerte,
sino que su eco ha repercutido en el corazón y en las mentes
de centenares de millares de hombres de todo el mundo. En
América, el martirio de Parsons, Spies, Engel, Fischer y Lingg,
fue la incorporación de uno de los más nobles luchadores ame-
ricanos, Voltaire de Cleyne, poeta brillante, escritor y gran
militante anarquista; de Alexander Berkman, quien en 1892
atentó contra Fricks durante la huelga de tabajeros; cuando
once huelguistas fueron muertos por la banda de estrangul-
dores del mismo Fricks.

El 11 de noviembre hizo que yo ingresara en las filas anar-
quistas; fue a causa de presenciar la magnífica defensa que
hicieron del anarquismo los mártires de Chicago ante el Tri-
bunal. Fue su heroico muerte la que me dió vida a mí. Y a
muchos otros obreros e intelectuales de todos los países del
mundo. El gran amor a la Humanidad que nuestros mártires
sentían, su hermosa visión de un nuevo Mundo libre, nos han
inducido a todos a que sostengamos muy alto la bandera por
la cual dieron ellos sus preciosas vidas. ENMA GOLDMAN

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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EMMA GOLDMAN CONVERSA CON EL COMPAÑERO GREGORIO JOVER, JEFE DEL X CUERPO DE EJERCITO.

Emma Goldman queriendo informarse para poder continuar en el extranjero su obra de propaganda en favor de nuestra lucha, ha visitado a nuestro compañero Gregorio Jover. Ella no sólo quería informarse de las personas que se encuentran en la retaguardia, sino que también quería oír las opiniones de los compañeros que desde los primeros días de la sublevación fascista salieron para el frente y que todavía hoy se encuentran en las trincheras. El testimonio de éstos compañeros —dice— es el más importante.

Hacia tiempo que la compañera Goldman estaba deseosa de conocer la opinión de Jover, cuyo comportamiento frente a la 28 División es bien conocido en el exterior por sus inesperadas resistencias y por las enormes bajas que ocasionaron a los fascistas, sobre el desenlace que tendrá la guerra.

La conversación entre la veterana de nuestro movimiento y el compañero Jover, quien también lleva bastantes años de lucha y que perseguido por las dictaduras tuvo que recorrer los países de Europa y ~~América~~ *América*, fué extraordinariamente interesante.

Hoy reproducimos solamente unos pequeños fragmentos de la misma, así que albergamos la esperanza de que, en su tiempo, la podremos reproducir íntegra.

Jover, sin precipitación, y meditando bien las respuestas —como hace siempre que se trata de algún problema— contestó muy claramente:

—La guerra terminará con nuestra victoria; cuando la ganemos nosotros, los españoles.

—¿Qué quieres decir con esto?

—Lo que digo. La guerra la hemos de ganar los españoles y no los italianos, alemanes, portugueses y otros. ¡Y la ganaremos! ¿Que hasta la fecha los fascistas han adelantado más que nosotros? Eso nada tiene que ver con el desenlace final. El pueblo español ha de salir victorioso. Y te diré más: mientras en España haya españoles, habrá guerra contra el fascismo. Y afirmo esto: aunque las fuerzas que están al servicio de Franco llegaran al mar, la guerra continuará y la hemos de ganar nosotros, los españoles.

—No creo que los fascistas podrían adelantar tanto; pero en tal caso, tendríais que adoptar otros métodos de lucha.

—Eso tampoco tiene importancia. Adoptaremos los métodos que nos parezcan mejores. El Pueblo español ya ha demostrado en varias ocasiones de lo que es capaz y también demostrará al mundo entero que sabe derrotar al fascismo, cosa que hasta la fecha no ha hecho ningún pueblo.

—Por eso todo el Mundo admira al Pueblo español y muy especialmente a sus luchadores que han sabido resistir en Madrid, en Levante y en el Ebro.

—Lamentamos que sólo admiren. Si siguen de la misma manera, correrán la suerte de otros pueblos que nos admiraban mucho, pero que no han sabido defenderse y han sido devorados por el fascismo.

—Ya sé que te refieres a Alemania, Austria y Checoslovaquia y también sé que no basta con admirar al pueblo español, sino que hay que hacer algo más. Pero has de tener en cuenta que el pueblo inglés o el francés son muy diferentes del español. Les cuesta mucho entenderlos y no se atreven a ayudarlos debidamente. Además, no están bien informados.

—No creo que no estén informados. Hoy que hay periódicos y radio, la noticias se divulgan rápidamente. Como tampoco creo que el pueblo inglés o el francés sea muy diferente al nuestro. En nuestra época, y para esta clase de diferencias, ya están suprimidas las fronteras que en otros tiempos dividían a

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los pueblos.

-Sí; pero la masa, la mayoría del pueblo, los trabajadores, no saben lo que pasa en España. No comprenden por qué estáis luchando y debido a esto hasta la fecha no han demostrado una acción más decidida en favor de España.

-Que no está informado la mayoría del pueblo inglés, la masa, de acuerdo; pero que en Inglaterra no se sepa por qué estamos luchando nosotros, no lo creo. No creo que Inglaterra, que tenía fama de estar mejor enterada que nadie de todo lo que pasaban en el mundo, no sepa el por qué de nuestra lucha, no sepa las causas que la han producido, lo que quiere implantar Franco y lo que nosotros queremos. Creo que, por mediación de sus agentes, estará tan bien informada como el mejor en España.

-Sí, algunos de ellos estarán bien informados, pero no la mayoría.

-Y entre estos bien informados, que son la mayoría del pueblo, ¿no se ha encontrado ni un "loco" que se atreviera a decir la verdad? En España siempre hemos tenido de estos ~~locos~~ "locos". ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Aun cuando reinaba la reacción más negra, siempre surgía algún bien informado que se atrevía a enfrentarse con el tirano o con el grupo que le rodeaba y decir lo que debía decir.

-Esto es cuestión de temperamento, de educación. Además, en Inglaterra, por ejemplo, también se hace algo en este sentido. Hay varias fábricas donde los obreros dedican el sueldo de las horas extraordinarias para España. Hay Sindicatos que se niegan a intensificar su trabajo si el Gobierno no permite vender armas a España. Hay muchas organizaciones benéficas que han hecho mucho en favor de España.

-Todo esto son cuentos de mal pagador. No es esto lo que debía hacer el proletariado internacional, ni tampoco es una excusa el que no estén informados. ¿Que no saben por qué luchamos y que no están al corriente de las finalidades que perseguimos? Lo que falta es el valor de enfrentarse debidamente con el problema que se les plantea. El proletariado español, que estaba menos informado que el de otros países y era más ignorante por ser analfabeto, no necesitó que le indicaran lo que debía hacer cuando hace 20 años los obreros rusos se sublevaron contra el monarca y sus adeptos. El pueblo español se puso en pie e hizo lo que debía hacer en favor de los obreros rusos.

-Es que el pueblo español es más idealista.

-No se trata de esto, creo, -agrega Jover-. El pueblo y muy especialmente los obreros franceses e ingleses, es tan bueno y tan idealista como el nuestro. La diferencia que existe es que otros pueblos no se atreven a enfrentarse con el enemigo, como lo ha hecho nuestro pueblo, no tienen valor para ello. Creo que quieren la libertad, pero no saben cómo obtenerla; esperan conseguirla sin luchas, mientras que nosotros sabemos que todo lo que tenemos es obra de nuestros esfuerzos. También sabemos que para mantenerlo hemos de luchar y para nuevas conquistas hemos de luchar y vencer.

Emma escuchaba atentamente todo lo que el compañero Jover le exponía referente al ambiente de lucha, de sacrificio y de las finalidades de guerra. Luego, entusiasmada, abrazándole le decía:

-Mientras en España haya compañeros como tú, mientras haya un pueblo que se sacrifica tan estóicamente, puedes estar seguro que estaré con vosotros y llamaré a todos en vuestra ayuda.

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-Quiero que lo sepas tú y que lo digas a todos -añade el
compañero Jover- a los compañeros y no compañeros, que luchamos por
un ideal; y les aclares que nuestro ideal es el mismo ideal por el
cual estamos luchando hace veinte años.

Martin Gudiell

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戰士杜魯底

種二第書叢小究研題問牙班西

譯編金巴 著等曼德高



報 日 的 牙 班 西

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我們到了目的地。真熱得可怕。沒有一棵樹，也看不見一叢草。連最有抵抗力的東西也都被太陽摧毀了。我從沒有過這樣的印象。好像不僅是我們的腳，甚至我的鞋子也燒焦了。心裏不舒服，時時想嘔吐，頭也昏沈沈的。然而我們還有重要的工作。布置陣地和充實軍備，這是急需的。我們焦急地往各處去找水，附近沒有一道小溪，也沒有一處人家裏有井，只有在兩點鐘光景才到了一批運糧食來的騾子，水很熱而且骯髒，但是誰還管這個？……濃的葡萄酒鎮壓了我的嘔吐，然而過了幾分鐘我就覺得頭和腳一樣地發燒了。其實我不過喝了幾滴酒。兵士中間發生了爭執，我應該去干涉並且監視着酒的消費。

一個隊伍裏面可以全是一些神一樣的人，但是在一個隊伍裏面的神又變做了小孩子。

我們開始挖戰壕，放步哨，截斷公路。我們得到的命令是提防敵人從許斯加方面侵入。在我們前面左邊應該有三百個西班牙的同志。可是這時候我們連他們的影子也看不見……

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杜魯底並沒有死

(愛瑪·高德曼)

我和杜魯底見面不過是一個月以前的事，現在他在瑪德里的巷戰中陣亡了。

我以前知道他，只是從書報上讀到一些關於他的記載。我到了巴塞洛那又聽見許多杜魯底和他的縱隊的動人的故事。我恨不得馬上就趕到阿拉貢前線去，杜魯底正領導着英勇的志願兵在那里和法西斯主義戰鬥。

我傍晚到了杜魯底的司令部，我在那條崎嶇不平的路上坐了許久的車，人變得非常疲倦。和杜魯底在一起談一陣話，就好像服了一種有效的補藥。他的身體很強壯，就像是用斧的烏拉特的岩石鑿成的，由於這個巨大的身軀，杜魯底更容易成了我到西班牙以後所看見的安那其主義者中間最傑出的人物。他的巨大驚人的精力使我十分感動，凡是和他接近的人都會被這種精力所感動的。

我看見杜魯底是在一個最活動最熱鬧的地方。人們進進出出，電話機響着，總是我杜魯底說話。工人們正在為杜魯底的團部建造一所木房，斧頭和鐵錘的聲音把人的耳朵都要震聾了。不管這些聲音，不管人們時時來找他，打岔他，杜魯底還是很從容，很沉着。他熱誠地接待着我，好像我是他的一個很親近的朋

神也就會和你們永在一起。不要因為這身體的離別就灰心短氣。他的紀念會永存在你們的心裏。要是你們不願意給你們的縱隊帶來恥辱，你們就不能夠停止他所開始了的工作。

同志們，知道怎樣犧牲的人就會遵守紀律，勇於犧牲，而獲得榮譽。讓我們西班牙無產階級全體一致地聯合起來！我們大家一道在前線作戰而且死在前線。我們聯合起來就會得到勝利。破壞這個統一就是罪惡！

杜魯底萬歲！

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杜魯底告訴我，他怎樣解決了那般在前線最需他們時來請假回家的人的難題。那些人自然知道他們的領袖的性情，他們知道他的果斷，他的鐵的意志，但是他們也知道隱藏在他的嚴厲的外表面下的仁愛與同情。當他們來對他訴說家裏父母妻子生病的時候，他怎樣能夠拒絕他們呢？

在一九三六年七月以前杜魯底總是像一匹野獸似的被人追趕着。從一個國度被趕到另一個國度，永遠不得着安寧。他是一個被資產階級政府與教會所憎恨的安那其主義者。資本家的走狗們說他是一個沒有情感的流浪人。他們簡直不知道杜魯底。他們簡直不了解他的博愛的心。他對於他的同伴們的需從來是很關心的。然而現在他參加着這個反抗法西斯主義的決死戰，保衛西班牙的革命，這時候每個人都不能離開自己的崗位。這的確是一個難題。但是杜魯底很巧妙地克服了一切困難。他仔細聽完了那個慘痛的故事，然後滔滔不絕地談論着窮人的病痛的原因。譬如工作過度營養不良，空氣缺乏，娛樂毫無……這些都是他對他們說：

「同志，你不知道，我所參加的戰爭就是保衛我們的革命，而革命的目的就在去掉窮人的貧困與

槍，走在前面引路。他們把敵人打退了四個基羅米，而且奪獲了敵人逃走時留下的大批軍械。單用這種平等的道德的模範來解釋杜魯底對人的巨大的影響是不夠的。還有一個原因，這就是他有一種能力使志願兵明白這次反法西斯戰爭的更深的意義。

友。我萬想不到會從一個正在拚命和法西斯主義決戰的人那里得着這樣的溫暖與親切。

我聽見許多人說杜魯底很能夠指揮他的縱隊，（即所謂杜魯底縱隊。）我很想知道除了軍事的強制外，他還有什麼方法能夠把一萬個沒有軍事訓練和經驗的志願兵團結成一個強有力的縱隊。杜魯底看見我這一個老安那其主義者居然向他提出這樣一個問題，好像很驚奇似的。

他答道：「我過去一生都是一個安那其主義者，我希望我真正是。要是我不得不變成一個將軍用軍棍來統率人，那真是很可悲的了。他們自動地到我這里來，他們準備賭着生命去參加我們的反法西斯的戰爭。我永遠相信着自由。這種自由是以責任觀念為基礎的。我以為服從紀律是必需的，然而這應該是內心的服從，而且是由一個共同的目的和一種強烈的友情所激起來的。」

他得着他的同伴們的信賴和愛戴，因為他從來不拿出上級軍官的架子。他只是他們中間的一個。他的飲食睡眠都是和他們一樣的簡單。他常常連他自己應得的一份也分給了一個比他更需要的病弱的人在每次戰爭裏，他總是和他們共同冒險的。這一定就是杜魯底對他的縱隊所以成功的秘密。他的人都崇拜他。他們不僅實行了所有他的教訓，而且還隨時準備跟隨他去冒最大的危險奪回法西斯蒂佔據的地方。

我到達的時候，杜魯底正預備第二天早晨向敵人進攻。那天天明他和別的志願兵一樣捐起來復

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倘使有人要我舉例證明杜魯底的仁愛，那麼我就指出他對我的安全極其關心的事情。在司令部裏沒有可以留我過夜的地方。離這裏最近的村莊是皮那。但是皮那被法西斯不知道轟炸了多少次。杜魯底很不願意把我送到那里去。我堅持地說這沒有關係。一個人只有一死，機會。我看出來當他知道他的老同志並不懼怕的時候他的臉上也現出了得意的顏色。他把我嚴密的保護之下送走了。

我很感激他，因為這使我有機會和杜魯底的許多武裝的同志接觸，而且和鄉民自由談話。這個機會的確是難得的。那些受了法西斯主義的害的平民的精神最令人感動。

敵人就在小河的對岸，離皮那最近。但是住在皮那的人並沒有一點懼怕。他們英勇地戰鬥着。他們告訴我：『與其受法西斯統治不如死，在這個反法西斯戰爭裏面，我們要杜魯底共生死，要一直戰到最後的一個人。』

在皮那我看見一個八歲的女孩，這是一個孤兒，她已經在一個法西斯家庭裏面做了許久的苦工。她的小手也成為紅腫了。她的眼睛裏還充滿着從她在弗郎科的走狗們那裏受到的痛苦來的恐怖。皮那的居民是很貧苦的。然而每個人都很關心而且愛護這個受慣了虐待的女孩，這是她以前沒有享受過的。

歐洲各國的報紙在西班牙戰爭的開始就爭先恐後地報道新聞，對那般保衛西班牙自由的人盡量誣蔑誹謗。這四個月來牠們沒有一天不做佈關於革命民衆的殘暴行為的動人的新聞。這些報紙的讀者

痛苦。我們必須打敗我們的法西斯敵人。我們必須戰勝。你們在這次戰爭中佔着很重要的位置。同志，你難道還不明白嗎？杜魯底的同志們的確明白這一點，所以他們往往就不再說請假的話了。

有時候也有人不聽他的話，堅持着要離開前線。杜魯底便說：『好，不過你得步行回去，等你回到你的村莊的時候，全村的人都會曉得你沒有加緊偷偷逃回家裏，規避了你自動担任的工作。』這番話果然很有效。那個同志就決定留下了。杜魯底縱隊之所以留在前線，並不是靠有什麼軍法強制或懲戒的力量。只有那個人的巨大的精力，把眾人團結在他的身邊同心同德地和他一起戰鬥。

這個安那其主義者杜魯底是一個偉大的人，他同時是一個生就的領袖和教師，一個深謀遠慮而又仁愛的同志。杜魯底現在死了。他的偉大的心不再跳動了。他的強壯的身軀像一顆大樹似的倒下來了。然而杜魯底並沒有死。一九三六年十一月二十二日（星期日）那天向杜魯底致最後的敬禮的千千萬萬的人便證明了這個事實。

不，杜魯底並沒有死。他的燃燒的精神之火燃在所有知道他，熱愛他的人的心裏，那是決不能夠熄滅的。從杜魯底的手裏落下來的大炬已經被群眾高高地舉起來了。他們勝利地擎着牠走上杜魯底多年來的指示的道路。這條路會通到杜魯底的理想之最高峯。這理想就是安那其主義——杜魯底一生的最大的激情。他盡全力為牠服務過了。他一直到死對這理想都是十分忠實的。

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Durruti is dead, yet living. In Chinese] DuLudi Bing Mei You Si / Emma Goldman. — pp. 15-22 ; 20 cm. In Buenaventura Durruti. / translated by Ba Jin. — China : 1937.

Obtained from Dr. Lu Zhe, Nanjing, China. Institutional Location: Center for Chinese and American Studies, Nanjing University-The Johns Hopkins University.

延不斷的人群的水流。所有的人都來參加這痛苦的長的送殯的行列。巴塞洛那從沒有見過這樣的一個
人海……

至於杜魯底的同志們，被他們的理想緊密地團結在一起的同志們，杜魯底所創立的英勇的縱隊的
同志們。他們對於杜魯底的讚美，熱愛，忠誠和尊崇再不能留着爭執和分裂的餘地。他們在他們的悲痛中
是一致的，他們在他們決定繼續對法西斯主義作戰以求革命成功的決心中是一致的。杜魯底爲了這個
革命而生活，而戰鬥，而犧牲了他的一切以至於死。

不，杜魯底並沒有死！他比活着還更有生氣。他的光榮的例子曾被所有加泰魯尼亞的工農以及貧苦
大眾做做而超過。杜魯底的勇敢和堅決的紀念會鼓舞他們做出偉大的行爲，直到打倒法西斯主義爲止。
那時真正的工作（建立以人道，正義，自由爲基礎的新的社會組織的工作）就會開始了。
不，杜魯底並沒有死！他永遠，永遠活在我們中間。

每天就只讀到巴塞洛那以及別的未受法西斯帝侵略的城市與村莊裏的騷亂的記載。
我旅行了加泰魯尼亞，阿拉貢和勒瓦特的全部，我參觀了沿途的每個城市和每個村莊，因此我可以
證明我在某一些英國和歐洲大陸的報紙上讀過的可怕的記事都是毫無根據的謠言，裏面連一句真話
也沒有。

關於這種毫無忌憚地捏造新聞的事，我還可以舉出一個最近的例子，這就是某一些報紙上刊載的
杜魯底陣亡的記事。

這個虛偽的記載告訴人們說西班牙反法西斯帝鬥爭的英勇的安那其主義領袖杜魯底之死，使得
在巴塞洛那的他的同志中間起了大的爭執和分裂。這完全是謊話。寫出這種荒謬文章的人一定沒有到
過巴塞洛那。他更不知道杜魯底在C. N. T.和E. A. I.的會員們的心上佔着什麼樣的位置。事實上所有那
些人不管他們的政治思想，社會思想和杜魯底的怎樣不同，他們還是十分敬愛着這個革命的英雄。
老實說，加泰魯尼亞的人民陣線團結最緊密的時候還是從杜魯底的死訊發表到他的遺體被安
葬這中間的幾天。

反法西斯帝的各黨各派的人都結隊來向着布埃那文土拉。杜魯底致最深的敬禮。這里不僅有數
十萬杜魯底的直接同志，而且還有參加人民陣線的各友黨，巴塞洛那人口的大部分造成了這一股綿

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Durruti is dead. In Spanish] Durruti Ha Muerto / Emma Goldman.— 27 cm. In Cultura Proletaria [New York]. — (Jan. 2, 1937).
Obtained from the private collection of Burnett Bollton, Sunnyvale, CA.

Cultura Proletaria

Jan. 2, 1937

DURRUTI HA MUERTO

Por EMMA GOLDMAN

(Alocución dirigida a todos los camaradas y al pueblo en general de habla inglesa.)

Durruti, a quien vi hace un mes por última vez, perdió la vida en la lucha de las calles de Madrid.

Mi primer conocimiento de este gran luchador anarquista y del movimiento revolucionario en España, fué por lo que acerca de él había leído. Cuando llegué a Barcelona oí muchas anécdotas referentes a Durruti y a su columna. Estas hicieron que yo sintiera gran ansiedad por ir al frente de Aragón, donde él era espíritu dirigente de las valientes milicias que luchaban contra el fascismo.

Llegué al Estado Mayor de Durruti al anochecer, completamente agotada del largo viaje en coche por un camino accidentado. Unos pocos minutos con Durruti fueron como un gran tónico para mí, refrescante y de vigor. Hombre fornido, como cincelado en piedra a golpes de martillo, Durruti representaba fácilmente la más dominante figura entre los anarquistas que yo había encontrado desde que llegué a España. Su enorme energía me impresionó, como parecía producir el mismo efecto sobre todo aquel que estaba cerca de Durruti.

Encontré a Durruti en una verdadera actividad de colmena. Hombres iban y venían, el teléfono estaba continuamente llamando a Durruti, y al mismo tiempo no cesaba un ensordecedor martilleo de los obreros que estaban construyendo un cobertizo de madera para el Estado Mayor de Durruti. A través de esta continua y bulliciosa actividad, Durruti permanecía sereno y paciente. Me recibió como si toda su vida me hubiese conocido. La cordial y cálida acogida de este hombre empeñado en una lucha a vida o muerte contra el fascismo, era algo para mí inesperado.

Mucho había oído de la fuerte personalidad y prestigio de Durruti en la columna que llevaba su nombre. Tenía curiosidad de saber por qué medios, ya que no habían sido los militares, había

abandonado en su huida.

El ejemplo de simple igualdad moral era sin duda alguna la única explicación de la influencia de Durruti. Habla otra: su gran capacidad para hacer comprender a los milicianos el profundo significado de la guerra antifascista. El significado que habla dominado su propia vida y que él había enseñado a articular a los más pobres y más incapacitados.

Durruti me habló de los difíciles problemas que le planteaban sus hombres al solicitar de él permiso para ausentarse en los momentos que más necesarios eran en el frente. Es evidente que conocían a su dirigente; conocían su decisión, su férrea voluntad. Pero también sabían la simpatía y gentileza que encerraba su austero exterior. ¿Cómo resistirse cuando los hombres le hablaban de enfermedades en sus casas, padres, esposa e hijos!

Durruti fué perseguido como una fiera salvaje en todos los países, antes de los gloriosos días de Julio de 1936. Era continuamente encarcelado como un criminal. Incluso condenado a muerte. El, el odiado anarquista, odiado por la siniestra trinidad, la Burguesía, el Estado y la Iglesia. Este vagabundo sin hogar, era incapaz de albergar los sentimientos que le acababa el odioso capitalismo, dando pruebas de lo poco que conocían a Durruti. ¿Cuán poco comprendían su corazón, siempre rebotante de amor! Jamás supo estar indiferente a las necesidades de sus compañeros. Ahora estaba ocupado en una lucha desesperada contra el fascismo en defensa de la Revolución, y era preciso que cada uno ocupara su puesto. Verdaderamente una difícil ocupación, a mí entender. Oía pacientemente las historias de dolor, diagnosticaba sus causas, aconsejaba los remedios en todos los casos en que un mal moral o físico se adueñaba del desvalido. Exceso de trabajo, nutrición insuficiente, falta de aire puro, y la no alegría de vivir.

"¿No ves, camarada, que la guerra que tú, yo y todos nosotros estamos sosteniendo, es para salvaguardar la revolución."

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Mucho había oído de la fuerte personalidad y prestigio de Durruti en la columna que llevaba su nombre. Tenía curiosidad de saber por qué medios, ya que no habían sido los militares, había llegado a concentrar a 10,000 voluntarios sin previa experiencia ni entrenamiento. Durruti pareció sorprenderse de que yo, veterana militante anarquista, hiciera tal pregunta.

"He sido toda mi vida anarquista, me contestó, y espero continuar siéndolo. Es por esto que me parecía muy desagradable si tuviese que comandar en un general y mandar a mis hombres bajo la estúpida disciplina del criterio militar. Han venido a mí por su voluntad, dispuestos a jugarse la vida en nuestra lucha antifascista. Creo, como siempre lo he hecho, en la Libertad. La Libertad que descansa en el sentido de la responsabilidad. Considero indispensable la disciplina, pero debe ser auto-disciplina, motivada por un ideal común y un fuerte sentimiento de camaradería."

Había ganado la confianza y el afecto de sus hombres, porque él nunca se había considerado un superior. Era uno de ellos. Comía y dormía como ellos lo hacían. A menudo renunciaba de su parte en beneficio de un enfermo o de un débil que estuviera más necesitado que él. Compartía el peligro con ellos en todas las batallas. Esto era sin duda alguna el secreto del éxito de Durruti con su columna. Sus hombres le adoraban. No sólo obedecían todas sus órdenes sino que estaban siempre dispuestos a seguirle en las más peligrosas acciones para conquistar las posiciones del fascismo.

Llegué la víspera de un ataque que Durruti había preparado para la mañana siguiente. A la hora señalada, Durruti, como el resto de sus milicias, con el máuser colgado del hombro, abrió la marcha. Juntamente con ellos hizo retroceder cuatro kilómetros al enemigo. También consiguió coger un número considerable de armamento, que el enemigo dejó

cientemente las historias de dolor, diagnosticaba sus causas, aconsejaba los remedios en todos los casos en que un mal moral o físico se adueñaba del desvalido. Exceso de trabajo, nutrición insuficiente, falta de aire puro, y la no alegría de vivir.

"¿No ves, camarada, que la guerra que tú, yo y todos nosotros estamos sosteniendo, es para salvaguardar la revolución y que la revolución es para que terminen las miserias y sufrimientos de los hombres? Debemos derrotar a nuestro enemigo fascista. Debemos ganar la guerra. Tú eres una parte esencial de ella. ¿No lo ves, camarada?"

Los camaradas de Durruti, si que lo veían; generalmente se quedaban.

Algunas veces un camarada se resistía a atender estas razones, insistía en dejar el frente. "Muy bien, le decía Durruti; pero irás a pie, y cuando llegues a tu pueblo todo el mundo sabrá que te ha faltado el valor, que has desertado del cumplimiento del deber que te impusiste."

Estas palabras producían magníficos resultados. El hombre rogaba para quedarse. Ninguna seriedad militar, ninguna coacción, ningún castigo disciplinario para sostener la columna de Durruti en el frente. Solamente la gran energía del hombre los arrastra y les hace sentir y pensar al unísono con él.

Un gran hombre, este anarquista Durruti. Un predestinado para dirigir y para enseñar. Un atento y cariñoso camarada; todo en uno. Y ahora Durruti está muerto. Su corazón ya no late. Su cuerpo poderoso cayó como un árbol gigante. Y así y todo, Durruti no ha muerto. Los centenares de miles que el Domingo 22 de Noviembre de 1936, pagaron un último tributo a Durruti, lo testifican.

No; Durruti no ha muerto. El fuego de su ardiente espíritu iluminó a todos los que le conocieron y le amaron; jamás se extinguirá. A las masas levantaron la antorcha que cayó de la mano de Durruti. Triunfalmente la están llevando sobre el sendero que Durruti alumbró por muchos años. El sendero que conduce a la cúspide del ideal de Durruti. Este ideal era el anarquismo—la

gran pasión de la vida de Durruti —, al cual sirvió en su totalidad. Permaneció fiel hasta su último aliento. ¡No; Durruti no ha muerto!

The Emma Goldman Papers

Emma Goldman on the United Front in Spain / Emma Goldman. — p. 2 ; 28 cm. In Spanish Revolution [New York]. — (Jan. 8, 1937).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

Spanish Workers Build Planned Economy

Spain Moves Toward Complete Socialization

First phase of socialization in Catalonia was by a wave of spontaneous seizures undertaken by workers of each enterprise. Seizures were afterwards followed by the first collective decrees passed by the Economic Council of the Generalitat. The larger aims of a socialized economy were somewhat ignored in the process of initial seizure or were they sufficiently considered in the first decrees passed. Into the hands of the employees who expropriated ownership over the means of production. No one benefited from the seizures outside of the employees themselves, who would receive all the profits. There was a common fund for the workers as a whole, each enterprise contributing to wage a struggle against the capitalists. Those that ran up special difficulties or had with a depleted treasury were rated at a loss and were to fall upon the government for support.

Through a necessary phase in the development of the new social economy, this state of affairs could not be tolerated longer. In measure that the controlling and coordinating agencies developed, comprehensive plans for the socialized industry evolved. All that culminated in a new decree worked by the Economic Council of the Generalitat (The Catalan Government). The decree was issued to the workers of Barcelona at the two large mass meetings held in the largest hall in the city.

and brief reports of those in the Manchester Guardian, and the official Bulletin of the Catalan Generalitat. The issues of the Solidaridad Proletaria containing those reports have not arrived yet. Space permitting, we shall be able to present on the basis of the new material a much fuller picture of the changes introduced by those

thousands of workers came to the reports on those (continued on page three)

and a united front of all Spaniards for the defense of the Spanish revolution. Build a united front of groups and to carry the voice of the revolution to the American people.

ANARCHISTS STRENGTHEN POSITIONS IN CATALONIA

Everyone realizes that the ousting of the semi-Trotskyite faction (P.O.U.M.) from the Catalanian Supreme Council was done at the direct pressure of the Soviet representatives. Unlike the Mexican government, the Russian government does not act in a disinterested manner in extending help to the Spanish revolution. Not only does it project its domestic quarrels upon the Spanish scene, but it begins to interfere actively in the course of revolutionary reconstruction, rallying around the Communist party all those forces

which are opposed to any vigorous policy of revolutionary change. In this respect the campaign waged against the P.O.U.M. is beginning to take on an ominous aspect. Its vicious tone and character show that a much more subtle move was back of this drive to eliminate a faction which does not play a very large role in shaping the revolutionary events of Spain. It was nothing less than an attempt to bully the C.N.T. and F.A.I. into yielding its leading positions in the Catalan revolution.

The resignation of the middle class premier, Tarradellas, came after, and was closely linked up with, a series of attacks launched by the Communist party and its allies (the Socialist party is becoming Stalinized to an ever greater extent) against the semi-Trotskyite faction. Raids upon its Madrid headquarters (they do not dare do the same in Barcelona), provocative articles in the press, inciting some of the troops against the P.O.U.M.—all that broke out with the suddenness of a premeditated drive.

(Continued on page four)



MANNING THE MADRID TRENCHES

EMMA GOLDMAN ON THE UNITED FRONT IN SPAIN

We are drawing attention to the danger of a united front with the anarchists. It has been felt up to now that the knowledge of any rift would be just for the Fascist side. However, the danger from all sides is too great for further diplomatic consideration.

It is not for us to judge the actions of our Spanish comrades. They are justified in their desire to maintain a united front with the anarchists. There is one thing clear though: the Stalinists will never reconcile themselves to the leading role of the anarchists in the Spanish revolution. To do so would be to admit that they were and are nothing but usurpers claiming for themselves monopolistic powers.

And as for the astounding revelations that out of all the money collected by the unions, not a cent went to the C.N.T., it is high time that our press raise an alarm about it. It is time that those who mouth pious phrases about the defense of democracy should be held up before the bar of public opinion for

Fascism is not enough indeed. There are so many inexplicable things to be taken under consideration in this terrible welter of slaughter. First of all is the question why the comrades have not so far that silence should have joined the United

"Help The 'Spanish Revolution'"

The United Libertarian Organizations of New York City are organizing a big affair on FRIDAY NIGHT, FEBRUARY 5th, for the benefit of the "Spanish Revolution."

It will be an outstanding affair in many respects. Its rich program of entertainment will feature a number of prominent dancers and singers. The jazz band engaged for the evening is one of the finest in the city. An excellent bar and the chance to meet all sorts of people at one of the biggest and most colorful rallies of its kind should be an additional inducement to all the friends of revolutionary Spain.

The affair will take place at STUYVESANT CASINO, 140 SECOND AVENUE. Admission 40 cents.

Parliament Ignored By Revolutionists

After a long interval of several months, the Spanish parliament (Cortes) was called again into session by the Largo Caballero government. The motives for convoking the Parliament were not only those of demonstrating to the outside world the legal continuity of the present government. Back of this legalistic move was the hope still fondled by all those opposed to the revolutionary course of events that the social revolution might be thwarted by vesting the supreme authority of the country in the hands of the Parliament.

Whatever plans those gentlemen might have entertained (and judging by the ecstatic hosannas with which the Parliament sessions were greeted by the communist press, the communist

front at all, for it has led, and inevitably was destined to lead them into the most contradictory steps and is daily proving a graver danger than Fascism itself. The growth of the villainy of the enemy from within is due to too much tolerance from the C.N.T.-F.A.I. in order to show that anarchism would suppress no one but armed or avowed Fascists—hence they have given the socialists and communists all too much leeway with the result that these age-long enemies are sabotaging the revolution right and left. This, comrades, is the greatest danger for the C.N.T.-F.A.I. Being men of their words our comrades cannot well stop the pernicious counteractivities of their own allies. But in spite of this most discouraging situation, with the Fascists at the gates of Madrid, our comrades go about their constructive labor as though there were no Judases and armed enemies within and without their ranks. The great hope of the Fascists is not so much aid from other countries as it is the development of feud within the ranks of United Front. Beyond this, is the horrible realization that organized trade union movements throughout the whole world are organized into a veritable fortress against everything the C.N.T.-F.A.I. stand for. Out of the thousands of pounds they have collected, our people have received nothing; of the more than \$86,000.00 sent to Citrine, in Paris, not one solitary peseta has been received by the C.N.T.-F.A.I.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Emma Goldman's Impressions: The Spanish Woman Not Sufficiently Emancipated / Emma Goldman. — p. 3 ; 42 cm. In Spain and the World [London]. — (Jan. 8, 1937).

Obtained from the private collection of Stuart Christie, Refract Publications, London, England.

SPAIN AND THE WORLD, FRIDAY, JANUARY 8th, 1937.

Social Revolution in Spain

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Textile Industry— Collectivization

WORKERS' RESOLU- TIONS—COMPLETE AGREEMENT

The C.N.T. and the U.G.T. de-
cided on the following points at a
general meeting at the Olympic Theater:

(1) Complete agreement on the col-
lectivization of the entire textile in-
dustry.

(2) The Committee in charge is to
proceed immediately with the creation
of a general council for this industry
according to Article 25 of the decree
dealing with collectivization issued by
the Generality. While the general
council of the textile industry does
not yet possess the necessary informa-
tion to regulate production, quality
and prices, the enterprises will indi-
vidually, with their agents who remain
in the country, carry out the necessary
transactions. But all matters relative
to exports must be arranged through
the general council. The distribution
of raw materials must be centralized
at once and unified prices fixed.

(3) A general bank for the textile
industry must be created by the gen-
eral council as soon as possible for the
necessary service of this industry,
whether of a collectivized or individual
character.

(4) The committee in charge stresses
the need for the election of delegates
from various districts or industrial
zones. These delegates will serve as
links between the general council and
the various industries.

(5) As soon as the link is established,
the council of the various enterprises
will take over all technical, industrial
and administrative functions within
the framework of the general plan as
designed by the general council, until
a complete collectivization is estab-
lished. All operations of an economic
or financial nature (wages, payments,
etc.) must be transacted through the
bank. All such payments will be cen-
tralized.

(6) From now on, none of the coun-
cils of the various enterprises can
modify or increase wages, working
hours or working conditions. The
capital of the enterprises will be con-
sidered the property of the collecti-
vized textile industry and cannot
therefore be used in the interests of
individual enterprises.

(7) The syndicate organisations
must put into practice these resolutions
in accordance with the decree and
establish co-operation between the
Generality and our aims.

(continued in next column)



"The 'U' Workers in a Collectivized Factory."

NEWS IN BRIEF

Germany's Claim—Moor Recruited in France

The German Press, thinking they
can affect an armistice as discussed by
French and British diplomats, have
published an account of the amount
the Rebels owe to Germany.

"In bullion, Franco owes the German
State 230 million gold marks; importa-
tion of ammunition, cannons and rifles
delivered to Spain, more than 237
aeroplanes remitted directly from the
German factories, the amount of these
is not yet known from the above men-
tioned sum.

As Franco has no intention of pay-
ing all his debts in gold, Germany
think they ought to be paid with min-
erals. The iron of the Riff mines, for
example, which used to be shipped
principally to England, France and
Holland, now that the mines are at
the disposal of the Burgos Junta dic-
tatorship, is being sent to Germany.

On the basis of this exportation the
Fascists formed a society with Ger-
man capital, charged with bringing
Spanish iron to the said country, ship-
ping it in the name of the society,
"Hisma Ltd.," of which Carranza and
Bernhardt are the directors. In Ger-
many, there is a society of similar
character called "Rowak," which is
also playing an important role in ex-
ploiting Spanish riches.

A Moor who was captured on the
Madrid front declared that he had
been recruited at Marseilles by a man
named Joffe who promised him 25
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Their efforts will never separate eco-
nomic reconstruction in the sense of
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war against fascism and reaction. Our
strength lies in the syndicates and our
love for liberty. These two factors
are destined to create a new Catalonia,
a new Spain, and a better society.

Emma Goldman's Impressions

The Spanish Woman Not Sufficiently Emancipated

Emma Goldman, after a year's absence from this country has returned
as official delegate of the C.N.T., F.A.I. in England. Her task is to make
known to the British public the immense work done by our Spanish
comrades.

When we spoke to her at her flat in Kensington, she seemed very
satisfied with the welcome and concrete support given to her proposals by
the English comrades.

"I have only been here a week," Emma Goldman told us, "and have
already managed to organise a C.N.T., F.A.I. Committee whose object
is to carry on an intensive propaganda campaign for the Revolution and
the anti-Fascist war. I also hope to organise several large meetings. The
first will take place on January 18th, at Conway Hall. We shall deal with
the glorious part played by the C.N.T., F.A.I. in the Spanish Revolution."

"Later," she continued, "I hope to
give a series of lectures on interesting
features of the Revolution, such as:
The Relations between the Catholic
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"I am against all coercive discipline,
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should feel the necessary discipline in
one's self," she declared.

Inspired by Durruti

"But living in a society as ours, in
which everything seems to be based on
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have discipline imposed on them to
make them do right?"

"No, in those cases the discipline
can be given in the form of example.
Take the Durruti column, of some
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Durruti was alive there existed no
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By our victory everybody will be able
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Woman's Place In The New
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ideas and give all parties the liberty
of discussion and propaganda. They
do not eliminate them as the Com-
munists did in Russia with the
Anarchists who had struggled along
with them for the success of the
Revolution."

"Have you good hopes for the suc-
cessful outcome of the Spanish work-
ers' struggle?"

"I am very confident. Our com-
rades are determined and brave.
Wherever I visited them at the front,
I found that spirit of 'camaraderie'
and self-sacrifice. How I wished our
grand old man Enrico Malatesta could
have lived to witness this momentous
period in the history of Spanish
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"Before we leave you to your work,
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Emma Goldman very kindly added
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NEWS IN BRIEF—

Continued.

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We learn from the official Fascist
Press of the uneasiness existing among
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[Interview] Emma Goldman's Impressions: The Spanish Woman Not Sufficiently Emancipated / Emma Goldman. — p. 3 ; 42 cm. In Spain and the World [London]. — (Jan. 8, 1937).

Obtained from the private collection of Stuart Christie, Refract Publications, London, England.

AGREEMENT

The C.N.T. and the U.G.T. decided on the following points at a general meeting at the Olympic Theater:

(1) Complete agreement on the collectivization of the entire textile industry.

(2) The Committee in charge is to proceed immediately with the creation of a general council for this industry according to Article 25 of the decree dealing with collectivization issued by the Generality. While the general council of the textile industry does not yet possess the necessary information to regulate production, quality and prices, the enterprises will individually, with their agents who remain in the country, carry out the necessary transactions. But all matters relative to exports must be arranged through the general council. The distribution of raw materials must be centralized at once and unified prices fixed.

(3) A general bank for the textile industry must be created by the general council as soon as possible for the necessary service of this industry, whether of a collectivized or individual character.

(4) The committee in charge stresses the need for the election of delegates from various districts or industrial zones. These delegates will serve as links between the general council and the various industries.

(5) As soon as the link is established, the council of the various enterprises will take over all technical, industrial and administrative functions within the framework of the general plan as designed by the general council, until a complete collectivization is established. All operations of an economic or financial nature (wages, payments, etc.) must be transacted through the bank. All such payments will be centralized.

(6) From now on, none of the councils of the various enterprises can modify or increase wages, working hours or working conditions. The capital of the enterprises will be considered the property of the collectivized textile industry and cannot therefore be used in the interests of individual enterprises.

(7) The syndicate organisations must put into practice these resolutions in accordance with the decree and establish co-operation between the Generality and our aims.

(continued in next column)

aeroplanes remitted directly from the German factories, the amount of these is not yet known from the above mentioned sum.

As Franco has no intention of paying all his debts in gold, Germany think they ought to be paid with minerals. The iron of the Riff mines, for example, which used to be shipped principally to England, France and Holland, now that the mines are at the disposal of the Burgos Junta dictatorship, is being sent to Germany.

On the basis of this exportation the Fascists formed a society with German capital, charged with bringing Spanish iron to the said country, shipping it in the name of the society, "Hisma Ltd.," of which Carranza and Bernhardt are the directors. In Germany there is a society of similar character called "Rowak," which is also playing an important role in exploiting Spanish riches.

A Moor who was captured on the Madrid front declared that he had been recruited at Marseilles by a man named Joffe who promised him 25 francs (4/6) a day, of which he has not as yet seen a single cent.

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"Textile Workers in a Collectivized Factory."

(continued from previous column)

(13) The Rental Committee is given charge of all repairs.

(14) Construction of houses is to be left to technicians engaged in the construction industry. Planning for new construction and general scheme for improvement of living quarters shall be conducted, discussed, decided upon by comrades of the Committee of the Corporation, Syndicates, the Assembly of tenants and social assistance.

AN INVITATION

The receipt of a copy of "SPAIN and the WORLD" is an invitation to subscribe. Though the services of the Editors are given free, postage and printing expenses must be paid regularly.

Subscription for 13 issues

2/6 or 0.60\$ post free.

Subscription for 26 issues

4/6 or 1.00\$ post free.

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"What are your impressions as to the activity of women in the Spanish Revolution?"

"So far the women in Spain have hardly been given a chance to contribute much. They are not sufficiently awakened and advanced. Nevertheless I did find a difference in women as compared with 1929 when I visited Spain. They are much more alert and are beginning to show interest in the social struggle."

Woman's Place In The New Society

"But do you think that woman will find her place in the new society?"

"Yes, most certainly, but it means an enormous amount of work yet to be done for the emancipation of woman. Once that is achieved, the Spanish woman will take the equal place in the constructive work."

Emma Goldman is very definite on her ideas about Spain, and is deeply impressed with the love of Liberty that she found amongst the inhabitants of the smallest and remotest villages, as well as the large towns. "Nowhere," she said, "is there greater political liberty than in Spain at the

moment. All parties have their own newspapers and hold their own meetings... that is in Catalonia. The Anarchists who are in the vast majority in Catalonia, are true to their ideas and give all parties the liberty of discussion and propaganda. They do not eliminate them as the Communists did in Russia with the Anarchists who had struggled along with them for the success of the Revolution."

"Have you good hopes for the successful outcome of the Spanish workers' struggle?"

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We learn from the official Fascist Press of the uneasiness existing among the working class in Italy. The "Gazzeta del Popolo" published a very interesting report from which we quote:

"Every night three motor boats containing police agents and port police keep watch on the high seas, due to the rumour that large contingents of people, led by Anarchists, intend to leave Italy in the direction of Corsica."

But the concern is not due to the fact that the people want to flee from Italy. What is most important and of great interest is the fact that these people want to join the Spanish anti-Fascists. One of the places from whence the greatest number of workers set out was the town of Livorno. Only recently a motor boat containing anti-Fascists was detained on the high seas by three police boats.

It is apparent that the Italian proletariat manifests its solidarity with the workers' cause in Spain in spite of the most rigid Fascist oppression.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Emma Goldman Says Life Is Worthwhile—for Spain / Emma Goldman.—
17 cm. In The Milwaukee Journal. —(Jan. 17, 1937).

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Institutional Location: Morris Fromkin Memorial Collection, The Library.

THE MILWAUKEE JOURNAL

SUNDAY.

Emma Goldman Says Life Is Worthwhile—for Spain

BY ELMER PETERSON

LONDON, England—(AP)—After several months in Spain, including trips to places where shot and shell were flying, Emma Goldman has returned to London to aid the cause of Spanish loyalists here for a time.

It's a happy, enthusiastic and militant Emma who now holds forth from a small flat in West Kensington. The famous radical leader has, she declares, "found a cause worth living for—and worth dying for as well." She's going back to Spain, to literally do or die, she explains, and to make Spain her home if possible.

"Myself—I'm not afraid to die. Not any more than those brave Spanish people are afraid to die for what they believe in. And what's glorious about Spain for me is seeing the very things I've worked for and believed in all my life. I'm seeing my ideas put into practice by a people who are building while they fight; doing something constructive while they keep the enemy back."

She avoids talking about the "government of Spain." To Emma Goldman it's the "people" who are holding back Franco's army. Didn't the real defense of Madrid begin after the formal government left Madrid for Valencia?

It's in the matter of death that the precise speaking Emma acquired a sort of military bearing. She visited the front lines around Huesca and

Zaragoza. Rebel planes bombed "just a little way away."

"No—I wasn't afraid," she smiled. "They say, you know, that only civilized people are afraid of death; get all excited about it. I suppose that makes me primitive. Well, maybe I am."

She's confident the Spanish leftists will win; unless Germany takes too strong a hand; are sure to win if Spain were left alone to settle the war. She's equally confident that Europe is on the way to a new war if Hitler continues to interest himself in Spain. She hasn't any respect, none at all, for what Britain and France call their neutrality in the matter. She ridicules the idea that victory for "the people in Spain means a communist Spain."

"The real communist element in Spain is too weak and the Spaniards will never accept any form of dictatorship. Not after fighting the way they are for their liberty. The new government will be democratic, perhaps with new principles of collectivization and co-operation. Even now there's no attempt to force adherence to any programs of collectivization."

She plans to work here as a repre-



Emma Goldman Loves Spain

sentative of the Spanish confederation of labor, propagandizing and getting financial support. Then she's going back to Spain.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] C.N.T.-F.A.I.'s Part in the Spanish Revolution / Emma Goldman.— 42 cm. In Spain and the World [London]. — (Jan. 22, 1937).
Obtained from the private collection of Stuart Christie, Refract Publications, London, England.



The Confederated and Anarchist Press

Friendly and Unfriendly

A REVIEW OF PRESS VIEWS

Peace News—Universe—Solidaridad Obrera—
El-Diluvio Espanol

"NINE GOVERNMENTS IN SPAIN."

El Diluvio Espanol, fascist daily paper of Buenos Aires writes that "Red Spain" has nine governments. It names them as follows—

"1. Government from Madrid which is in Valencia; 2. Anarcho-sindicalist government in Alicante; 3. Soviet government in Barcelona; 4. Anarchist government in Cartagena; 5. Anarcho-sindicalist government in Bilbao; 6. Communist government in Santador; 7. Soviet government in Valencia; 8. Communist government in Malaga; 9. Anarchist government in Aragon (Bujalance). Altogether, we must add, there are nine extreme governments against the one true and legal government which is in Burgos."

The statement continues by saying that there is chaos. If there is chaos with nine governments, how much more there would be with only one government. Or does this statement indicate the futility of governments? So much more efficient is self-government by the individual. I believe it was Professor Haldane speaking in the London Regional programme who said that there were no policemen in Madrid because there was no need for them; the self-discipline of the people has prevailed.

The Anarchists in Spain—

What is Anarchism?

The Peace News (No. 30. 9/1/37): gives an answer to these questions in its leading article—

"This Catalonia, which is thus giving a lead both in the way to end the war and in the way of reconstruction—feverish transformation of the economic, social, and political structure of the region is such that it has already been described as 'Western Europe's first Communist State'—is an anarchist Catalonia."

For those for whom the word has terrifying associations this definition has been given:

"The organization of society without the State and without private property."

"The nuclei of organization, about which will be built up the economic life of the future, exist already in society; they are the syndicate, the spontaneous grouping of workers in factories and all kinds of collective undertakings, and the free municipality, the spontaneous grouping of the people in towns and villages."

"These organizations take

It is consoling to see that anarchism is being more freely discussed in certain sections of the English Press—The Daily Mail and other newspapers of that type will still associate anarchism with chaos and atrocities. Fortunately, however, men and women of repute who are returning from Spain speak with admiration of the work being done in Catalonia and the Levante, and these opinions should counteract all information which can only be accredited to over imaginative minds. The part is greater than the whole—for the "Universe"

Judging by the Universe's "horrors" campaign during the past six months, there should not be a living priest in the "Red" territory. Yet in the last issue (15th Jan.) the "Special Investigator" (title enshrouded with mystery!) describes the means adopted by priests in attempts to escape into French territory, though apparently without success.

There is a mistake somewhere. If no priest is spared how can there still be any alive to escape. Perhaps it is like the parable of Christ, the bread and the crowd of hungry people. From a few loaves his disciples were able to collect several large baskets of crumbs, thereby defying Euclid and Mathematics. Similarly the more priests that are "killed" in Spain, the more are there to be found alive!

The Terrestrial Paradise

Francis McCullagh adds his little weekly contribution for my amusement in the above mentioned periodical. He recounts that thanks to the generosity of the Portuguese, Franco has spent a very pleasant St. Stephen's day this year. McCullagh who has a good imagination was able to close his eyes and find himself with the "Reds," and what a state they were in! In the Red territory they are prevented from enjoying their St. Stephens day by "gangs of foreign mercenaries officered by Russians." Furthermore he says that Franco has no hard words for any Spaniard in Madrid (he has hard bombs and flame throwers instead) because "probably about 70% of the population of Madrid are on his side and are longing most anxiously for his arrival in Madrid." Fortunately, McCullagh uses the word "probably," because he can also mean by that "probably not." Not even the Universe's Special Correspondent can be too sure of his sight when looking into Madrid from the front line.

CNT-FAI's Part in Spanish Revolution

"Fascists' Defeat in Barcelona an Epic of Working Class History."

F. NNER BR

London, 18th January.

A packed and enthusiastic meeting was held this evening at Conway Hall under the auspices of the London Committee of the C.N.T.—F.A.I.

After a short speech by the Chairman Ethel Mannin, Emma Goldman, who has just returned from Spain, outlined the history of the Spanish working movement; from the time of the new Inquisition of 1897, to the executions at Montjuich; from the execution of Francisco Ferrer to the massacre of the workers in the Asturias.

"We may say"—Emma Goldman said—"that the men of the C.N.T.—F.A.I. are the direct descendants of these martyrs of the working class struggle, and have now realised the dreams of a new Society for which all this sacrifice of human life was made."

Emma Goldman then explained that the means adopted in the past were strikes, as in Saragossa, where they lasted as long as a month, whilst in Barcelona, Valencia, Madrid and other important towns, they were equally developed. The workers came near to realising their ideals. Then came the Republic of 1931, which they had hoped would be more progressive and above all more liberal. "But they proved just as relentless towards the C.N.T. as did the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera. . . . Political liberty without economic liberty is useless and leads to ruin."

The heroic part played by the Anarchists in Barcelona, who headed by four Comrades, Durruti, Ascaso, Garcia Oliver and another, defeated the well equipped troops situated in impregnable positions in the barracks and other strategic points, with their bare fists, was warmly applauded by the meeting.

"These men"—Emma Goldman continued with defiance—"did not wait until the Government kindly supplied them with rifles and machine-guns! In fighting Fascism, our Comrades were fighting for the world at large; for those whole nations living under the mailed fist of Dictatorships. Those men were fighting for Freedom and Economic Justice. It was the first time in the history of the workers' struggle that the people were not only driving back the enemy, but were reconstructing at the same time. It was a fallacy to suggest that the workers were destroying fine buildings. 'Workers looked at me in wonder'—the speaker added—"Why should we destroy them," they asked, "when we are the people who built them, and therefore know the labour entailed in the building?"

ANARCHISM NOT NEW

Anarchism is not new to the Spanish people. The speaker had met numberless peasants and workers during her extensive tour of Spain, and everywhere one heard that the people wanted Communismo Libertario—Free Communism or Anarchism. One old man of ninety-five represented three generations of Anarchists in his family. The people of Spain were prepared to sacrifice themselves to the last man to defeat Franco.

Emma Goldman concluded with

(continued from column two)

The agents of Investigation and Vigilance of the Catalan Generalitat were informed of these meetings and decided to attend. . . . But the day the police arrived there was no meeting as the fascists had been informed and postponed their assembly to another day.

The Investigation agents asked Rosina where her friends were. "My friends?" replied Rosina, "I have no friends. My only friend is Christ."

The officials were not satisfied. Rosina's comfortable flat and the abundance of bottles of vintage wine and of all kinds of liqueurs made it apparent that if Rosina's only friend were Christ he must have been accompanied by his twelve Apostles.

They decided to make a search of the magnificent and delicately perfumed rooms of Rosina's apartment and found, in the

an impassioned plea for the relief of evacuated women and children. The children, innocent of this conflict, were terrorised, and it was our duty to do all in our power to help them.

Fenner Brockway, Secretary of the I.L.P., was the next speaker. He said that it was essential to understand to what extent the men of the C.N.T.—F.A.I. were responsible for the quelling of the Military Revolt in Catalonia. We must bear in mind that eighty per cent. of the workers in Catalonia belonged to the C.N.T. and that over half the workers in Spain belong to that organisation. "If we are enquirous," he said, "It is our duty to be fully acquainted with the part played by the C.N.T.—F.A.I. in the Revolution." The speaker then vividly described the way the Anarchists defeated in 24 hours the strong Rebel resistance. "The way the Fascists were defeated in Barcelona is going to live as an epic of Working Class history."

FREE INDIVIDUALS

From these results Mr. Brockway considered that we could draw important conclusions. The great solidarity that existed among the Anarchists was due to each individual relying on his own strength and not depending on leadership. The Spanish workers will be successful because they will not be content just to defeat Fascism and accept a *Status quo* of a Parliamentary democracy. The weakness and inaction of democracies invariably breed Fascism. In Spain the control will be in the hands of the Workers. Mr. Brockway, after expressing his pleasure at being present, hoped that those gathered at that meeting would go away decided that they would search for the truth, and try to apply to the situation in this country the vast experience obtained from Spain. The Organisations must, to be successful, be combined with a free-thinking people; not a mass, but free individuals.

The last speaker, Captain White, an Irish republican, suggested approaching Anarchism as he did, from an individualistic standpoint. He did not believe in discussing the philosophy of Action, but considered it necessary that one should act at the psychological moment. He deprecated the poor logic of democratic Governments. One must act and not just rot away.

HEROISM OF THE SPANISH ANARCHISTS

Captain White quoted from imper-

that men who spoke with admiration of the heroism and the work done by the Spanish Anarchists. He spoke at length of collectivized villages, and in particular of a small fishing port so admirably described by Mr. Langdon-Davies in a book he had just published. Quoting from Sir Chalmers Mitchell, he compared the work being done by the U.G.T. and the C.N.T. and as a final remark expressed surprise that Mr. Strachey could have written as he did, in a well-known publication, that the workers in Spain had been drawn into "a rigid anarchiat mould." This, to his knowledge, was far from the truth. The Anarchists were

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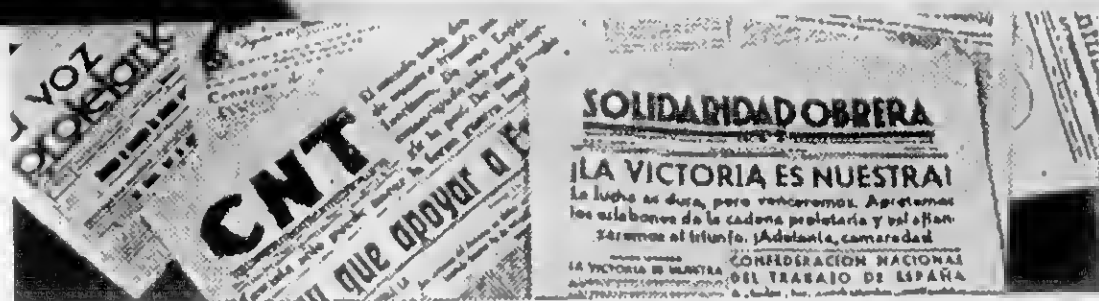
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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] C.N.T.-F.A.I.'s Part in the Spanish Revolution / Emma Goldman. — 42 cm. In Spain and the World [London]. — (Jan. 22, 1937).
Obtained from the private collection of Stuart Christie, Refract Publications, London, England.



The Confederated and Anarchist Press

Friendly and Unfriendly

A REVIEW OF PRESS VIEWS

Peace News—Universe—Solidaridad Obrera—
El-Diluvio Espanol

"NINE GOVERNMENTS IN SPAIN."

El Diluvio Espanol, fascist daily paper of Buenos Aires writes that "Red Spain" has nine governments. It names them as follows—

"1. Government from Madrid which is in Valencia; 2. Anarchosyndicalist government in Alicante; 3. Soviet government in Barcelona; 4. Anarchist government in Cartagena; 5. Anarchosyndicalist government in Bilbao; 6. Communist government in Santador; 7. Soviet government in Valencia; 8. Communist government in Malaga; 9. Anarchist government in Aragon (Bujalance). Altogether, we must add, there are nine extreme governments against the one true and legal government which is in Burgos."

The statement continues by saying that there is chaos. If there is chaos with nine governments, how much more there would be with only one government. Or does this statement indicate the futility of governments? So much more efficient is self-government by the individual. I believe it was Professor Haldane speaking in the London Regional programme who said that there were no policemen in Madrid because there was no need for them; the self-discipline of the people has prevailed.

The Anarchists in Spain— What is Anarchism?

The Peace News (No. 30. 9/1/37): gives an answer to these questions in its leading article—

"This Catalonia, which is thus giving a lead both in the way to end the war and in the way of reconstruction—feverish transformation of the economic, social, and political structure of the region is such that it has already been described as 'Western Europe's first Communist State'—is an anarchist Catalonia."

For those for whom the word has terrifying associations this definition has been given:

"The organization of society without the State and without private property."

"The nuclei of organization, about which will be built up the economic life of the future, exist already in society; they are the syndicate, the spontaneous grouping of workers in factories and all kinds of collective undertakings, and the free municipality, the spontaneous grouping of the people in towns and villages."

"These organizations take collective possession of private property and regulate the economic life of each locality."

Some attempt at least is being made, even at this early stage, to act on the principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need." Though not based on non-violence, violence is not essential to the system."

It is consoling to see that anarchism is being more freely discussed in certain sections of the English Press—The Daily Mail and other newspapers of that type will still associate anarchism with chaos and atrocities. Fortunately, however, men and women of repute who are returning from Spain speak with admiration of the work being done in Catalonia and the Levante, and these opinions should counteract all information which can only be accredited to over imaginative minds.

The part is greater than the whole—for the "Universe"

Judging by the Universe's "horrors" campaign during the past six months, there should not be a living priest in the "Red" territory. Yet in the last issue (15th Jan.) the "Special Investigator" (title enshrouded with mystery!) describes the means adopted by priests in attempts to escape into French territory, though apparently without success.

There is a mistake somewhere. If no priest is spared how can there still be any alive to escape. Perhaps it is like the parable of Christ, the bread and the crowd of hungry people. From a few loaves his disciples were able to collect several large baskets of crumbs, thereby defying Euclid and Mathematics. Similarly the more priests that are "killed" in Spain, the more are there to be found alive!

The Terrestrial Paradise

Francis McCullagh adds his little weekly contribution for my amusement in the above mentioned periodical. He recounts that thanks to the generosity of the Portuguese, Franco has spent a very pleasant St. Stephen's day this year. McCullagh who has a good imagination was able to close his eyes and find himself with the "Reds," and what a state they were in! In the Red territory they are prevented from enjoying their St. Stephens day by "gangs of foreign mercenaries officered by Russians." Furthermore he says that Franco has no hard words for any Spaniard in Madrid (he has hard bombs and flame throwers instead) because "probably about 70% of the population of Madrid are on his side and are longing most anxiously for his arrival in Madrid." Fortunately, McCullagh uses the word "probably," because he can also mean by that "probably not." Not even the Universe's Special Correspondent can be too sure of his sight when looking into Madrid from the front line... in Seville!

Poor Rosina! Her only friend was Christ.

The Solidaridad Obrera of Barcelona publishes the following interesting communication:

"In the house of Rosina Upon, Diagonal 363, in Barcelona, a party of fascists used to meet."

(continued at foot of next column)

A packed and enthusiastic meeting was held this evening at Conway Hall under the auspices of the London Committee of the C.N.T.—F.A.I.

After a short speech by the Chairman Ethel Mannin, Emma Goldman, who has just returned from Spain, outlined the history of the Spanish working movement; from the time of the new Inquisition of 1897, to the executions at Montjuich; from the execution of Francisco Ferrer to the massacre of the workers in the Asturias.

"We may say"—Emma Goldman said—"that the men of the C.N.T.—F.A.I. are the direct descendants of these martyrs of the working class struggle, and have now realised the dreams of a new Society for which all this sacrifice of human life was made."

Emma Goldman then explained that the means adopted in the past were strikes, as in Saragossa, where they lasted as long as a month, whilst in Barcelona, Valencia, Madrid and other important towns, they were equally developed. The workers came near to realising their ideals. Then came the Republic of 1931, which they had hoped would be more progressive and above all more liberal. "But they proved just as relentless towards the C.N.T. as did the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera. . . . Political liberty without economic liberty is useless and leads to ruin."

The heroic part played by the Anarchists in Barcelona, who headed by four Comrades, Durruti, Ascaso, Garcia Oliver and another, defeated the well equipped troops situated in impregnable positions in the barracks and other strategic points, with their bare fists, was warmly applauded by the meeting.

"These men"—Emma Goldman continued with defiance—"did not wait until the Government kindly supplied them with rifles and machine-guns! In fighting Fascism, our Comrades were fighting for the world at large; for those whole nations living under the mailed fist of Dictatorships. Those men were fighting for Freedom and Economic Justice. It was the first time in the history of the workers' struggle that the people were not only driving back the enemy, but were reconstructing at the same time. It was a fallacy to suggest that the workers were destroying fine buildings. 'Workers looked at me in wonder'—the speaker added—"Why should we destroy them," they asked, 'when we are the people who built them, and therefore know the labour entailed in the building.'"

ANARCHISM NOT NEW

Anarchism is not new to the Spanish people. The speaker had met numberless peasants and workers during her extensive tour of Spain, and everywhere one heard that the people wanted Comunismo Libertario—Free Communism or Anarchism. One old man of ninety-five represented three generations of Anarchists in his family. The people of Spain were prepared to sacrifice themselves to the last man to defeat Franco.

Emma Goldman concluded with

(continued from column two)

The agents of Investigation and Vigilance of the Catalan Generalitat were informed of these meetings and decided to attend. . . . But the day the police arrived there was no meeting as the fascists had been informed and postponed their assembly to another day.

The Investigation agents asked Rosina where her friends were. "My friends?" replied Rosina, "I have no friends. My only friend is Christ."

The officials were not satisfied. Rosina's comfortable flat and the abundance of bottles of vintage wine and of all kinds of liqueurs made it apparent that if Rosina's only friend were Christ he must have been accompanied by his twelve Apostles.

They decided to make a search of the magnificent and delicately perfumed rooms of Rosina's apartment and found in the Louis XV drawing room; two monarchist flags and three million pesetas. We expect that Rosina will have to wait a long time for the visit of her one friend . . . and his companions."

LIBERTARIAN.

Published by Thos. H. Keell, Whiteway Colony, nr. Stroud, Gloucester, on Jan. 22nd, 1937, and printed by V.W.H. Press, Ltd., Faringdon, Berks, and London.

an impassioned plea for the relief of evacuated women and children. The children, innocent of this conflict, were terrorised, and it was our duty to do all in our power to help them.

Fenner Brockway, Secretary of the I.L.P., was the next speaker. He said that it was essential to understand to what extent the men of the C.N.T.—F.A.I. were responsible for the quelling of the Military Revolt in Catalonia. We must bear in mind that eighty per cent. of the workers in Catalonia belonged to the C.N.T. and that over half the workers in Spain belong to that organisation. "If we are enquirous," he said, "it is our duty to be fully acquainted with the part played by the C.N.T.—F.A.I. in the Revolution." The speaker then vividly described the way the Anarchists defeated in 24 hours the strong Rebel resistance. "The way the Fascists were defeated in Barcelona is going to live as an epic of Working Class history."

FREE INDIVIDUALS

From these results Mr. Brockway considered that we could draw important conclusions. The great solidarity that existed among the Anarchists was due to each individual relying on his own strength and not depending on leadership. The Spanish workers will be successful because they will not be content just to defeat Fascism and accept a Status quo of a Parliamentary democracy. The weakness and inaction of democracies invariably breed Fascism. In Spain the control will be in the hands of the Workers. Mr. Brockway, after expressing his pleasure at being present, hoped that those gathered at that meeting would go away decided that they would search for the truth, and try to apply to the situation in this country the vast experience obtained from Spain. The Organisations must, to be successful, be combined with a free-thinking people; not a mass, but free individuals.

The last speaker, Captain White, an Irish republican, suggested approaching Anarchism as he did, from an individualistic standpoint. He did not believe in discussing the philosophy of Action, but considered it necessary that one should act at the psychological moment. He deprecated the poor logic of democratic Governments. One must act and not just rot away.

HEROISM OF THE SPANISH ANARCHISTS

Captain White quoted from impartial men who spoke with admiration of the heroism and the work done by the Spanish Anarchists. He spoke at length of collectivized villages, and in particular of a small fishing port so admirably described by Mr. Langdon-Davies in a book he had just published. Quoting from Sir Chalmers Mitchell, he compared the work being done by the U.G.T. and the C.N.T. and as a final remark expressed surprise that Mr. Strachey could have written as he did, in a well-known publication, that the workers in Spain had been drawn into "a rigid anarchist mould." This, to his knowledge, was far from the truth. The Anarchists were the most tolerant and understanding men he had met.

At the conclusion of the meeting it was announced that a further meeting would be organised by the Committee for February 12th, and that Emma Goldman would discuss the responsibility of the Church of Spain in the Spanish conflict. The Collection for the relief of evacuated children realised over £50.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

Short Biographic Sketch of Dr. H.E. Kaminski / [Emma Goldman]. — [1937 Feb.?, draft]. — 1 p. ; 29 × 22 cm.

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2015 E.E.

Short Biographic Sketch of

Dr. H. E. Kaminski

Author of

REVOLUTION IN CATALONIA.

Dr Kaminsky studied political economy and history of literature in Heidelberg. He made his PH D. there.

Was for a number of years German correspondent in Rome, Paris and Madrid. Was contributed for all the leading news-papers in Germany of Democratic and Liberal tendencies. Also the Weltbühne published by Ossietzky. When the latter was sent to prison under the Republic Dr Kaminski together with H. von Gerlach became joint editors of the Weltbühne. That was in 1919 and 1920.

In 1923 Dr Kaminski wrote a work on Italian Fascism which was published. ~~and also the famous memorial~~ He also translated the famous Memorial of the Matteotti ~~murder~~ case. This work played quite a part in the trial of the Matteotti murderers.

Dr. H. E. Kaminski
later.

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Obtained from the private collection of Stuart Christie, Refract Publications, London, England.

2

SPAIN AND THE WORLD, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 5th, 1937.

SPAIN and the— WORLD

Anti-Fascist Fortnightly

TEMPORARY OFFICES :
207, GOSWELL ROAD,
LONDON, E.C.1,
ENGLAND.

ADVERTISEMENT RATES ON
APPLICATION.

PRICE 2d.; FOR U.S.A., 5 CENTS.

Mussolini Admits Defeat

In accepting the proposals for banning all volunteers in Spain, Mussolini added that all anti-fascist propagandists and agitators should also be forbidden to work in Spain. By so doing, Mussolini has admitted defeat. With his Fascist propaganda organisations, as well as Hitler's Nazi organisations, he has been unable to convince the Spanish people of his superior civilization. He has only succeeded in parts of the country in taking control, but then only by means of bombing planes, heavy artillery, submarines and thousands of paid soldiers. He has not succeeded in convincing the Spanish people any more than he succeeded in convincing the unfortunate Abyssinian people.

These anti-fascist propagandists and agitators have gone to Spain to help the Spanish people to bring about a Social Revolution; not a Society based on military discipline, or the renunciation of individuality; not a Society whose greatness must needs be based on trains running to time, new roads (for the benefit of tourists), wireless stations by which the people are fed with nationalism and hatred, nor by "spontaneous" manifestations which inebriate the simple minded. All these "achievements" can be brought about in any society, however retrograde. But, the well-being of all, the education of the mind, and the Liberty of the individual, is based on an ideal. It is not achieved at the expense of others, as are Mussolini's aspirations, but by the co-operation of all for the common cause. That Society is being built up in Catalonia, the Levante and in those parts of the country where Franco and his hordes have not trodden.

And Mussolini knows this, as does Hitler, as his remarks in the Reichstag indicate, and they will continue to do their utmost to counteract all progress in Spain and elsewhere.

Call to Action

We can protest; pseudo-Socialist M.P.s can raise their voices and shake their fists; political organisations can join hands and wave the same flag; pacifists can pass resolutions or discuss details; protestant clergy can exploit the corruption of the Catholic Church (and vice versa); intellectuals can write letters to the Press. . . . BUT if this sympathy is not accompanied by action, why continue? Why fill the Spanish people with false hopes? Why talk of Liberty whilst every day the people of England are losing those few liberties they possessed, without a murmur? Why talk of economic freedom and at the same time applaud the "philanthropist" who can dis-

Dear Comrades,

Here I am in the country where I have always felt completely lost and where I have never succeeded in reaching people. This time it seems I may really have better luck. But then, the power of attraction is Spain. It is anarchism so maligned and misrepresented as criminal and impractical that has at last been proven a living force. With such a factor to attract English people it will not be so bitterly hard as it has been in the past. I will now be able to bask in the glorious sun of the Spanish revolution—of the great courage and fortitude of our comrades of the C.N.T.—F.A.I.

In point of fact my main quest here is to make the C.N.T.—F.A.I. known in England. So far its importance has been grasped only by the few. On my arrival I found that while much was being done in England for the Anti-Fascist struggle and the various parties allied with the C.N.T.—F.A.I., very little was done for the latter. This partly out of ignorance, and mainly out of deliberateness.

This could not have happened had we an anarchist movement in England. Unfortunately we have not. There are a few comrades in London and in a few provincial towns willing enough, but either too old to do much, willing as they are, or not able to make themselves heard. They have done what they could in making the work of the C.N.T.—F.A.I. known. Alas, it was but a drop in the sea. More reason for my being here and straining every nerve to put the C.N.T.—F.A.I. "on the British map" as we used to say in America.

I said before that the "part of the C.N.T.—F.A.I. in the Spanish struggle is hardly understood by the outside world. I fear even some of our comrades are still lacking in understanding of the colossal share our Spanish comrades had and have in events there. I am led to this conclusion by the reports of the condemnation coming from our own ranks. In Holland for instance, some of the pacifist-anarchists are carrying on a systematic attack on the C.N.T.—F.A.I., heaping the same insults and calumny on their heads as the fascists do. And from private correspondence I gather that our comrades in Spain have been charged with nothing short of treachery. That is very deplorable. To say the least it proves lack of understanding of the situation in Spain, and the conditions under which the C.N.T.—F.A.I. are labouring.

Perhaps I can put them right even if all the actual facts of the inner work of the so called United Front cannot be given to the world. The truth has its way of coming to the fore. Just at present we cannot oblige Franco and his backers. Once Fascism will be defeated, as it must be, if the revolution is to go on with its marvellous constructive work, all our comrades, as well as the rest of the world will learn the truth. The truth of the gigantic share the C.N.T.—F.A.I. have played from their inception until this day.

I hope I am still the old anarchist and that I still believe in the necessity of criticism of steps taken that apparently look inconsistent with our ideas. I have never justified the notion that wrong acts committed by one's own comrades should be ignored more than when committed by our opponents. And if I know anything of the comrades of the C.N.T.—F.A.I. I can say with certainty that they themselves would be the last to expect complete acceptance of anything they have done with which we cannot agree in full. They do, however, expect our comrades outside of Spain to acquaint themselves with the real situation and the steps imposed on them by the factors working in their own country. These factors left our comrades only one of two alternatives: either dictatorship or direct participation in the government.

SYSTEMATIC SABOTAGE

Never before was a revolution and its progress so systematically and so completely sabotaged as in Spain. In point of truth, the sabotage was systematic and flagrant enough to jeopardise the rescue of Madrid from the fascist hordes. It was only by the decision of the C.N.T. to take a responsible share in the Madrid government that the City was made ready at the eleventh hour for the defence since known to the whole world as one of the most heroic battles in history. For it was only when the Madrid Caballero cabinet betook itself to Valencia that the real drive against the fascist gang, equipped with every sort of German and Italian arms, could be undertaken. As on the 19th July, so in Madrid, the people themselves, the dumb inarticulate masses, undertook the defence of Madrid and with it the defeat

and ministers do not mean the same thing to the Spanish anarchists as they do to Europeans and Americans. They are mere makeshifts to them, to be dispensed with in due time. In the second place it meant the safety of Madrid, in fact the safety of Spain. Only the future will tell whether the C.N.T.—F.A.I. acted wisely or not. For the present it should suffice our comrades outside of Spain to know that the next step to entering the Ministry was armed revolt against the sabotage that had been going on for months on the part of some of the parties that had joined the United Front.

REAL LIBERTY IN CATALONIA

I have already stated that our comrades had only one of two things to choose: dictatorship or the widest possible freedom for all their so-called friends in the Anti-Fascist struggle. I am glad to say that the C.N.T.—F.A.I. chose the latter. It may seem an exaggeration when I say that Catalonia today is the freeest place politically in the world—outside of the fascists every party enjoys unlimited freedom of speech, press and assembly. In fact, some of them are interpreting liberty to mean licence. They have requisitioned the most conspicuous buildings, they hold forth until all hours of the night in loud speakers and meetings. They have daily parades in military formation and music. They do pretty much as they damn please including intense preparation for the happy hour when they might be strong enough to put our comrades to the wall. True, they will have as much luck in that as Franco has had so far. Our comrades are not blind to the danger, they are prepared for it. But so deep-rooted is their faith in freedom that they would rather endure the daily annoyances that would try the patience of saints than forcibly prevent those who must rely on other methods to win adherents. Our people feel that anarchism and libertarian communism are so ingrained in the Catalonian workers and peasants that they need no public shows to arouse their enthusiasm and devotion.

This will have to do for the present as proof that far from having betrayed our ideas, the C.N.T.—F.A.I. are to-day the only gallant fighters and defenders of them. Actually they are the only large group of people in the world who still love liberty enough to struggle and die for it.

I feel, therefore, that whatever our regrets may be of our Spanish comrades having entered Ministries, or having made other mistakes, we have no right to judge until fascism has been crushed. At present there is only one menace, that is fascism, by whatever name it goes. Everything else must wait. Our duty outside of Spain is to help our comrades, to help the anti-fascist battle with material and moral support. To help the women and children evacuated from the various fronts.

Dear comrades, bear in mind Catalonia is carrying the whole weight. Thousands of dollars and pounds have been raised for anti-fascist Spain. But not a cent went to Catalonia. Yet Catalonia is feeding Madrid, and it is feeding 30,000 women and children from other parts of Spain. Last, but not least, Catalonia is the banner bearer of the revolution, the one part of Spain that is doing constructive work amidst the horrors of war, cold and hunger. In all this, the C.N.T.—F.A.I. is playing the leading and dominating part.

All strength to the C.N.T.—F.A.I. Later I hope to send you something on the collectivised industries and farms. For to-day I have said enough. I am here for three, or at the most four, months. Then I will return to Spain. I want nothing grander than for my last years to be at the side of our comrades, to share with them in their struggle. To help them, if only in a small measure, to victory, or if needs be to lay down my life if defeat should be their lot. And if I never can, will or must be. And all our comrades in every country must see to it that the battle of the C.N.T.—F.A.I. should be victorious. You can, if you will, be less fault-finding and more active with your moral and financial support.

Salud,
EMMA GOLDMAN.

18, Castleton Road,
London, W.14.
25/1/37.

In our next issue articles on:
Francisco Ferrer.

Agricultura

NEW AGRAR

Co-operative
Wor

One of the most pressing problems with which the Popular Front Government was faced when it came to office in February of last year was that of the land. In Spain with its large peasant population, agriculture is all-important. Under the domination of the big landlords, the peasant lived almost always on the starvation line. It was no uncommon thing for a small peasant farmer to earn less than one peseta (about 6d. or 14 cents) a day, and to live together with his family and cattle in a mud hut.

Every form of oppression and tyranny was practised by the landed classes. They would, for example, keep control of the water supply for their land and sell it to the workers at whatever price they thought fit. The man who was too poor to buy water would be forced to see the crops on which the winter food supplies for his family depended, wither away.

According to published statistics, under the monarchy ten thousand families held one-half of the total area of workable land—out of a total of approximately 10 million holders. There were eight million peasants who held less than half a hectare of land each. In 1932 an attempt was made by the Republican Government to remedy this disgraceful state of affairs and an Act was passed with the object of putting a large number of families on the land. It was hoped to establish 20,000 families before the autumn of 1933. This attempt was met with the determined opposition of the great landlords and the financiers, who saw their privileges and power in danger of disappearance, and by reason of their obstruction it was possible only to establish 5,000 families on the land during the first three years of the Republic. The desperate situation of the peasantry was worsened by the Rent Act of 1935, forced upon an incapable government by the reactionary forces. Under this Act, thousands of tenants who for generations had worked their small pieces of land, were compelled to give them up and abandon the cot-

THROUGH CHILDREN'S EYES

Poverty—Before And After
July 19th

We are publishing further extracts from *Revista Natura*, which is written and edited by children of tender years. Editorial offices: "Escuela Natura," Avenida de Francisco Ascaso.

"Poverty is a detestable thing. But I think riches is even more detestable. "On July 19th, sacred day of history, all riches disappeared, and poverty will soon disappear. We are working and shall continue to work like we did before. But to-day we are working with more joy, because we know that we no longer work for the bourgeois, but for the Revolution, that has cost us and still costs so many lives of the defenders of liberty and equality in the world.

"Before the Revolution one used to hear every day, a man has died of cold or hunger. The bourgeois did not mind. Now one never hears this, but one learns that comrades died when they took part in the battle for a village. These men do not die of hunger or cold. They die for the freedom of all. We little comrades shall fight at their side until fascism is smashed and

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329

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And Mussolini knows this, as does Hitler, as his remarks in the Reichstag indicate, and they will continue to do their utmost to counteract all progress in Spain and elsewhere.

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These injustices have existed for years in Spain. But the people have not sought the counsel of their local M.P. nor the parson, but have acted by their own initiative. The example given by the Spanish workers during the last hundred years is one of self-sacrifice for an ideal.

(continued in next column)

have never succeeded in reaching people. This time it seems I may really have better luck. But then, the power of attraction is Spain. It is anarchism so meligued and misrepresented as criminal and impractical that has at last been proven a living force. With such a factor to attract English people it will not be so bitterly hard as it has been in the past. I will now be able to bask in the glorious sun of the Spanish revolution—of the great courage and fortitude of our comrades of the C.N.T.—F.A.I.

In point of fact my main quest here is to make the C.N.T.—F.A.I. known in England. So far its importance has been grasped only by the few. On my arrival I found that while much was being done in England for the Anti-Fascist struggle and the various parties allied with the C.N.T.—F.A.I., very little was done for the latter. This partly out of ignorance, and mainly out of deliberateness.

This could not have happened had we an anarchist movement in England. Unfortunately we have not. There are a few comrades in London and in a few provincial towns willing enough, but either too old to do much, willing as they are, or not able to make themselves heard. They have done what they could in making the work of the C.N.T.—F.A.I. known. Alas, it was but a drop in the sea. More reason for my being here and straining every nerve to put the C.N.T.—F.A.I. "on the British map" as we used to say in America.

I said before that the part of the C.N.T.—F.A.I. in the Spanish struggle is hardly understood by the outside world. I fear even some of our comrades are still lacking in understanding of the colossal share our Spanish comrades had and have in events there. I am led to this conclusion by the reports of the condemnation coming from our own ranks. In Holland for instance, some of the pacifist-anarchists are carrying on a systematic attack on the C.N.T.—F.A.I., heaping the same insults and calumny on their heads as the fascists do. And from private correspondence I gather that our comrades in Spain have been charged with nothing short of treachery. That is very deplorable. To say the least it proves lack of understanding of the situation in Spain, and the conditions under which the C.N.T.—F.A.I. are labouring.

Perhaps I can put them right even if all the actual facts of the inner work of the so called United Front cannot be given to the world. The truth has its way of coming to the fore. Just at present we cannot oblige Franco and his backers. Once Fascism will be defeated, as it must be, if the revolution is to go on with its marvellous constructive work, all our comrades, as well as the rest of the world will learn the truth. The truth of the gigantic share the C.N.T.—F.A.I. have played from their inception until this day.

I hope I am still the old anarchist and that I still believe in the necessity of criticism of steps taken that apparently look inconsistent with our ideas. I have never justified the notion that wrong acts committed by one's own comrades should be ignored more than when committed by our opponents. And if I know anything of the comrades of the C.N.T.—F.A.I. I can say with certainty that they themselves would be the last to expect complete acceptance of anything they have done with which we cannot agree in full. They do, however, expect our comrades outside of Spain to acquaint themselves with the real situation and the steps imposed on them by the factors working in their own country. These factors left our comrades only one of two alternatives: either dictatorship or direct participation in the government.

SYSTEMATIC SABOTAGE

Never before was a revolution and its leading organisation so scandalously sabotaged as in Spain. In point of truth, the sabotage was systematic and flagrant enough to jeopardise the rescue of Madrid from the fascist borders. It was only by the decision of the C.N.T. to take a responsible share in the Madrid government that the City was made ready at the eleventh hour for the defence since known to the whole world as one of the most heroic battles in history. For it was only when the Madrid Caballero cabinet betook itself to Valencia that the real drive against the fascist gang, equipped with every sort of German and Italian arms, could be undertaken. As on the 19th July, so in Madrid, the people themselves, the dumb inarticulate masses, undertook the defence of Madrid and with it the defeat of Franco and his hirelings.

Let it be understood by all comrades that the C.N.T. is not at all unaware that the anarchists in Ministries are an anomaly. In the first place, government

(continued from previous column)

To-day their sacrifice would have been rewarded had no interference come from Mussolini and Hitler. And the "democracies" of England and France just murmur their disapproval at this interference and shrug their shoulders.

Was Bernard Shaw right when he said that the English people did not know the meaning of the word LIBERTY?

do to Europeans and Americans. They are mere makeshifts to them, to be dispensed with in due time. In the second place it meant the safety of Madrid, in fact the safety of Spain. Only the future will tell whether the C.N.T.—F.A.I. acted wisely or not. For the present it should suffice our comrades outside of Spain to know that the next step to entering the Ministry was armed revolt against the sabotage that had been going on for months on the part of some of the parties that had joined the United Front.

REAL LIBERTY IN CATALONIA

I have already stated that our comrades had only one of two things to choose: dictatorship or the widest possible freedom for all their so-called friends in the Anti-Fascist struggle. I am glad to say that the C.N.T.—F.A.I. chose the latter. It may seem an exaggeration when I say that Catalonia today is the free-est place politically in the world—outside of the fascists every party enjoys unlimited freedom of speech, press and assembly. In fact, some of them are interpreting liberty to mean licence. They have requisitioned the most conspicuous buildings, they hold forth until all hours of the night in loud speakers and meetings. They have daily parades in military formation and music. They do pretty much as they damn please including intense preparation for the happy hour when they might be strong enough to put our comrades to the wall. True, they will have as much luck in that as Franco has had so far. Our comrades are not blind to the danger, they are prepared for it. But so deep-rooted is their faith in freedom that they would rather endure the daily annoyances that would try the patience of saints than forcibly prevent those who must rely on other methods to win adherents. Our people feel that anarchism and libertarian communism are so ingrained in the Catalan workers and peasants that they need no public shows to arouse their enthusiasm and devotion.

This will have to do for the present as proof that far from having betrayed our ideas, the C.N.T.—F.A.I. are to-day the only gallant fighters and defenders of them. Actually they are the only large group of people in the world who still love liberty enough to struggle and die for it.

I feel, therefore, that whatever our regrets may be of our Spanish comrades having entered Ministries, or having made other mistakes, we have no right to judge until fascism has been crushed. At present there is only one menace, that is fascism, by whatever name it goes. Everything else must wait. Our duty outside of Spain is to help our comrades, to help the anti-fascist battle with material and moral support. To help the women and children evacuated from the various fronts.

Dear comrades, hear in mind Catalonia is carrying the whole weight. Thousands of dollars and pounds have been raised for anti-fascist Spain. But not a cent went to Catalonia. Yet Catalonia is feeding Madrid, and it is feeding 30,000 women and children from other parts of Spain. Last, but not least, Catalonia is the banner bearer of the revolution, the one part of Spain that is doing constructive work amidst the horrors of war, cold and hunger. In all this, the C.N.T.—F.A.I. is playing the leading and dominating part.

All strength to the C.N.T.—F.A.I. Later I hope to send you something on the collectivised industries and farms. For to-day I have said enough. I am here for three, or at the most four, months. Then I will return to Spain. I want nothing grander than for my last years to be at the side of our comrades, to share with them in their struggle. To help them, if only in a small measure, to victory, or if needs be to lay down my life if defeat should be their lot. But it never can, will or must be. And all our comrades in every country must see to it that the battle of the C.N.T.—F.A.I. should be victorious. You can, if you will, be less fault-finding and more active with your moral and financial support.

Salud,
EMMA GOLDMAN.

18, Castleton Road,
London, W.14.
25/1/37.

In our next issue articles on:

Francisco Ferrer.

The Significance of Federica.

Montsemer's Speech at
Valencia.

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with which the Popular Front Government was faced when it came to office in February of last year was that of the land. In Spain with its large peasant population, agriculture is all-important. Under the domination of the big landlords, the peasant lived almost always on the starvation line. It was no uncommon thing for a small peasant farmer to earn less than one peseta (about 6d. or 14 cents) a day, and to live together with his family and cattle in a mud hut.

Every form of oppression and tyranny was practised by the landed classes. They would, for example, keep control of the water supply for their land and sell it to the workers at whatever price they thought fit. The man who was too poor to buy water would be forced to see the crops on which the winter food supplies for his family depended, wither away.

According to published statistics, under the monarchy ten thousand families held one-half of the total area of workable land—out of a total of approximately 10 million holders. There were eight million peasants who held less than half a hectare of land each. In 1932 an attempt was made by the Republican Government to remedy this disgraceful state of affairs and an Act was passed with the object of putting a large number of families on the land. It was hoped to establish 20,000 families before the autumn of 1933. This attempt was met with the determined opposition of the great landlords and the financiers, who saw their privileges and power in danger of disappearance, and by reason of their obstruction it was possible only to establish 5,000 families on the land during the first three years of the Republic. The desperate situation of the peasantry was worsened by the Rent Act of 1935, forced upon an incapable government by the reactionary forces. Under this Act, thousands of tenants who for generations had worked their small pieces of land, were compelled to give them up and abandon the cot-

THROUGH CHILDREN'S EYES

Poverty—Before And After
July 19th.

We are publishing further extracts from *Revista Natura*, which is written and edited by children of tender years. Editorial offices: "Escuela Natura," Avenida de Francisco Ascaso.

"Poverty is a detestable thing. But I think riches is even more detestable. On July 19th, sacred day of history, all riches disappeared, and poverty will soon disappear. We are working and shall continue to work like we did before. But to-day we are working with more joy, because we know that we no longer work for the bourgeois, but for the Revolution, that has cost us and still costs so many lives of the defenders of liberty and equality in the world.

"Before the Revolution one used to hear every day, a man has died of cold or hunger. The bourgeois did not mind. Now one never hears this, but one learns that comrades died when they took part in the battle for a village. These men do not die of hunger or cold. They die for the freedom of all. We little comrades shall fight at their side until fascism is smashed and poverty is destroyed, just like riches has been destroyed. Forward, Comrades!

LIBERTO POU (11 years)."

"Since July 19th the difference between the poor and the rich has ceased to exist. The rich people formed a fascist column and came to Barcelona, but the C.N.T. was quicker and cleverer and the workers went to the front with rifles and various other things.

"On July 19th our great comrade Ascaso died. Then our great comrade Durruti formed many large columns and went to the Zaragoza front. Later the workers of Russia

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] English Socialists on the Role of Spanish Anarchists / Emma Goldman. — p. 4 ; 29 cm. In Spanish Revolution [New York]. — (Feb. 8, 1937).
Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

from private sources telling of a deliberate attempt to starve out the anarchist forces on the Aragon front. The supply of ammunition from Soviet Russia is directed to those sectors of the front where the anarchists do not control the situation. A smashing victory by anarchist forces moving from the Aragon front is not altogether to the liking of those who are now busy pulling wires behind the scene of Spanish events with the view of eliminating the revolutionary forces.

A Grand Offensive in Preparation

However, our comrade assures us, ammunitions are now being rapidly manufactured and the moment is not far off when the re-equipped militia will start on

to the mixed economy of the big cities of Catalonia. This leads to difficulties and even shortages, but on the whole a certain level of economic security has already been obtained which is valued to an ever greater extent by the population.

It is proven by the fact that in spite of the great proximity of many of the lands to the theatre of war, cultivation of the fields has grown in scope and intensity. This year the area under cultivation is 40% larger than that of last year.

The older generation of peasants is stimulated in this course of intensive cultivation by the opportunity to still its land hunger. But the younger generation, according to our writer, is swept by an intense revolutionary ardor. It is overwhelmingly an-

tion, the danger of facing civil war in the rear while straining all efforts to crush the Fascists, the complexities of the highly developed economy of an industrial state like Catalonia—all those factors were presented to him by the leading figures of the movement. Our author, however, reserves his judgment on this matter, being of the opinion that the anti-Fascist struggle should not have overshadowed the need for an immediate reconstruction along the lines of libertarian communism.

He is confirmed in his belief by the attitude of the politicians and certain elements of the mid-

* A fuller presentation of their view is given in the speech of Federica Montseny summarized in the current issue of the "Spanish Revolution."

ENGLISH SOCIALISTS ON THE ROLE OF SPANISH ANARCHISTS "FASCISTS' DEFEAT IN BARCELONA AN EPIC OF WORKING CLASS HISTORY"

London, January 18th, 1937.

A packed and enthusiastic meeting was held this evening at Conway Hall under the auspices of the London Committee of the C.N.T.-F.A.I.

After a short speech by the Chairman, Ethel Mannin, Emma Goldman, who has just returned from Spain, outlined the history of the Spanish working movement; from the time of the new Inquisition of 1897, to the executions at Montjuich; from the execution of Francisco Ferrer to the massacre of the workers in the Asturias.

"We may say," Emma Goldman said, "that the men of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. are the direct descendants of these martyrs of the working class struggle, and have now realized the dreams of a new Society for which all this sacrifice of human life was made."

Fenner Brockway, Secretary of the I.L.P., was the next speaker. He said that it was essential to understand to what extent the men of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. were responsible for the quelling of the Military Revolt in Catalonia. We must bear in mind that eighty per cent. of the workers in Catalonia belonged to the C.N.T. and that over half the workers in Spain belong to that organization. "If

we are enquirous," he said, "it is our duty to be fully acquainted with the part played by the C.N.T.-F.A.I. in the Revolution." The speaker then vividly described the way the Anarchists defeated in 24 hours the strong Rebel resistance. "The way the Fascists were defeated in Barcelona is going to live as an epic of Working Class history."

FREE INDIVIDUALS

From these results Mr. Brockway considered that we could draw important conclusions. The great solidarity that existed among the Anarchists was due to each individual relying on his own strength and depending on leadership. The Spanish workers will be successful because they will not be content just to defeat Fascism and accept a Status quo of a Parliamentary democracy. The weakness and inaction of democracies invariably breed Fascism. In Spain the control will be in the hands of the Workers. Mr. Brockway, after expressing his pleasure at being present, hoped that those gathered at that meeting would go away decided that they would search for the truth, and try to apply to the situation in this country the vast experience obtained from Spain. The Organizations must, to be successful, be combined with a free-thinking people; not a mass, but free individuals.

The last speaker, Captain White, an Irish republican, suggested approaching Anarchism as he did, from an individualistic standpoint. He did not believe in discussing the philosophy of Action, but considered it necessary that one should act at the psychological moment. He deprecated the poor logic of demo-

move on the part of mies and in this they reported by the vast workers who now keeping themselves. For (those who believe the slanders about anarchizing the workers, take our comrade points basis of "personal "not all the guns go to they have greatly risen since they are bought ple, by the proletariat the idea of sending to front but to keep the a thorough houseclean needed soon."

cratic Governments. O and not just rot away.

HEROISM OF THE ANARCHIST

Captain White quoted partial men who spoke of the heroism as done by the Spanish An spoke at length of collages, and in particular fishing port so admirably by Mr. Langdon-Davies he had just published. Sir Chalmers Mitchell, the work being done by and the C.N.T. and as expressed surprise that could have written as well-known publication workers in Spain had into "a rigid anarch This, to his knowledge, the truth. The Anarchi most tolerant and u men he had met.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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(page 1)

A L B A L A T E de C I N C A .

(A Collectivised Village). — by- Emma Goldman.

The superior quality of the Spanish Anarchist Movement to those of other countries consists in the constructive preparatory work which our comrades had carried on almost from the very inception of the C.N.T. Some years ago, they sent a questionnaire to all their affiliated Syndicates asking the workers how far they felt equipped to take over the Industries ^{and run them} on the first day of the Social Revolution. How far they knew the resources and the cost of maintenance of the Industries; and whether they felt able to manage the means of production and distribution. The Committee of the National Confederation of Labour was surprised to find how well the simplest workers and peasants understood the intricate machinery of the industrial system. In other words, the Spanish workers had years of experience and preparation for the supreme moment of a social Revolution.

Aside of their economic preparation, they had been trained ideologically that it was not the creation of a formidable State machine but the capacity to produce for the needs of the whole community which guarantees the life and safety of the Revolution.

How well the Spanish workers were prepared for ^{this} ~~the~~ supreme moment, they proved on the 19th of July, 1936. Since then they

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(Page 2)

have also demonstrated in a masterly manner their pre-revolutionary schooling in the economic life of the country. While still fighting the Military and Fascist' conspiracy - fighting almost with bare hands - they at the same time proceeded to expropriate the factories and shops - the entire transport system as well as the land - and they set to work to build a new mode of life out of the decadent conditions left by their economic masters.

In coming to Spain, I little dreamt that our Spanish comrades had proceeded with the constructive task to such a degree. I visited numerous large Industries and was amazed at the capacity of the supposedly untaught workers to attend to the task in such an intelligent and able manner. And I was even more impressed with the spirit and ability of the peasantry in the villages I had visited to collectivize the land and to bring into being what they called "Communismo Libertario."

The village Albalate de Cinca is a case in point. It is in the Province of Huesca - one of the most besieged fronts by the Fascists. Its population consisted of 5,000 - the majority of which are C.N.T.--F.A.I. members. The leading spirits in the requisitioning of the land and the organisation of work in common, are a comrade of seventy and his grandson, who is twenty-five. They have been steeped in the ideas and ideals of generations of Anarchist Communism.

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(Page 3)

It was no effort to them to carry into practice their long-cherished dream of working the land in common for the benefit of all.

The large Estate, comprising acres and acres, belonged to one of the aristocratic parasites of whom there were many in Spain. He lived abroad, squandering his large income that had been drawn from the flesh and blood of the starving peasants. In 1929 he graciously offered his large possessions to the peasants in return for an exorbitant rental. They took him at his word but soon found that though they worked the land incessantly it did not yield enough to meet the demands of the usurer who owned the Estate. They held out for a year and then refused to pay rent or taxes. As a result, they were constantly persecuted by the henchmen of Primo de Rivera, then Dictator of Spain. With the advent of the Republic in '31, they were left in peace, but without any rights to the use of the land or without any material help to make it fertile, had they been permitted access to it. Then came the Revolution, July 19th, which spread like wildfire all through Spain, and was most effective in Catalonia.

Among the first to interpret the Revolution in a constructive sense were the peasants of Albalate de Cinca. They set to work with a will and a whim which the outside world least expected of "crude and undeveloped peasants", — the most exploited and least reckoned with among the masses.

(Page 4)

I had occasion to verify the truism of this statement when I talked to some of the peasants outside of the Collective. Fortunately, they did not know who I am, therefore, did not have to make up their story to please me. In their simple way, they expressed exactly the thought that had been elaborated for me by the Committee of the Albalade de Cinca' Collectives. They would "Wait and See" how well Collectivism worked, and would then decide whether to join

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(Page 5)

it. The comrades have established three Bodies that operate in Albalate de Cinca - a Council of Labor, of Food Supplies and of Defence. The three work in a federated way, of course. Federalism is the very essence of the ideas and practice of the C.N.T.-F.A.I.

It would be wrong to say that Albalate de Cinca is an Anarchist Commune in the full sense. The principle of Labor, "from each according to his ability and to each according to his need" cannot yet be carried out to its full extent. The land has been lying fallow too long and there is very little of modern machinery to work with. True, the first step of the Collective was to buy a threshing machine and the most essential farm machinery. But all that is still very primitive and therefore the land does not yield enough to satisfy all the needs of each member. Nevertheless, Albalate has succeeded in coming as near the principles of Anarchist Communism as hardly anticipated in the midst of danger and death from the bloodthirsty enemy, and the defence of the Revolution. The means of livelihood are proportioned according to the size of each family. Whatever surplus realised, is contributed to the Anti-Fascist war and the ^{the} evolutionary struggle. It is indeed a remarkable feat to have achieved in the present situation.

What touched me deepest was the social awareness and the flaming spirit of the young generation in the Collective. Not a thought of themselves; all their hopes and aspirations

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(Page 6)

were concentrated on the great reconstructive work before them, the schools they wanted to build, the hospitals, libraries and museums they planned. Every youngster without exception was by far better read and better versed in social ideology than many of the young people in the large cities outside of Spain.

Whatever will become of the gallant struggle of the Spanish workers and peasants, and their Advance Guard, the CNR-FAI, they will, they must be victorious — the constructive experiment begun in July '19, will stand out as the most extraordinary example of how a Revolution should be made.

Emma Goldman

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The tragedy of woman's emancipation. In Spanish] La tragedia de la emancipación femenina / Emma Goldman. — pp. 11-12 ; 28 cm. In Libre-Studio [Valencia]. — (March 1, 1937).

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Por Emma Goldman

Todo movimiento que apunta a la destrucción de las instituciones existentes y su reemplazamiento por alguna cosa más avanzada, más perfecta, cuenta con partidarios, los cuales, teóricamente, defienden las ideas más radicales, pero en la práctica de la vida cotidiana no pasan el Philistin medio, fingen ser respetables, y rebuscan la buena opinión de sus adversarios. Se encuentran así socialistas, ciertamente anarquistas, que exponen la idea que la propiedad es un robo, pero que se indignarían si alguien les debiese el valor de media docena de alfileres.

Se encuentra Philistin del mismo género en el movimiento feminista. Los periodistas amarillos y los literatos a la miga de pan, han trazado de la mujer emancipada, cuadros para hacer levantarse los cabellos del buen ciudadano y de su triste compañera. Se despeinaría cada partidario al movimiento, como una George Sand, bajo el informe de su menosprecio por la moralidad. Nada le era sagrado. Emancipación femenina, venía a ser sinónimo de una vida de desarreglo de conducta y de lujuria antisocial, inmoral. Las partidarias de los derechos de la mujer, se indignaron de cierta caricatura; ausentes de humor, ellas pusieron toda su energía en probar que ellas no eran tan malas como se les describía, sino todo lo contrario. Seguramente, tan largo tiempo que la mujer había gemido bajo el yugo del hombre, ella no podía ser ni buena ni pura. Pero ahora, libre e independiente, ella entendía manifestar cuán buena ella podrá ser, y demostrar que su influencia tendrá un efecto purificador sobre todas las instituciones de la sociedad.

El movimiento grandioso en favor de una emancipación verdadera, no ha encontrado sobre su camino una gran generación de mujeres capaces de mirar la libertad cara a cara. Su punto de vista puritano, hipócrita, desterrado el hombre de su vida emocionable como un perturbador y un sospechoso. Todo esto es justo si se le ha tolerado como padre del hijo, porque no se podía apenas pasarse de ello. Afortunadamente que los puritanos más rígidos no serán jamás bastante fuertes para matar la aspiración innata a la maternidad. Ahora, la libertad de la mujer está estrechamente ligada a la del hombre; y numerosas de mis hermanas, tituladas emancipadas, parecen descuidar el hecho de que un niño nacido en la libertad, reclama el amor y la adhesión de todos los seres humanos que le rodean, tanto del hombre como de la mujer. Desgraciadamente, es esta concepción estrecha de las relaciones humanas, quien ha producido la tragedia que se goza en las vidas de las mujeres y de los hombres contemporáneos.

Una inteligencia rica y un alma bella, son generalmente considerados como los atributos necesarios de una personalidad noble y bien templada. En lo que concierne a la mujer moderna, estos atributos sirven de obstáculo para la completa afirmación de su ser. He ahí, hace más de un siglo, que la antigua

y bíblica fórmula del casamiento «hasta que la muerte les separe», ha sido denunciada como una institución implicando soberanía del hombre sobre la mujer, sumisión absoluta de esta última a sus caprichos y a sus órdenes, su subordinación completa por el hombre y por su manutención. Varias y varias veces, se ha demostrado irrefutablemente, que viejas relaciones matrimoniales restringían a la mujer de las funciones de doméstica del hombre, y de procreadora de sus hijos. Y sin embargo, encontramos numerosas mujeres emancipadas, que prefieren el casamiento, con todas sus imperfecciones, al aislamiento de una vida de celibato: vida restringida e insostenible, a causa de los prejuicios morales y sociales que mutúan y ligan a la naturaleza femenina.

La explicación de semejante inconsecuencia de parte de varias mujeres avanzadas, proviene del hecho de que ellas no han comprendido verdaderamente lo que significa la emancipación. Ellas se han imaginado que tenían todo cumplido volviéndose independientes de las ti-

ranías exteriores. Las convenciones éticas y sociales, los tiranos interiores, mucho más peligrosos para la vida y el desarrollo individual, se les deja cuidarse de por sí. Parecen ocupar un lugar bastante considerable en las cabezas y los corazones de las más activas de nuestras propagandistas feministas, que en las cabezas y en los corazones de nuestros abuelos.

¿Qué importa que estos tiranos interiores se presenten bajo la forma de la opinión pública, o, como si se dijese de mamá, o de mi tía o los vecinos, del padre, de la PUDOR, del patrono o del Consejo de disciplina...?

Hasta tanto que la mujer haya aprendido a desafiarse todos esos golpes, todos esos «detectives» morales, todos estos carceleros del espíritu humano; hasta tanto que ella no haya aprendido a conservarse firme sobre su terreno y a insistir sobre el ejercicio de su propia libertad, sin restricciones, a escuchar la voz de su naturaleza, o sea, aquello que ella llama el más grande tesoro de la vida: el amor por un hombre; o sea, aquello que la invita al ejercicio del más glorioso de sus privilegios: el derecho de traer un hijo al mundo; hasta entonces, ella no puede llamarse emancipada.

En uno de sus libros, un novelista moderno ha intentado describir la mujer ideal, bella, emancipada. Este ideal se encarna en una jovencita, una Doctora. Ella discurre con mucha habilidad y sabiduría sobre la manera de criar a los niños; ella es caritativa y suministra gratuitamente medicamentos a las madres pobres. Ella conversa con un joven que conocía, sobre las condiciones sanitarias del futuro, y explica cómo los bacilos gérmenes serán exterminados por el empleo de entarimados y paredes de piedra, por la desaparición de alfombras y cortinas. Ella está, naturalmente, vestida muy sencillamente, muy prácticamen-

Libre-Studio — 11

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The tragedy of woman's emancipation. In Spanish] La tragedia de la emancipación femenina / Emma Goldman. — pp. 11-12 ; 28 cm. In Libre-Studio [Valencia]. — (March 1, 1937).

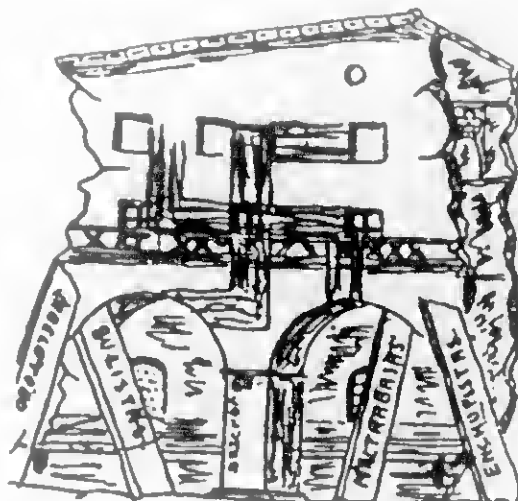
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te, de negro. El joven, a qu en su primer encuentro había intimidado por el saber de su amiga emancipada aprendió gradualmente a comprenderla y se abrió un hermoso día de que él la amaba. Ellos son jóvenes. Ella es buena y hermosa, y, aunque rigidamente vestida, un cuello blanco inmaculado y adornos de encajes alivian su aspecto severo. Se sospechará de que él le hable de su amor, pero esto no es nada más que para que algunos cometan absurdos románticos, por cierto que no lo hace. He aquí que él impone silencio a la voz de la naturaleza, y permanece correcto. Ella así continúa manifestándose exacta, razonable, muy educada. Yo temo que si ellos estuviesen unidos, el joven se hubiese aventurado a quedarse helado. Yo confieso que no veo nada de grandioso en esta «nueva belleza», tan fría como las paredes y los entarimados en los cuales ella sueña. Yo prefiero las baladas amorosas de los siglos románticos. Don Juan, los raptos a los claros de luna, las escaleras de cuerda, las maldiciones paternas, los gemidos de la madre y los comentarios de los vecinos indignados, a esta corrección y a estas medidas tan estrechas. Si el amor no sabe cómo dar y tomar sin restricciones, esto no es amor; es una transacción que no falta nunca en considerar en primer lugar el beneficio o la pérdida que debe resultar de la operación.

La salud reside en una marcha enérgica hacia un futuro más brillante, más claro. Lo que nos es necesario, es apartarnos de las viejas tradiciones, de las costumbres desusadas, para ir hacia adelante. El movimiento feminista no ha cumplido más que los primeros pasos en esta dirección. Es necesario esperar,

reunir bastante fuerza para dar el segundo paso. El derecho al voto, a las capacidades cívicas iguales, pueden constituir buenas reivindicaciones, pero la emancipación real no principia más en la urna que en la barra. Ella principia en el alma de la mujer. La historia nos dice que es por sus propios esfuerzos que en toda época los oprimidos se han realmente libertado de sus verdugos. Es de toda necesidad que la mujer retenga esta lección: que su libertad se extienda hasta donde su poder de liberarse a sí misma. Es, pues, mil veces más importante para ella, principiar por su regeneración interior; de dejar desaparecer el peso de los prejuicios, de las tradiciones, de las costumbres. La reivindicación de los derechos iguales en todos los dominios de la vida, es equitativa y justa, pero, de entre todos, el derecho más vital, es el de amar y ser amado. La emancipación femenina parcial, debe transformarse en una emancipación completa y verdadera de la mujer, esto a condición de que ella haga caso omiso de la noción ridícula que ser amada, amante y madre, es sinónimo de ser esclava o subordinada. Es necesario que ella se desembarace de la absurda noción del dualismo de los sexos, que de otro modo dice que el hombre y la mujer representan dos mundos antagónicos.

La mezquindad separa; la esplendidez reúne. Seamos espléndidos y generosos. Una concepción verdadera de las relaciones sexuales, no admite ni vencedor ni vencido; ella no reconoce más que una cosa: el don de uno mismo, ilimitado, a fin de encontrarse más rica, más segura, mejor. Esto sólo puede colmar la vida y transformar la tragedia de la emancipación femenina en una alegría, una alegría sin límites.



The Emma Goldman Papers

A Long-Cherished Dream / Emma Goldman. — p. 3 ; 29 cm. *In Spain and the World* [London]. — Vol. 1, no. 7 (March 5, 1937).
Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

SPAIN AND THE WORLD

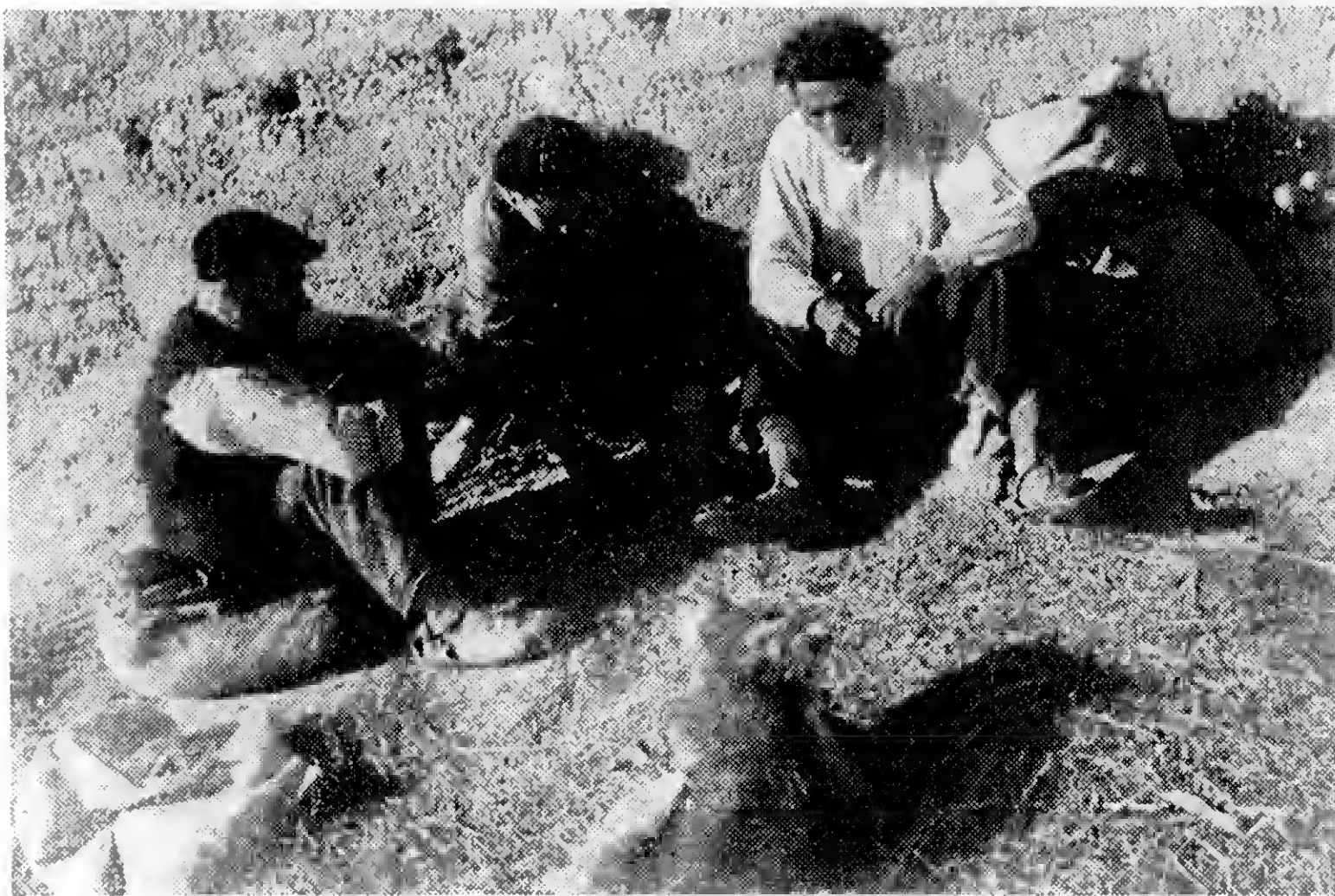
VOLUME 1, NUMBER 7

MARCH 5th, 1937.

PRICE 2

ALBALATE DEL CINCA

(HUESCA)



Farm labourers resting after a hard morning's work. An article, by Emma Goldman, describing life in this collectivised village, appears on page 3.

REASON—NOT

Unites The People

SYNDICATES WORKING SYSTEM

Carcagente is a town of 20,000 south of the province of Valencia, particularly suitable for the cultivation of oranges. The town is surrounded by orange-groves and has a high income. Even more than in other parts of the country, because of their abundance of golden fruit, representatives of the syndicalist movement have entered our movement.

In Carcagente, as in so many other villages, the organising capacity and the handful of militant labourers, who have come to the fore in spite of all persecutions, has come to the fore.

The syndicalist organisation was in fact, together with the prestige of the majority of the population, once they enter our movement.

We have visited the Local Federation of the Syndicates. On entering, our attention was attracted by a showcase, once destined to protect an image of Christ, now harbouring the photo of Francisco Ferrer. An agreeable substitution.

We got information about the existing syndical contingents. There is The Syndicate of the Peasants :

With 2,700 members
Women workers in the orange-packing : 3,200 members
Construction workers : 340 members

The Emma Goldman Papers

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SPAIN AND THE WORLD, FRIDAY, MARCH

A LONG CHERISHED DREAM

Ideals Carried Into Practice

A COLLECTIVISED VILLAGE

Albalate del Cinca—By Emma Goldman

The superior quality of the Spanish Anarchist movement to those of other countries consists in the constructive preparatory work which our comrades had carried on almost from the very inception of the C.N.T. Some years ago, they sent a questionnaire to all their affiliated Syndicates asking the workers how far they felt equipped to take over the Industries, and manage them themselves, on the first day of the Social Revolution; how far they knew the resources and the cost of maintenance of the Industries; and whether they felt able to take charge of the means of production and distribution. The Committee of the National Confederation of Labour was surprised to find how well the simplest workers and peasants understood the intricate machinery of the industrial system. In other words, the Spanish workers had years of experience and preparation for the supreme moment of a social revolution.

Aside of their economic preparation, they had been trained ideologically that it was not the creation of a formidable State machine but the capacity to produce for the needs of the whole community which guarantees the life and safety of the Revolution.

On July 19, 1936, the Spanish workers proved that they were prepared for the supreme moment. Since then they have also demonstrated in a masterly manner their pre-revolutionary schooling in the economic life of the country. While still fighting almost with bare hands—they at the same time proceeded to expropriate the factories and shops—the entire transport system as well as the land—and they set to work to build a new mode of life out of the decadent conditions left by their economic masters.

In coming to Spain, I little dreamt that our Spanish comrades had proceeded with the constructive task to such a degree. I visited numerous large industries and was amazed at the capacity of the supposedly untaught workers to attend to the task in such an intelligent and able manner. And I was even more impressed with the spirit and ability of the peasantry in the villages I had visited to collectivize the land and to bring into being what they called "Communismo Libertario."

Quality Of Work In Common.

A Remarkable Feat.

When I arrived, in the beginning of October, barely three months after the heroic Catalan workers had driven Franco's gangs from their midst, these "crude and undeveloped" peasants had already succeeded in collectivizing part of the land, and were working in a true spirit of Libertarian Communism. Actually, they showed more intelligence and better psychological perception than the men who had imposed Dictatorship on the Russian workers and the peasants. They had realised the criminal blunder of driving their brothers into the Collectives by Czeks armed to their teeth. In their natural wisdom, our Albalate de Cinca comrades reasoned that it was their duty to demonstrate the superior quality of work in common. They told me "once we can prove to our brothers that collective labour saves time and energy, and brings greater results to each member of the Collective, the

be Albalate Collectives. They would "Wait and See" how well Collectivism worked, and would then decide whether to join it. The comrades have established three bodies that operate in Albalate de Cinca—a Council of Labour, of Food Supplies and of Defence. The three work in a federated way, of course. Federation is the very essence of the ideas and practice of the C.N.T.-F.A.I.

A REMARKABLE FEAT

It would be wrong to say that Albalate de Cinca is an Anarchist Commune in the full sense. The principle of Labour, "from each according to his ability and to each according to his need" cannot yet be carried out to its full extent. The land has been lying too fallow too long and there is very little of modern machinery to work with. True, the first step of the Collective was to buy a threshing machine and the most essential farm tools. But all that is still very primitive and therefore the land does not yield enough to satisfy all the needs of each member. Nevertheless, Albalate has succeeded in coming as near the principles of Anarchist Communism as hardly anticipated in the midst of danger and death from the bloodthirsty enemy, and the defence of the Revolution. The means of livelihood are proportioned according to the size of each family. Whatever surplus, realised, is contributed to the anti-Fascist war and the Revolutionary struggle. It is indeed a remarkable feat to have achieved in the present situation.

What touched me deepest was the social awareness and the flaming spirit of the young generation in the Collective. Not a thought of themselves; all their hopes and aspirations were concentrated on the great reconstructive work before them, the schools they wanted to build, the hospitals, libraries and museums they planned. Every youngster without exception was by far better read and better versed in social ideology than many of the young

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large industries and was amazed at the capacity of the supposedly untaught workers to attend to the task in such an intelligent and able manner. And I was even more impressed with the spirit and ability of the peasantry in the villages I had visited to collectivize the land and to bring into being what they called "Communismo Libertario."

Steeped In Anarchist Communism.

The village Albalate de Cinca is a case in point. It is in the Province of Huesca—one of the most besieged fronts by the Fascists. Its population consisted of 5,000—the majority of whom are C.N.T.-F.A.I. members. The leading spirits in the requisitioning of the land and the organisation of work in common, are a comrade of seventy and his grandson, who is twenty-five. They have been steeped in the ideas and ideals of Anarchist Communism during three generations. It was no effort to them to carry into practice their long-cherished dream of working the land in common for the benefit of all.

The large estate belonged to one of the aristocratic parasites of whom there were many in Spain. He lived abroad, spending the large income that had been derived from the sweat and toil of the starving peasants. In 1929 he graciously offered his large possessions to the peasants in return for an exorbitant rental. They took him at his word, but soon found that though they worked the land incessantly it did not yield enough to meet the demands of the man who owned the estate. They held out for a year and then refused to pay rent or taxes. As a result they were constantly persecuted by the henchmen of Primo de Rivera, then Dictator of Spain. With the advent of the Republic in '31, they were left in peace, but without any rights to the use of the land or without any material help to make it fertile, had they been permitted access to it. Then came the Revolution, July 19th, which spread like wildfire all through Spain, and was most effective in Catalonia.

Among the first to interpret the Revolution in a constructive sense were the peasants of Albalate de Cinca. They set to work with a will and a whim which the outside world least expected of "crude and undeveloped peasants."

their brothers into the Collectives by Czckists armed to their teeth. In their natural wisdom, our Albalate de Cinca comrades reasoned that it was their duty to demonstrate the superior quality of work in common. They told me "once we can prove to our brothers that collective labour saves time and energy, and brings greater results to each member of the Collective, the peasants now standing aloof will join us."



Stacking bundles of flax. The Comrades in this village have pooled the harvest and are managing themselves the exchange of commodities.

I had occasion to verify the truism of this statement when I talked to some of the peasants outside of the Collective. Fortunately, they did not know who I am, therefore, did not have to make up their story to please me. In their simple way they expressed exactly the thought that had been elaborated for me by the Committee of

centrated on the great "reconstructive" work before them, the schools they wanted to build, the hospitals, libraries and museums they planned. Every youngster without exception was by far better read and better versed in social ideology than many of the young people in the large cities outside of Spain.

ALBALATE DEL CINCA (HUESCA)

Whatever will become of the gallant struggle of the Spanish workers and peasants, and their Advance Guard, the C.N.T.-F.A.I. (they will, they must be victorious), the constructive experiment begun on July 19 will stand out as the most extraordinary example of how a Revolution should be made.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summary of Lecture] The Church in Spain / Emma Goldman. — 23 cm. In Bristol Labour Weekly. — (April 10, 1937).

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Although the Kingsley Hall was not packed to the same extent as it was on the occasion of her first visit, Miss Goldman had a large and sympathetic audience when she made her appearance on Sunday last and spoke on the history and record of the Roman Catholic Church in Spain. Her address was followed by a volley of interesting questions which she answered unhesitatingly and in her usual convincing way. A collection of over £12 was taken.

The Church in Spain, she said, had been associated with the most reactionary forces since the time when the Moors ruled the country. Before their arrival Spain had been the foremost country in Europe in art, literature and general culture. Since then, Spain had done nothing worth while for culture, and had slowly deteriorated to her present state. At the instigation of the Church and under the iron rule of the monarchy 3,000 men and women had been burned at the stake.

When the French Revolution came it instilled new life into the Spanish people who rose in revolt and attempted to re-establish Liberalism. For a time they succeeded, but Ferdinand III conspired with the Church, and 4,000 leading Liberals in Spain were destroyed.

In 1823, 127 prelates of the Church organised the dreadful destructive body of men known as the Angels of Death, and this force of bandits, supported by the Catholic Church, succeeded in suppressing the Liberal movement. At all times the Spanish Church had been the sinister force in the struggle of the Spanish people against their despots.

In 1897, after an incident in which a bomb was thrown, 300 Labour men were arrested and tortured. Some went mad, some committed suicide, some died, and some were executed. The remaining victims were invited to England by Keir Hardie, and in Trafalgar Square they tore their shirts open and showed the marks of the torture they had suffered.

The power of the Church in Spain was not only political: it was also economic. The Church owned factories and land, and since July 19 last year it had been proved that the Church in Spain owned one-third of the entire soil of that country. They also had terrific holdings in houses, universities and schools,

where they taught the people to be slaves and to regard any attempt to liberate themselves as of the devil and against God and the Holy Spirit.

The Church had been connected with the military conspiracy of the Fascists. She had herself seen in the houses of the rich overwhelming evidence that the priests of the Church had prevailed upon the owners to contribute to the Fascist cause. They were told that in supporting Franco they were supporting Holy Church.

Denying the atrocity stories published, Miss Goldman said that churches had only been burnt down when it was found that they were being used as arsenals, and priests had only been shot when they had been caught with firearms. Actually, the nuns and priests had been given the right to leave Spain if they desired to do so. The workers had spared the fine cathedrals and churches, and in the city of Tarragona the Cathedral had been used as a museum to house the rich art treasures of the past.

Actually, it was Franco who desecrated churches, and in one instance he had even massacred men, women and children who had sought refuge in the precincts of a church, and had afterwards celebrated High Mass within the building.

THOSE PIGEONS!

In the Los Angeles Olympic Stadium ten thousand pigeons were released to tell the world the Games had opened. But Americans are very kind to birds and animals, and though imprisoned in their boxes, these pigeons had had plenty to eat. Out they flew, delighted to spread their wings again in the sun; but the walls of the stadium were several hundred feet high, and to get sufficient height, the pigeons had to fly round and round over the heads of the people.

As I said before, the pigeons had been well fed, and they had had no exercise. Hence they were unable to prevent Nature from taking its natural course, to the dismay of the audience, who tried in vain to duck.—Taken from "I Leap Before I Look," by David Haig Thomas, published by Putnam.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter on the Misinformation on the Actual Place of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. in the Anti-Fascist Struggle] / [Emma Goldman].— [1937 April? 14?, draft, fragment.]— 5 p.; 28 × 22 cm.

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misinformed of the actual place of the CNT/FAI in the anti-Fascist struggle. I say misinformation because I cannot believe that your paper would deliberately misrepresent the anarchists of Catalonia. I am referring to your editorial in the Manchester Guardian of April 3rd which I unfortunately missed while on tour in the provinces; it came to my attention only a week ago.

You say in your article "On the Cause of the War": "It is remarkable, for example, (although not perhaps without an historical explanation) how little assistance has been given by the Catalonians to Madrid during the war. The anarchist leader, Durutti was sent with 15,000 men to fight on the Madrid front, but the bulk of the valuable Catalanian resources seem to have been frittered away on ill-managed and fruitless skirmishes in the north...."

I am sorry that I did not get this information. I can only say that whoever gave you the story gave you a gross misstatement of the actual facts of the situation in Catalonia. Will you permit me therefore to place before your readers several facts which occurred while I was yet in Barcelona: First, as late as September 1936 the CNT/FAI submitted to the Madrid Government a plan for the immediate organisation of a Council of Defence. That was not...

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Secondly, it was again the C.N.T./F.A.I. who offered to reorganise an old deserted munition factory in Madrid and to proceed at once with the intensive manufacture of arms. That was also refused although it was known the Central Government that the C.N.T./F.A.I. succeeded in turning a famous automobile plant into a munition factory within 48 hours of the 19th July, and that it was working day and night in producing the largest amount of arms for the anti-fascist struggle.

Thirdly, it was Barutí who went to Madrid to offer his services and the services of his marvellous international column which he had organised to begin verifications of arms. He was not to be permitted to appeal to the people directly to save themselves, their city and the revolution.

Some time later when the danger to Madrid became acute it was again Barutí with a part of his column who undertook the defence of Madrid against the first attack of Franco's Italian and German strikers of Madrid. It may interest you to know that Barutí had set his heart on conquering theragon front. He

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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worked for that day and night and he perfected his column to that end, but when the call came to go to Madrid he did so without a moment's hesitation. The heroic battle was short-lived for as you know he was killed on the 20th November. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~

From the earliest beginning of Franco's murderous attacks of the Spanish people the C.N.T.-F.A.I. and Catalonia have contributed arms, manpower and foodstuffs to the fight, depriving its own city and population of the necessities of life and the equally great necessity of arms to defend itself. Finally it is also Catalonia that is saddled with the heaviest brunt of carrying the evacuees, the women and children, already numerous before I left at the end of December and since mounted into the hundreds of thousands as a result of the odds of slavery (Incidentally it is an open secret that while large sums are being raised in England for all sorts of purposes for Spain, Catalonia as such has received precious little help in any shape or form. That is another matter yet to be disclosed in due time; for the present I cannot emphasise enough that Catalonia has continued to strain every nerve and muscle for the needs of Madrid.

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In your editorial you state that "valuable Catalan resources seem to have been frittered away on ill-managed and fruitless skirmishes in Aragon. Actually Catalonia remained without valuable resources because everything it could muster went to Madrid. As a result the column on the Aragon front was condemned to inactivity against the enemy, for even the most burning faith and enthusiasm cannot make up for the lack of munition. It seems therefore extremely unjust to charge Catalonia with having frittered away on ill-managed and fruitless skirmishes in Aragon."

In other words the charge against Catalonia of having in any way sabotaged the defence of Madrid is pure invention on the part of the so-called, though claiming to belong to the United Front in Spain, have left not a single soldier in Aragon, the C. / F. A. I., in the back. They seek to be popular by spreading the most libellous rumours about the C. / F. A. I. They should cannot forgive these organisations who have been steeped in libertarian ideas for three generations, to have been the first to go out on the streets of Barcelona in July 1936 to fight the military

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and fascist conspiracy and who have since endeared themselves to the Catalan people by their magnificent constructive work and their valour. But then the truth has a way of making itself heard sooner or later. I am certain that the time is not far when the whole world will know the sacrifice, the consecration and the fortitude of the Catalonian people and /will in the anti-fascist struggle and in the attempt to build a new social order amidst danger and death.

Yours faithfully,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Durruti is dead, yet living. In Chinese] Durruti Zhi Si / Emma Goldman. — pp. 16-18
; 21 cm. In Jing Zhe. — Vol. 1, no. 1 (April 25, 1937).
Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

杜汝替之死

Emma Goldman

杜汝替 (Durruti)，我最末一次看見他是在一月以前，却在馬德里市街戰中把他的生命喪失了。我和這一個偉大的戰士第一次的相識，與西班牙的革命運動，是因為我談到關於他的記載。當我來到巴塞隆那 (Barcelona) 的時候，我聽到許多關於杜汝替和他的聯隊的逸事，這些引起我到亞拉哥那 (Aragón) 前線的興味，因為他正在那兒做抗戰法西斯主義的各勇敢之民團之指導者。

我到了杜汝替的營房，天正黑，為了坐汽車在崎嶇不平的長途上旅行，便很疲憊。杜汝替是個博大的，令人忘倦的人物，好像是用鋼鐵在石上磨成的，他在我到了西班牙後會見的安那其主義者中，很容易地便顯得是個最注意的人。他的精神，給我的印象，正如同在杜汝替身邊每一個人所生出的影響一樣。

我在真實的活躍的空氣裏——像在蜂房裏的活躍的空氣裏，遇見杜汝替。人們來往不絕，電話也在不斷地叫喚我們的同志。同時著杜汝替營房建造木頂的勞動者的鐘聲，震耳欲聾。而他却是嚴肅的而且是和氣藹藹的。他接待我，好像他在他整個生命已經認識了我那樣。這個拼死抗戰法西斯主義的頑強的人，他的衷心的和熱誠的接待，真有些出乎我於希望。

我在杜汝替聯隊裏聽到不少關於他的堅強的人格和命令。我起了好奇心知道他怎麼能夠集萬打萬既無經驗，也未受過軍事訓練的志願軍。而杜汝替却好像是一個戰鬥的老安那其主義者，如何會發出這麼一種問題。

「我自來就是個安那其主義者，」他回答——而且，我希望，我長久如是。因此，我如果必得變成一個將軍，而且以合於軍人標準的紀律之下，命令我們的人，我是認為很不愉快的事。他們都自願到我這兒來，準備在我們的反法西斯的鬥爭裏貢獻他們的生命。我相信，我常常「因自由」立於責任之感上的自由 (la liberte et la responsabilite) 而得成功。我認為紀律是必需的，但他必須是——由公共的理想和堅強的同志之感而引起的，自律 (autodiscipline)，他是獲得了他的部隊之信譽的，因為他從沒有把自己看成上官。他是他

們當中的一個。他和他們一樣眠食。他常常捐捨他自己的份，給與病者弱者，因為比他更其需要。在每一次戰爭中，他和他們一起冒險。無疑地，這便是杜汝替和他的聯隊成功的秘密。他的部隊愛他。不只是服從他的命令，並且隨時都準備着追隨他在最危險的行動中，去奪取法西斯的陣地。

我到那兒的次日，便是杜汝替準備進攻的日子。翠晨，杜汝替，和他的民團一樣，肩上升鎗出動。他和他們把敵人擊退了四公里，並且在敵人潰退時奪得了大量的軍用品。

簡單的，道德的「平等」是別，無疑地是杜汝替的影響之唯一的說明。此外，還有他對民團團員解釋反法西斯主義的意義——那種巨大的能力。而那種意義，便是控制了他自己的生命的，他把來運給那些最貧苦無告的人們。

杜汝替對我講起他的困難的問題，便是他的部隊必須在前線的時候，有的來向他請假。不消說，他們認識他們的指導者，他們知道他的決心，他的執著的意志。但他們也知道由他的外表的嚴肅所掩蔽的同情與和緩。當他們對他提起他們家裏有父母妻子，或子女在病的時候，如何能夠拒絕他們呢？

杜汝替在一九三六年光榮的七月以前，到處（在各國）都被認為是個野蠻而迫害。他被人作為罪人而囚禁。而到處死刑，他一個被憎惡的安那其主義者，被布爾喬亞，國家和教會——三位一體所憎惡。這個無家可歸的流浪人的心，常常為愛所盈溢的心，是少有人認識的，他也決不漠視於他的同志們的需要，現在，他投身於反法西斯主義的鬥爭中，防禦革命，而且，各人盡各人的職責，也是必需的。在我看來，那真是困難的職務。他忍耐地聽着來訴苦痛苦的歷史，他診斷牠的原因，當某種身體上的或道德的惡，在被棄者身上發生了影響之時。他同樣提出了救濟的辦法，如過勞，營養不足，缺乏新鮮空氣和生之樂趣。

「同志，你豈不知道，你和我，和我們所支持的戰爭是為了捍衛革命，而革命是為使貧苦者不再悲哀和受苦嗎？我們必須粉碎我們的法西斯敵人，我們必須在戰爭中獲勝，你是革命的精華，同志，你豈不知道？」——是的，杜汝替的同志們是知道的。

有一個部從幾次因執着要離開前線，不求懂得這些原因。「很好，杜汝替說，『但是，當你走進了你的村子之時，人人都會知道，你缺乏勇氣，你逃來了你的責任來的』。這些話發生了效力，他要求留着不走了。在杜汝替

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的前線，沒有一點軍人的嚴肅，沒有任何犯律的懲罰，來支持他的驕傲，只有他的利斧橫持着他們，而使他們發生和他一樣的感覺和思想。

……然而，現在杜汝替死了，他的心已經不跳了。他的身體像大樹一樣倒了下來。但，不管這個，杜汝替是沒有死的。成萬的大眾，在一九三六年十一月二十二日給杜汝替貢獻了他們的擁護之熱忱，——證明了他的不死。他的精神的火照耀着一切知道他和愛他的人，他決不會熄滅的。從杜汝替手裏落下來的大炬火，已經被大眾舉起來了，勝利地在杜汝替照耀過多年的路上行進……

杜汝替沒有死！

——譯者雜輯——

(譯者)本文譯自西班牙C. N. T. F. A. I. 一九三六年十一月二十八日世界諸公報，該報處，是譯者略去了的。右共地方，因原譯的印刷有誤，便採取了意譯。譯者是用不着介紹的，留心西洋社會運動史的人都知道，她在去年已經六十七歲的老太太，可是，她現在西班牙反法西斯的前線上。

仇 敵

——本文原載法國L'Œuvre des 刊。譯者根據去年一月份「人」月刊英譯重譯。

Alvaro Unzueta
譯

彌爾佳(Michongas)和卡羅特(Cinques)兩國交戰。共和國軍人希坡萊特(Tibpuyte)沿着江岸走來走去地望哨。突然他聽見從水裏傳來的失聲的呼聲，希坡萊特非常局促不安。他是個勇士，他是八個兒子的父親，關於他們，在他和他們分別來參加戰事而後，他總是不斷地想念着。而且，希坡萊特還是個多感的，窮乏者。他有一回曾經從烈烈裏救出一個老婦人。他常常不顧自己的犧牲去幹這一類的事，他把一些不幸的人帶到自己的家裏幫助他們。他聽到這些失聲的號呼，他這充滿了「克己」和「感動」的男性的心，便提動起來了。他的眼睛在水上搜索，他覺得有個人在那裏掙扎。希坡萊特一點也不遲疑，他把他的槍拋在地上，跳下水裏，跳入水裏。

他精幹地和流水相鬥。他本是一個善於泅水的人，因之他使得抓住了溺者的頭髮，而把他提上岸來。

希坡萊特出了水，便穿上靴子，提起槍。他救起來的人，全身裸着，吃驚地望着他。

The Emma Goldman Papers

Catalonia's Part in the War / Emma Goldman. — 29 cm. In The Manchester Guardian. — (April 28, 1937).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 28, 1937

L. GEORGE IN WANDSWORTH

tomorrow's Poll

H. L. Nathan (Lab.).
Roland Jennings (C.).

and Declaration To-morrow

Sir H. Jackson (C.), 14,728; P. W.
ab. 1, 11,368. C. majority 4,323.

L. George told an audience at a Town Hall last night that he was "particularly interested" in the "polling" of the Wandsworth Central by-election. He was addressing a meeting of the Council of Action in support of H. L. Nathan, Labour, and Roland Jennings, Conservative, in the Wandsworth Central by-election polling takes place to-morrow. Mr. George said that he had figured his part in that respect, and that he was now more interested in the issues—the gravest with which the country had been confronted in

the conditions in the country were infinitely worse than when the Government took office. "I find everywhere," he said, "people of this country are more interested in the mere contest than in the issues." He pointed to the election of Mr. George in the Wandsworth Central, and to the record of Tory representation, and said that he had elected a man of independent mind very much the same line as the Council of Action.

Mr. George then said that the people were beginning to see that these issues went far beyond the mere contest of party and they were dissatisfied—as he certainly was in which affairs had been going on. He said that unless someone they might wake up one day and find that the country had ever yet been so civilised.

Mr. George declared that the responsibility for the present situation rests at the door of the Government, and that they have at present. This cannot lead—it has not the solution, firmness, or vision. He went on to indict the Government for its foreign and home policy.

Mr. George then read the Reuter's account of the aerial bombing of the Durango and, after emphasising that the Basques were not affected by the political policy, asked, "Where do those bombs come from? Are they the Foreign Office's non-intervention? Where do they come from, I ask you?—the story of non-intervention."

Mr. George then said that the Government has failed in every undertaking—Japan, disarmament, dealings with Germany, intervention. Point out to me the great catalogue of failures that has been a triumph for the Government. That is supporting Major Nathan."

BRIDGE FORECAST

Mr. George, referring to the bridge and industry of rearmament, said that national trade would be dislocated by the terrific war. He prophesied that Stalybridge would return a Government

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

CATALONIA'S PART IN THE WAR

Offers of Assistance that Madrid is Said to Have Refused

To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian

Sir,—As an old reader of your paper I have always felt that it is the only Liberal paper in this country, liberal in the true sense. I am here as the accredited representative of the National Confederation of Labour (C.N.T.) and the Anarchist Federation of Iberia (F.A.I.). I have been trying since last December to counteract the misrepresentations and often vilification of these two gallant Spanish organisations. I would almost say that there is a conspiracy of silence on the part of the so-called Left publications and fabrication on the part of the Conservative papers. I was therefore not a little surprised to find that even the "Manchester Guardian" is sadly misinformed as to the actual place of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. in the anti-Fascist struggle. In your leader of April 3 you say: "It is remarkable, for example (although not perhaps without an historical explanation), how little military assistance has been given by the Catalonians to Madrid during the war. The Anarchist leader Durutti was sent with 15,000 men to fight on the Madrid front, but the bulk of the valuable Catalan resources seem to have been frittered away on ill-managed and fruitless skirmishes in Aragon." I do not know where you got this information. I can only say that completely misstates the facts of the situation in Catalonia. Will you permit me therefore to place before your readers several incidents which occurred while I was yet in Barcelona?

First, as late as September, 1936, the C.N.T.-F.A.I. submitted to the Madrid Government a plan for the immediate organisation of a Council of Defence. That was rejected. Secondly, the C.N.T.-F.A.I. offered to reorganise an old depleted munition factory in Madrid and to proceed at once with the intensive manufacture of arms. That was also refused, although it was known to the Central Government that the C.N.T.-F.A.I. had succeeded in turning a famous automobile plant into a munition factory within forty-eight hours of July 19 and that it was working day and night in producing the largest amount of arms for the anti-Fascist struggle. Thirdly, Durutti went to Madrid to offer his services and the services of the International Column he had organised to begin the fortification of Madrid. He begged to be permitted to appeal to the people direct to defend themselves, their city, and the revolution. That was also refused.

One month later, when the danger to Madrid became acute, it was again Durutti, with 15,000 of his column, who undertook the defence of Madrid. Actually it was Durutti who repulsed the first attack of Franco's Italians and Germans. Durutti had set his heart on conquering the Aragon front. He

worked for that day and night, and he perfected his column to that end, but when the call came to go to Madrid he did so without a moment's hesitation. The heroic battle was short-lived, for, as you know, he was killed on November 20.

From the earliest beginning of Franco's rebellion the C.N.T.-F.A.I. and Catalonia have contributed arms, man-power, and foodstuffs to Madrid, depriving their own city of the necessities of life and of arms to defend itself. It is also Catalonia that is saddled with the main burden of the evacuated women and children, already numerous before I left at the end of December and since numbering hundreds of thousands as a result of the exodus from Malaga. (Incidentally, it is an open secret that, while large sums are being raised in England for all sorts of purposes for Spain, Catalonia as such has received very little help in any shape or form.) I cannot emphasise enough that Catalonia has strained every nerve and muscle for the needs of Madrid.

You state that "valuable Catalan resources seem to have been frittered away on ill-managed and fruitless skirmishes in Aragon." Actually Catalonia remained without "valuable resources" because everything it could muster went to Madrid. As a result the column on the Aragon front was condemned to inactivity against the enemy, for even burning faith and enthusiasm cannot make up for the lack of munitions. It seems, therefore, unjust to charge Catalonia with having "frittered away resources on ill-managed and fruitless skirmishes in Aragon."

The charge against Catalonia of having in any way sabotaged the defence of Madrid is pure invention on the part of the people who, though claiming to belong to the United Front in Spain, have left nothing undone to stab their allies, the C.N.T.-F.A.I., in the back. They simply cannot forgive these organisations, who have been steeped in libertarian ideas for three generations, for having been the first to go on the streets of Barcelona in July, 1919, to fight the military and Fascist conspiracy and who have since endeared themselves to the Catalan people by their magnificent constructive work and their valour. But the truth has a way of making itself heard sooner or later. I am certain that the time is not far distant when the whole world will know the sacrifice, the consecration, and the fortitude of the Catalan people and of C.N.T.-F.A.I. in the anti-Fascist struggle and in the attempt to build a new social order amidst danger and death.—Yours, &c.,

EMMA GOLDMAN,
19, Castletown Road, London,
W. 14, April 24.

HOSPITAL ALMONERS

The Nature and Value of Their Work

To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian

Sir,—The discussion by the board of management of the Royal Infirmary on the possible appointment of an almoner, reported in to-day's issue, suggests that the nature and value of an almoner's work are not yet fully appreciated or understood. The chief contribution which an almoner can make to the hospital arises from her knowledge of the patient's home conditions, usually obtainable by interview at the hospital. With this knowledge she is able to secure the patient's full co-operation in his cure. Often the good results of medical or surgical treatment are negated by the neglect of doctor's orders, and in many cases this neglect is due to the pressure of home circumstances rather than to lack of goodwill.

The almoner's main function is to see that patients are enabled to carry out doctor's orders, whether with regard to diet, rest, convalescent or sanatorium treatment, the provision of surgical appliances, extra nourishment, the attendance of a district nurse, or a change of occupation. To these ends she will enlist the co-operation of other bodies, statutory or voluntary, for services which are not provided by the hospital itself and of which the patient may be entirely ignorant. She may, if required, assess contributions to the cost of treatment and maintenance, and she may also help to prevent the misuse of the voluntary hospital by those either able to pay for private treatment or entitled to State or municipal services.

The rapidly increasing number of appointments of almoners in both voluntary and municipal hospitals indicates that the addition to the staff of a trained social worker has justified itself. In many cases a careful assessment of contributions has increased income, but it would be misleading to suggest that this is the almoner's chief function or justification.—Yours, &c.,

JEAN C. WYATT, Joint Warden,
Manchester University Settlement,
Every Street, Ancoats,
Manchester 4, April 27.

WOMEN PACIFISTS AND BILBAO

Reply to a Criticism

To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian

Sir,—May we reply to Lady Horsley's letter commenting upon ours of April 19? We believe that pacifism is an active principle and not a sentimental "emotion that cannot be transformed into action." A protest against some peculiarly horrible forms of warfare does not seem misplaced, since it does at least help people to realise what the methods they are recommending lead to. The starvation of German children, against which British soldiers themselves protested in 1919, has helped to produce the psychology of Germany to-day. Do we want to see it reproduced in Spain? There is growing evidence that many people are prepared to work against certain methods of warfare and in par-

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The Soviet Political Machine in Spain] / [Emma Goldman]. — [1937 May?, draft, fragment]. — 2 p. ; 29 × 22 cm.

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"The events in Barcelona the last two weeks have demonstrated how foolish were some of our comrades of the CNT-FAI to believe that Stalin has begun to send arms to Spain out of revolutionary solidarity, or that there ever can be a unity between fire and water. Aside of the fact that Stalin waited 3½ months, the most critical period of the Spanish revolution and the anti-fascist war, before he began sending arms should have proved to our comrades and to all thinking people that the man was waiting for the decision of his allies - France - and that he carried little for the sacrifices daily made in Spain in the anti-fascist struggle. It should also have proven to them that Stalin sent arms in return for good gold and that he imposed conditions on the CNT-FAI which have unfortunately fettered both organisations to a very large extent. One of the conditions was that no anti-Soviet criticism or propaganda should be continued in the Anarchist press. The other that Soviet emissaries should have full control of the procedure of the defence of Madrid. Of course they never would have succeeded had it not been for the fact that Purutti was foully murdered. I did not believe the rumours while I was in Barcelona that he was put out of the way by a Communist. But from the events of the last two weeks I am beginning to think that there was more truth than fiction in this rumour. Purutti was too astute a strategist and absolutely consistent with his ideas and he would never have submitted to any political deal with the Communists. The Communists were not slow in taking advantage of these conditions. They not only increased in numbers, sometimes 2000 a week, who arrived in Spain, but a great deal of the arms sent for the defence of Madrid went to the headquarters of the Communists for the arming of their comrades. The next step dictated by Stalin was to change the slogan of the defence of the revolution to the defence of democracy, the kind of democracy which the old reactionary police officials and the reactionary middle class wanted to bring back in order to destroy the constructive work of the CNT-FAI and to crush the revolution. There is no doubt that the 'great dream' of Stalin was shared by the other powers who are all in favour of some kind of a deal with France in order to establish 'peace'. Otherwise it is difficult to explain how it happened that British and French warships should be rushed in Spanish waters almost at the identical moment when this well prepared plot in Spain was brought to a head, namely the attack on the telephone building - the most strategic point of Barcelona - by armed force. Incidentally, at the same moment the same attack took place in Saragon and Lereda, 250 kilometres from Barcelona. Naturally our comrades defended their position. They could not be expected to do anything else. They realised that they have already given way far beyond what they should have done. In other words the Anarchists were not the originators of the attack. To have done otherwise than defend the position would exasperate them and the revolution.

The originators of the plot did more than an open attack. They raided the rooms of a very distinguished Italian Anarchist who shared them with a comrade; they confiscated all their docu-

The Emma Goldman Papers

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ments and material, they put them under arrest and supposedly were to take them to police headquarters. The next day both were found dead, shot in the back, exactly as the many victims of Mussolini and Hitler were found. One of these comrades, Camilla Berneri, was one of the most distinguished anarchists in Italian ranks. Before Mussolini he was Professor of economy and literature in the Florence University. He had been victimised by Mussolini while he was still in the country and then pursued him to France where the life of Berneri was made impossible. From the very first moment of the Spanish revolution, July 19th, Berneri rushed to Spain and put himself and his abilities at the disposition of the CNT-FAI. He organised the first Italian column. He fought at many fronts and he was the spirit of all the Italians in the rear. I had occasion to meet and know Berneri and I found him one of the kindest and sweetest personalities, besides being one of the most brilliant. The Communists, together with the Fascist forces, have murdered Berneri because, like Purutti, he was in their way. He was too outspoken, too consistent and his vision was clear. He saw what was coming and he warned the leading comrades against it."

The Emma Goldman Papers

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[The social situation of woman. In German] Die soziale Stellung der Frau / Emma Goldman. — 21 cm. In Die Soziale Revolution [Barcelona]. — (May 1937).

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Die soziale Stellung der Frau

Der menschliche Fortschritt ist langsam. Man sagt, dass die Menschheit fuer jeden Schritt vorwaerts, zwei Schritte rueckwaerts tut. Erst zu Anfang dieses Jahrhunderts begann sie, sich von der Macht der herrschenden Klasse zu befreien, und sich der Unterwerfung unter die Kirche und die goettlichen Vorrechte der Koenige zu entziehen. In Wirklichkeit herrscht diese fatale Dreieinigkeit noch immer ueber viele Millionen Menschen in allen Teilen der Welt; aber mit eiserner Faust, und blinden Gehorsam erzwingend, regiert sie nur in den faschistischen Laendern. Der Faschismus hat keine historische Existenzberechtigung; sein schwarzer Pesthauch zeigt wie der Sturm naecher kommt und wie seine ohnmaechtige Wut waechst. In Spanien wird er sein Waterloo finden, waehrend die ganze Welt gegen die kapitalistischen Einrichtungen protestiert.

Der Mann, der im allgemeinen immer bereit ist heldenhaft fuer seine Emanzipation zu kaempfen, ist weit davon entfernt, dasselbe fuer das andere Geschlecht gelten zu lassen.

Ohne Zweifel, die Frauen vieler Laender haben eine wirkliche Revolution gemacht, um sich ihre sozialen, politischen und ethischen Rechte zu sichern. Es hat viele Jahre des Kampfes gekostet, oft haben sie Niederlagen erlitten, aber schliesslich haben sie den Sieg davon getragen.

Unglaecklicherweise gilt das nicht fuer die Frauen aller Laender. Zum Beispiel in Spanien gilt die Frau als minderwertiger als der Mann, man betrachtet sie einfach als Vergnuegungsobjekt und Gebaermaschine. Es wuerde mich nicht wundern, wenn die Buerger allein so daechten; aber es scheint mir fast unglaublich, dass diese vorsintflutliche

eigenen Genossen.

In keinem Land der Welt fuehlt die Arbeiterklasse so fuer den freiheitlichen Kommunismus wie in Spanien. Der Triumph der Revolution, die in den Julitagen begann, zeigt den hohen revolutionaeren Wert des spanischen Arbeiters. Man sollte annehmen, dass er in seiner leidenschaftlichen Liebe zur Freiheit auch die Freiheit der Frau mit einbegreift. Aber weit entfernt davon, die Mehrzahl der spanischen Maenner scheinen den Sinn der wirklichen Emanzipation nicht zu verstehen oder aber vorzuziehen, ihre Frauen weiterhin in Unwissenheit darueber zu lassen. In der Tat glauben viele Maenner, dass die Frauen es vorziehen in ihrer untergeordneten Stellung zu bleiben, so will man auch zu sagen pflegte, dass sich der Neger gluecklich fuehlt als Eigentum des Plantagenbesitzers. Eines aber ist sicher: Solange es noch Vorherrschaft eines Individuums ueber ein anderes gibt, ist von wirklicher Eman-

Die mensohliche Familie setzt sich aus Mann und Frau zusammen und die Frau ist der wichtigere Teil, weil sie das Leben fortsetzt. Je besser sie koerperlich und moralisch entwickelt ist, umso vollkommener wird die menschliche Rasse sein. Schon dies wuerde genuegen, um die Wichtigkeit der Frau in der Gesellschaft und im sozialen Kampf zu beweisen. Aber es gibt noch andere Gruende. Der wichtigste davon ist, dass die Frau ihr gutes Recht auf Entwicklung ihrer Persoenlichkeit begriffen hat und dass ihre Beduerfnisse und Ansprueche ebenso wichtig sind als die des Mannes.

Diejenigen welche immer noch glauben machen wollen, dass sie die Frau ganz in der Hand haben, werden sicher sagen: das ist alles schoen und gut, aber die Beduerfnisse und Ansprueche der Frau sind anderer Art, denn sie ist minderwertig. Das allein beweist die Beskraenktheit des Mannes, seine Einbildung und Arroganz, sonst wuerde er

ausserordentlichen Leistungen der Frau im Laufe der Geschichte die Legende ihrer Minderwertigkeit laengst widerlegt; diejenigen, die auf ihr bestehen, sind Maenner die eine Infragestellung ihrer Autoritaet nicht tolerieren koennen.

Das ist charakteristisch fuer alle Selbstherrlichkeit, sei es die des Herrn ueber die Sklaven, sei es die des Mannes ueber die Frau. Trotz allem, die Frau geht ihren Weg der Befreiung weiter, nimmt ihren Platz ein im Kampf um die oekonomische Umgestaltung, sowohl in sozialer, als auch in ethischer Hinsicht. Und die spanische Frau wird nicht mehr lange brauchen um ihre Emanzipation durchzusetzen. Das Problem der Frauenemanzipation muss der proletarischen Revolution vorangehen: Wer frei sein will muss den ersten Schritt wagen.

Die Arbeiterinnen Spaniens und ganz Spaniens haben schon einen Schritt getan, sie haben sich befreit und geben ihr Blut um ihre Befreiung zu sichern. Jetzt ist die Reihe an euch, spanische Frauen, herzutreten. Jetzt ist eure Stunde gekommen, eure Wuerde zu zeigen, eure Persoenlichkeit zu entwickeln, mit eurer eigenen Kraft euren Rechten zu bestehen als freie Individuen, als Glieder der Gesellschaft, als Kameraden im Kampf gegen den Faschismus und fuer die Soziale Revolution.

Nur wenn ihr Euch von religiösem Aberglauben, von den Vorurteilen der Laender und der Unterwerfung unter eine alte Vergangenheit befreit, werdet ihr eine unbesiegbare Macht im antifaschistischen Kampf sein. Nur durch die Soziale Revolution kann die neue Gesellschaft entstehen, in der alle Menschen wirklich frei sein werden.



Emma Goldman spricht zu den Arbeitern Spaniens

Emma GOLDMANN.

in: DIE SOZIALE REVOLUTION, MAI 1937

Barcelona; Beilage: Spaniens Frauen arbeiten fuer die Revolution 120

The Emma Goldman Papers

The First of May in London / Emma Goldman. — 28 cm. In Spain and the World [London]. — (May 19, 1937).

Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

...away. ... in the sea the soil just now is too salt for rice-growing. The salt must be removed by running water. So we

...pipes for the water, we make ourselves. It is hard work—but we have to grow food for the men at the front. And we are building the new Spain."

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The First of May demonstration in London on Saturday, May 1st, was a magnificent showing. But I venture to suggest that very few of the massed workers had any idea of the origin of the First of May as Labour's Holiday. Its origin is supposed to date back to the Socialist Congress in Paris in 1889. Actually, the idea was conceived and carried out by the Chicago Anarchists murdered by the State of Illinois on the 11th of Nov., 1887. It was in connection with the eight hour workday movement that our martyred comrades proclaimed the First of May as Labour's day of rest. The re-action that followed their death postponed the celebration of the First of May until 1890. It was then that the Anarchists in New York and other cities held their first demonstration and public meeting in the historic Union Square. Together with other comrades I spoke from a Van, much to the chagrin of the Social Democrats who also had their platform. They prevailed upon the driver to hitch his horse to the Van and get us out of the Square. I continued to speak as I was driven along the streets until I had finished. I thought of this historic incident as I was addressing a large crowd that came to our van to hear our comrades talk.

This time the opposition to the presence of Anarchists in the demonstration came from the Communists, though they did not make their protest too loudly known. To have done that would have of necessity exposed their great "love" of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. and their bitter dislike of the wonderful constructive work our brave Spanish comrades are making. Anyhow the Anarchists marched with the rest, proudly carrying the lusty banner of the C.N.T.-F.A.I., the flag of our newly organised Anarchist Syndicalist Union and a number of slogans telling the workers what we stand for. These were gladly received and applauded by the tens of thousands all along the route of march. Especially did the masses welcome the large photographs of Durruti and Ascasio carried by our comrades.

It was the first time in many years that London learned of the presence

of Anarchists in its midst and the first time that huge numbers of people came to know about the C.N.T.-F.A.I., its banners, its aims and its gallant fight for them.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

EMMA GOLDMAN APPEALS

To American Comrades to support Spain and the World.

7th May, 1937.

Dear Comrades and Friends,

Since I cannot reach you with my voice I hope I can do so by my pen. I am writing you on behalf of SPAIN AND THE WORLD, the best paper we have in English entirely dedicated to the heroic struggle of our Spanish comrades. Their struggle is the more worthy of our support because the C.N.T.-F.A.I. has not only Fascism to fight. They are surrounded by other enemies no less dangerous than Franco. The Socialists of Caballero's kind and the Communists, while pretending a united front, have sabotaged the Spanish Revolution beyond belief. And outside of Spain they are carrying on a vicious campaign against the C.N.T.-F.A.I. Among other miserable villifications they have spread the rumour that Catalonia and especially Barcelona have been done and are doing nothing for the defence of Madrid. A more criminal libel has never been committed against any movement.

In this country there is a complete conspiracy of silence in the so-called Left Press, and the meanest attacks against the Anti-Fascist War and the Revolution in the Right publications. Actually the only medium we have is SPAIN AND THE WORLD. It is the only voice for the gallant fight our comrades are making, and the only channel through which we can reach, if only a few thousand workers, with the truth about the Revolution in Spain, as well as the marvellous constructive work our comrades are continuing in the very face of danger and death. To lose SPAIN AND THE WORLD would be a great calamity. We must not permit that. It is for this reason that I appeal to you with all the intensity of my being to come to the rescue and support of SPAIN AND THE WORLD.

You can do the following: subscribe yourself, take two dozen copies of every issue and send them to your friends. Organise some affair for SPAIN AND THE WORLD. Collect donations on subscription lists. Do get busy, dear comrades. Do help SPAIN AND THE WORLD without delay.

Salud,

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Otherwise they are traitors, destined for concentration camps, island prisons, torture, exile or death.

There are those who call this an awakening, a new system, a new ideal. They draw their conclusion from signs of order, from chauvinistic challenges, from the outward trappings of tyranny itself. There is no voice of dissent; a kept press echoes its master's voice. The more perfect the oppression the more perfect the indications of success.

Who is this man, this colossus who, having destroyed every vestige of liberty in Italy, has made himself the state? He must be a superman of indomitable will, of uncanny insight, of brave spirit, of incorruptible integrity, and above all, of fixed, unalterable and consistent purpose!

The atory of his life explodes this myth. Vacillating, changeable, even timid, he has been a puppet of fortune. His power is an accident of fate. Opportunism, hatred and brutality are his sole contributions. Pacifist who became an interventionist through a bribe from France; Socialist discredited and expelled by the party; extremist despised by his fellows, he finally and fortuitously became a Fascist because of his hatred of his former comrades. The industrialists and reactionaries found him useful as an instrument against the radicals and then, having made of him a symbol, found him necessary as an instrument of repression against all workers and dissenters. The heroic march on Rome was at the invitation of the King to whom Mussolini grandiloquently presented himself with apologies for his black shirt and a reference to "a battle which luckily was not sanguinary."

We in America are not unfamiliar with racketeers who prey on fear and for a price pretend to protect us from greater evils than themselves. The bourgeois fear of Communism was used by both Mussolini and Hitler. When a racket controls a state you have Fascism; when Al Capone gets to the top you have Mussolini.

Fascism is dangerous because of the subtle approach. Those who hold power in states, presumably democratic, use the selected individual to fasten the chains. The change is hailed as revolution.

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New York,

May, 1935.

(The above article is the unpublished Foreword to Armando Borghi's book "MUSSOLINI, RED AND BLACK," pushed by Wisharts, price 5/-. This book may be obtained through "Spain and the World," price 5/6 post paid.)

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AIN AND THE WORLD, WEDNESDAY, MAY 19th, 1937.

Canadian Socialist's Views

Conditions In Catalonia

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On the outskirts of Puigcerda is the largest collectivized dairy products factory, producing cheese and condensed milk. A large number of Villas which surround Puigcerda in the mountains, and which were the summer homes of wealthy people who came there from the cities, have been turned into sanatoria and into homes and schools for refugee children. The people of Puigcerda have not been content just to organize a better living for themselves but they have taken one of the largest and best equipped hotels and turned it into a home for refugees. The peasant farmers throughout the adjoining countryside have prepared a scheme for the collectivizing of agriculture and this is being carried out. While I was there they were busy putting fertilizer on the land, repairing bridges, the roads and the irrigation canals.

On the Aragon front is the village of Gelsa, liberated from the Fascist occupation only a few months ago. Here a new kind of life has been organized. Not only are the people turning out war supplies on a generous scale but they have also put into operation a system of libertarian communism and they are making it work. Before they were one of the poorest of villages. They didn't know what it was to see a movie and they seldom had meat more than once or twice a week. In Gelsa, now, money has no value and no one works for an employer. Everything is collectivized. Everyone gives his labour and receives in return all that he desires. The artisans have nominated a delegate and it is his responsibility to see that everything is kept in repair. Coal and wood are distributed to each family in accordance with its needs. Meat is distributed equitably—20 kilos to each person. The same applies to potatoes and other vegetables. For extra things, which every family requires, the Committee distributes tickets, to every adult three tickets, children from six and a half to twelve receive one ticket and under that age half a ticket. The people of this village are now engaged on the construction of a communal laundry and after that they are planning to

Attitude Of The London Press

TO THE C.N.T.-F.A.I.

To find falsifications in the Tory Press of the position and activities of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. is by no means surprising. To them the anti-Fascist struggle is anathema enough. But the National Confederation of Labour and the Anarchist Federation of Iberia are worse than the red cloth to the bull. Tories and their mouth-piece, the Press, have been known to adjust themselves to republics, or so called democratic governments. But the possibility of a society that will have none of a deadly state machine is too far removed from the cramped and warped Tory mind. And as all fear is motivated by ignorance, the Tory papers and their scribes must needs be terrified by the C.N.T.-F.A.I. whose supreme effort is directed towards the creation of a non-governmental social life.

Unfortunately one finds the same inhibitions in the so called Left papers. They, too, fear the C.N.T.-F.A.I. and their dominant influence on the Catalan people. They try desperately to silence the achievement of the Spanish Revolution and its socialized work. From time to time the Left papers grudgingly say something about the C.N.T.-F.A.I. Mostly it is garbled and misleading. Believing this to be the case rather than intentional lying I have written to these newspapers to correct their statements. But as they studiously refused to publish my protests I have come to the conclusion that the Left Press is as dishonest as the Right and that the C.N.T.-F.A.I. is as much, a thorn in their flesh as they are in the Franco confreres. This attitude on the part of the British Leftists is proof positive that the C.N.T.-F.A.I. represent the only champions of the Revolution in Spain and that they are the only organizations who have done with the farce of Capitalist Democracies. The C.N.T.-F.A.I. is in action on two fronts, the anti-Fascist war and the defence of the Revolution. That is why they are hated by all sides and loved by the masses whose ideal is COMMUNISMO LIBERTARIO, Libertarian Communism.

To give but two examples of the boycott against the C.N.T.-F.A.I., both in the Right as well as the Left Press, I submit two letters sent to the Tory Telegraph and the pseudo-Left New Statesman-Nation.

The Editor,
"The New Statesman and Nation,"
10, Great Turnstile, W.C.1.
Sir,

In the midst of the dreadful silence of the British Press in regard to the place and importance of the C.N.T.-F.A.I., it is heartening to come across a few exceptions. Few indeed, since it is only The New Statesman and Nation and the Manchester Guardian who are liberal enough to do justice to the C.N.T.-F.A.I. I was therefore interested to read the article of Mr. Cyril Connolly in your issue of February 20th. I met him in Barcelona and without seeming boastful I wish to say that I gave him the first interview for the C.N.T.-F.A.I., which he used for his first article in your publication.

My comrades in Barcelona at that time had had so many unpleasant experiences with newspaper men they hesitated to believe that Mr. Connolly would make an exception. His first article proved that he was fair and sympathetic. As a result he has since received every courtesy and all the data from the C.N.T.-F.A.I., for his further work. On the whole, Mr. Connolly has been objective and just. But I was sorry to see in his last article that he considered it important enough to repeat malicious gossip and whisperings picked

diately after the 19th July, 1936. To be able to continue such an experiment as the collectivisation of the industries and the land, in the face of danger and death, is proof positive that they are the only true revolutionists who still believe in Liberty intensely, to fight and die for it if need be. For the rest, the Anarchists will survive the charge of being "either visionaries, half-wits or gunmen."

Yours sincerely,
EMMA GOLDMAN.

* * * * *
The Editor,
"The Daily Telegraph,"
135, Fleet Street, E.C.4.
Sir,

In your issue of Friday, January 19th, I found an article by Your Own Correspondent in Perpignan, regarding riots of the Peasantry against the Government at Valencia. The writer states that he had learned "from reliable informants that had just come over from Barcelona that a serious rising against the Valencia Government had broken out among the farmers in the surrounding country." To write about the world-stirring events in Spain from the vantage point of a French border town is superficial enough. But to base one's knowledge on mere hearsay seems to me to be the height of injustice, even to those whom Emma

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All of these developments are taking place in the state of Catalonia where the Anarchists are mainly in control and where the workers are welded together in the great anarchist trade union of Spain, with a million and a half members, the C.N.T. Not only did the Anarchists of Catalonia successfully quell the Fascist rebellion at its very outset but they have developed, while in power, a high order of constructive ability.

H. METCALFE.

(The author, a Canadian Socialist, spent more than three months in Spain, and was able to judge for himself the conditions prevailing. The article which reached us too late for publication in the last issue, was written a few weeks before the “uprising” of May in Catalonia.—Eds.)



Column leaving for the Front.

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A case in point is the opinion given Mr. Connolly by an “English Communist.” Is it possible that Mr. Connolly does not know of the “love” every Communist feels for all Anarchists? Else it would be difficult to understand how he could repeat the charge made by his informant that it was an Anarchist who killed Buenaventura Durruti. Actually nothing but hatred can conceive of such an utterly mad accusation.

In point of truth, no other Anarchist in the C.N.T.—F.A.I. was so trusted, loved and admired as Durruti. It is therefore fantastic to assume that any of his comrades would have taken his life.

The reason given Mr. Connolly by the English Communist for his utterly absurd accusation was that the Anarchists were “jealous of his friendship with the Russians,” and that “his views were very unpopular.” Permit me to say that there is not a word of truth in this. Actually Durruti never entertained “friendship with the Russians.” He was absolutely and irrevocably opposed to Dictatorship. Of course he stressed to the need of unity with the Spanish Communists as the only means of conquering Fascism; but he was only too well aware of the ideological differences between Communists and Anarchists, and the difference between their tactics, to ever become enamoured with the Soviet regime. A man of such convictions and of such abiding faith in the strength of the ideal of Liberty could not possibly entertain “friendship” for a régime which rests on the very opposite conception.

I am not a Marxian and not in accord with the POUM. But, in justice to this party whose men are fighting heroically at every front, I cannot but point out that it is scandalous on the part of the Communists to charge them with Fascism. That is just the trouble with the Communists. In their Jesuitical belief that “the end justifies the means” they will stoop to every method, no matter how reprehensible, in their dealings with their opponents. However, that is an old and painful story which those who flirt with Communism have yet to learn.

I congratulate Mr. Connolly on his understanding and appreciation of the role the Anarchists have played in the lives of the Spanish workers. It speaks for Mr. Connolly's ability to observe the actual facts in Catalonia. I only wish more people who go to Spain would show as much fairness. For no one with a sense of justice can possibly fail to see the extraordinary constructive work the C.N.T.—F.A.I. has begun, almost imme-

133, Fleet Street, E.C.4.

Sir,

In your issue of Friday, January 19th, I found an article by Your Own Correspondent in Perpignan, regarding riots of the Peasantry against the Government at Valencia. The writer states that he had learned “from reliable informants that had just come over from Barcelona that a serious rising against the Valencia Government had broken out among the farmers in the surrounding country.” To write about the world-stirring events in Spain from the vantage point of a French border town is superficial enough. But to base one's knowledge on mere hearsay seems to me to be the height of injustice, even to those whose Cause one deprecates.

It happens that I have been in the very parts near Valencia your Correspondent refers to; that I have travelled the length and breadth of Catalonia, Aragon and the Levante. I have visited dozens of villages, and, being out of Spain but recently, I can emphatically state that there is no truth in the report of the information your Correspondent transmitted second-hand. Far from any “uprising” I found singular goodwill and sympathy on the part of those peasants who are working the land collectively; they are heart and soul with the Revolutionary forces now engaged in an heroic battle against Fascism.

No doubt there is a shortage of food, but that is entirely due to the so-called “Democratic” Governments, who by their stand of Neutrality have deliberately worked into the hands of Franco and his worthy supporters, Hitler and Mussolini. They have thereby sabotaged the rights of the Spanish people to defend their lives and their liberty. Had they not been interfered with, they would have been able to continue the normal supplies of foodstuffs.

But with tens of thousands of Fascist victims to care for now, it is not surprising that there should be some shortage. However, at no time was this sufficient to impel the farmers to rise in revolt against the Anti-Fascist forces, with whom they are so absolutely in accord. No impartial observer who has visited Anti-Fascist Spain will deny that whether the average farmer agrees with the various Ideologies represented in the United front or not, he loathes Fascism as much as the most Left Revolutionaries. It is this loathing of the Spanish people in every station of life for Franco and his hirelings that precludes any rising or revolt so long as a single Fascist will continue to disgrace the fair name of Spain.

May I inform you that it is this opposition and hatred of Fascism which explains the failure of France to crush the Libertarian struggle? Franco has all the arms he wants and now also a great many men, so generously supplied him by the two ultra-humanitarian rulers, Hitler and Mussolini.

The other side has, in addition to large numbers and considerable arms, also a sublime ideal and courage. These have been known to move mountains and they will help to remove Fascism from Spain.

Whether you agree or disagree with the Anti-Fascist Cause, it would be well for your readers to obtain your information from a Correspondent stationed in Spain, rather than from one comfortably and safely watching the heroic Spanish social panorama from afar.

Sincerely,
EMMA GOLDMAN.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Speech, before a Meeting on the Spanish Revolution, Electric Theater, Norwich; with notes by Alex Rudling] / Emma Goldman. — [1937 May 24]. — 2 p. ; 30 x 21 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from Alex Rudling of Norwich, England.

True copy.
Meeting held 23rd May, 1937 on the Spanish Revolution.

— Norwich, England.
Reported by the Eastern Daily Press, 24th May.

Miss Emma Goldman, the writer, spoke at a well attended meeting at the Electric Theatre, Norwich, on Sunday night on the subject of the Spanish Revolution. The meeting was arranged by the Norwich Freedom Group, the ILP and the Labour League of Youth. Mr A. Rudling was in the chair.

Miss Goldman said that they had heard a great deal during the past ten months about the military struggle in Spain but they had heard very little about the social revolution that was going on at the same time. Yet everyone who had been to Spain recently and had seen the activities of the revolutionary forces there could see that the struggle going on there was not merely a struggle against fascism, not merely a struggle for democracy or on behalf of the legitimate government, though it was all of these things, but it was above all the most marvellous social revolution that had taken place in our time in any country not excluding Russia. The reason why the Spanish Revolution was more far-reaching and had struck deeper into the lives of the masses in Spain was that the masses in Spain had risen as one body not only to do away with fascism and the old capitalist regime but to reconstruct the economic and social and political forces of the country. It was the gigantic constructive work begun by the Spanish workers almost immediately after July 19th when the Catalan people drove fascism out of their midst which differentiated the Spanish Revolution from all other revolutions.

The Spanish workers, said Emma Goldman, had realised that merely to pull down the old disorder of capitalism and capitalistic governments was not enough; that it was necessary in the very face of the destruction of these institutions to begin the process of construction the process of changing the entire texture of the social life of the country; and that was what the revolutionary forces in Spain had done. She had had the opportunity of seeing something of this constructive work in Spain which was so much more important historically than the destructive side. Her first impression was one of admiration that in all of the magnificent palaces that had been socialised for hospitals and schools and Universities absolutely nothing had been destroyed. It looked as if the former owners had just stepped out of these buildings. It was the same with the factories and with industry. When she expressed surprise the workers did not seem to understand and said, "We have produced these things. Why should we destroy them. Now we are working for time when the masses will be able to enjoy the fruit of their labour."

Everywhere she went she was amazed that in the midst of battle and danger of attack from all sides the working masses in Spain should be so socially conscious. She visited 52 villages situated on large estates, many of whose owners, perhaps, had not been in Spain for the last 25 years or so but had been living in Rome, or Paris, or London, drawing large dividends from the sweat and toil of the Spanish peasants who used to earn something like sixpence a day seasonally and starve during the winter.

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She had seen how the land had been collectivised and socialised without a single act of coercion. Collectivisation in Spain, unlike that in Russia was absolutely spontaneous and voluntary, and in not one of the 52 villages she visited throughout Catalonia and Aragon did she find one case where force had been used.

Concluding with an appeal for funds for the Spanish workers, Miss Goldman said that until recently at any rate, Catalonia had not received a single penny of the money sent out for Spain and contended that the reason for this boycott was that Catalonia was in the hands of the anarcho-syndicalists who were the most revolutionary section of the Spanish workers.

Miss Dorothy Jewson then spoke.

This meeting was well attended and the audience was undoubtedly keenly interested. One partisan of the Communist Party (though I believe not actually a member but a "fellow traveller" as we called his type at the time) walked out after protesting against Emma's criticism of Stalin's policy towards Spain. There was no other disturbance.

Miss Jewson, an I.L.P. member, had been a Member of Parliament for Norwich in the early 1920s and was well known in the area.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

To the Editor, The St. Louis Post Dispatch / [Emma Goldman]. — 1937 June, draft. — 5 p. ; 22 × 18 cm.

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June, 1937.

The Editor,
The St. Louis Post Dispatch,
St. Louis Mo., All U.S.A.

Sir,

Though far removed from my erstwhile country I have never lost contact with it. I know pretty much what is going on in the States, by no means only through the American Press. And I also know what your paper has been writing of the events in Spain. I cannot say it has always been accurate or friendly. Especially is this true of the uprising in Barcelona in the early days of last month. Since the National Confederation of Labor and the Anarchist Federation of Iberia have been charged with having caused the uprising perhaps you will be willing to hear their side.

That Anarchism and Anarchists have been a target for every sort of calumny from the ignorant as well as those who pose as the banner bearers of education and culture is nothing new. Of course one does expect more from intelligent people than from those who have never had a chance to learn anything first hand. Though why one should I do not know. The utter confusion of mind and the insensibility to every wrong since the world slaughter have proved that the educated are by far less capable of independent thinking than the masses. The gravest offence to-day is independent thinking. A case in point is dictatorship of varied hues. Its defenders are the pseudo-cultured. They worship at its shrine. They justify every crime committed in its name. Anarchism and Anarchists still adhering to the "old-fashioned" idea that life without freedom is a monstrous delusion even if "trains run on time" and "our beloved comrade in the Kremlin has made Russia the most comfortable and joyous in the world." Small wonder Anarchism and Anarchists should continue to be grossly misrepresented and their struggle distorted beyond belief.

The incredible reports of the recent tragic events in Barcelona demonstrate once more to what extent most scribblers will go to pervert news when it concerns Anarchists and their cause.

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I enclose a copy of a document that came to me from Barcelona sub rosa. I am well aware that an editor of a daily paper cannot be expected to read a long account no matter how important. Still I take the liberty to submit it to you in the hope that you may care to give it your leisure hour, if only to go over the most salient points describing the amazing plot against the National Confederation of Labor, and the Anarchist Federation of Iberia. That there was a deep laid plot hatched for months you will, I am sure, see by the disclosures contained in the document. You will no doubt be surprised to find that Stalin's crushing hand does not lie heavily only on his own domain. But that it also played its part in the Barcelona events of May.

Knowing the nature of "our beloved comrade" we in Barcelona, at the time when the Soviet Government offered to send arms to Spain, saw only too clearly the price the CNT-PAI will ultimately have to pay. We warned our Spanish comrades against the sudden show of Stalin's brotherly love after the criminal delay of the most critical three and a half months in the anti-Fascist struggle. But the singular faith of the Spanish Anarchists and Anarcho-Syndicalists in the inner goodness and honesty of man made them scorn the idea that the Communist idol and his blind followers could or would play them false. I wish I could quote at length from the historic account of the attempt to break the anti-Fascist front, to crush the Spanish Revolution and to exterminate the dominant parties in Catalonia, the CNT and the PAI. It would show your readers how very naive and trusting the Spanish Anarchists are and will probably continue to be always. That is their great charm even if it is also a great drawback in dealing with allies who will have it that the highest aim justifies the most reprehensible methods. But I dare not impose on your liberality too much. Perhaps, when you have found a moment to plance through the story you will care to comment yourself. There is, however, one fact of more than usual significance. It is the change of the leaders of the National Confederation of Labor and the Anarchist Federation of Iberia from their tradition of direct revolutionary action to passive resistance.

These Anarchists ever reviled, repeatedly charged with fostering confusion, terror and destruction, these men and women all through the four days armed attacks, cautioned peace and patience and did their utmost to hold back the pent-up wrath of the rank and file of their organisations. And that, if you please, in the very sight of the mowing down of their comrades by Communist and other royal army forces. That is passive resistance with a vengeance. Verily, Mahatma Gandhi could have done no more.

Nevertheless the misrepresentation goes vorrily on. Thus, a gentle ex writing from Spain for a London liberal weekly does not

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While I myself believe that situations in the social struggle may arise that would call for passive resistance rather than direct action, I am not at all sure that the wanton assault on the CNT-FAI by the enemies of the Spanish Revolution presented such an emergency. But whether it did or not the fact remains that the Anarchists and Syndicalist leaders and no other party urged loyalty (too much so I fear) to the anti-Fascist unity, and that they called a halt to fratricide, and not their assailants.

The outstanding phase of Catalan life that so impressed me during my visit was the amount of political freedom everybody enjoyed. Certainly as far as it is possible to enjoy such rights under any government and in the face of war and revolution, the freedom all the parties of the anti-Fascist front had was truly extraordinary. This was entirely due to the CNT-FAI numerically and morally the most important part. Steadfastly they refused to have any truck with dictatorship. When their attention was called to the abuse of freedom on the part of their allies, to the open and secret preparation to undermine their position and destroy their magnificent constructive efforts, their reply used to be "we will be ready when such moment arrives. Better abuses of liberty than dictatorship, turns everybody into abject slaves, barren of feeling for, or appreciation of physical, mental and spiritual freedom."

The present reaction in Spain depicts the danger of dictatorship once more. But also it demonstrates that my comrades were to be in the political woods. That they naively underestimated the perfidity of their enemies. That effect can peaceful methods and the call to retreat mean to people who have for years waded in rivers of blood and have heaped up mountains of human lives for the sake of their power? It is childish to expect anything but reaction from such methods. But then, the naivest and most confiding people in the world are not the hard-boiled realists. They are the idealists, the romantics, and visionaries as the Anarchists are called by our well-wishers. I

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Copy.

June, 1937.

The Editor,
Manchester Guardian.

Sir,

May I again ask the hospitality of your paper. I know it is the only one in England willing to hear the other side of every issue and the other side in this case, the National Confederation of Labour and the Anarchist Federation of Iberia. They have so far received the most outrageous misrepresentations throughout nearly the entire English press without a chance of being heard in their own behalf.

That Anarchism and Anarchists have been a target for every sort of calumny from the ignorant as well as those who possess the banner bearers of education and culture is nothing new. Of course one does expect more from intelligent people than from those who have never had a chance to learn anything first hand. Though why one should I do not know. The utter confusion of mind and the insensibility to every wrong since the world slaughter have proved that the educated are by far less capable of independent thinking than the masses. The gravest offence to-day is independent thinking. A case in point is dictatorship of varied hues. Its defenders are the pseudo-cultured. They worship at its shrine. They justify every crime committed in its name. Anarchism and Anarchists still adhering to the "old-fashioned" idea that life without freedom is a monstrous delusion even if "trains run on time" and "our beloved comrade in the Kremlin has made Russia the most comfortable and joyous in the world. Small wonder Anarchism and Anarchists should continue to be grossly misrepresented and their struggle distorted beyond belief.

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Nevertheless the misrepresentation goes merrily on. Thus, a gentleman writing from Spain for a London liberal weekly does not hesitate to speak of "gun-men", in Anarchist ranks. True, he pays tribute to the CNT - I suppose because they were willing to be killed rather than to kill. If only the gun-men were all in or from the Anarchist organisation, all would be well," the author assures us. It is obvious that the writer obtained his information from his Communist friends. They are past masters in putting facts on their heads. They are the loudest to cry "hold the thief" while they make their own get away.

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The present reaction in Spain denotes the danger of dictatorship once more. But also it demonstrates that my comrades were babes in the political woods. That they naively underestimate the perfidity of their enemies. What effect can peaceful methods and the call to retreat mean to people who have for years waded in rivers of blood and have heaped up mountains of human lives for the sake of their power? It is childish to expect anything but reaction from such methods. But then, the naivest and most confiding people in the world are not the hard-boiled realists. They are the idealists, the romantics, and visionaries as the Anarchists are called by our well-wishers. I suppose I am one of these incorrigibles. For I have abiding faith in the resiliency of the Spanish people. Execution, prison, torture, suppression of their movement, their publications and their works, they overcome everything. They rebounded with new strength and new determination to go on and on until their ideas would triumph. I am certain that this will again happen in the near future despite all plots and connivance to crush them and to undermine the social edifice the CNT-FAI have wrought in the glorious revolutionary days of July 19th.

Yours faithfully,

Spil.Emma Goldman.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

The Soviet Political Machine / Emma Goldman. — p. 3 ; 22 cm. In Spain and the World [London]. — (June 4, 1937).

Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

SPAIN AND THE WORLD, FRIDAY, JUNE 4th, 1937.

3

THE SOVIET POLITICAL MACHINE

Its Designs On Spain

15 YEARS have passed since comrade A. Chapiro, my old pal Alexander Berkman, now gone from me, and myself came out of Soviet Russia to give to the thinking world the disclosures of the political grinding machine we found there. It was only after a long conflict that we decided to do so. For well we knew the price we would have to pay for speaking openly about the terrible political persecutions that were a daily affair in the so called Socialist Republic. The price we paid for our determination was high enough, but was nothing compared to the avalanche of abuse and vilification hurled against me, when my first ten articles about Soviet Russia appeared in the public press. Since I foresaw as much, I was not very shocked over the fact that my own comrades misunderstood what I had to say and the motive which induced me to appear in the *New York World*. Much less did I care for the poison that oozed out against me from the Communists in Russia, America and other countries.

Even while yet in Russia we protested against the grinding mill as we saw it in its sinister force. For myself I can say, and I can say the same for my comrade Alexander Berkman, we lost no opportunity to go from Bolshevik leader to leader, to plead for the unfortunate victims of the Cheka. Invariably we were told "wait till all our fronts are liquidated and you will see that the widest political freedom will be established in Soviet Russia." This assurance was repeated time on end so convincingly that we began to wonder whether we

hard to keep silent when 400 political were forcibly removed from the Boutarka prison in Moscow, and sent to remote places. When Fanny Baron, our comrade, and Tcherny were murdered. At last the holy day arrived, the fronts were liquidated. But the political grinding mill ground on, thousands being crushed by its wheels.

It was then that we came to the conclusion that the Soviet promise reiterated to us again and again, were like all promises coming from the Kremlin — an empty shell. We therefore came to the conclusion that we owed it to our suffering comrades in Soviet prisons, to all the revolutionary political victims as well as to the workers and peasants of Russia, to go abroad and place our findings before the world. From that time on and until 1930, comrade Berkman worked incessantly for the political prisoners and in raising funds to keep them alive in their dreadful living tomb. After that, comrade Rocker, Fleschin, Mollie Steimer, Dobinski, Yelensky and many other faithful comrades kept up the work which our beloved Alexander was forced to discontinue. I can say that until this day the devoted efforts to bring our hapless comrades in Soviet Russia some cheer and a few comforts have never ceased, which merely goes to prove what devotion, love and solidarity can do.

In justice to the heads of the Soviet Government be it said that there was still a semblance of fair play while Lenin was alive. True, it was he who issued the slogan that Anarcho-syndicalists and Anarchists are the petit

the seat of the Spanish Revolution. If ever I believed, even for a moment in the explanation of Soviet leaders that political freedom is impossible during a revolutionary period, my stay in Spain has completely cured me of it. Spain, too, is in the clutches of a blood stained civil war, she is surrounded by enemies within and without. No, not merely by fascist enemies. But by all sorts of social exponents, who are more bitterly opposed to Anarcho-syndicalism and Anarchism under the name of CNT and FAI, than they are to fascism. Yet in spite of the danger lurking in every corner of every city, to the Spanish Revolution, in spite of the imperative necessity to concentrate all the forces on winning the anti-fascist war, it is yet amazing to find more political freedom than ever was dreamt of by Lenin and his comrades.

If anything, the CNT-FAI, the most powerful party in Catalonia, is going to the opposite extreme, Republicans, Socialists, Communists, Trotskyists, in fact everybody daily marches through the streets, heavily armed and their banners flying. They have taken possession of the most elaborate houses of the former bourgeoisie. They merrily publish their papers and hold huge meetings. Yet the CNT-FAI has never once even suggested that their allies are taking too much advantage of the tolerance of the Anarchists in Catalonia. In other words our comrades are demonstrating that they would rather prepare to give their associates the same right to liberty as they take for themselves than to establish a dictatorship and a political

their silence is a sign of consent, and that they are therefore responsible for Stalin's act. They are a hopeless lot. But the Libertarians, who oppose every dictatorship and fascism, no matter under what flag, they must continue to rouse human interest and sympathy in the tragic fate of the political prisoners in Russia.

The events in Spain this month eloquently sustain the above written in Barcelona eight months ago. It does more. It demonstrates that the Soviet political grinding machine does not only do its deadly work in Russia, but in all other countries as well.

The events in Barcelona the last two weeks have demonstrated how foolish were some of our comrades of the CNT/FAI to believe that Stalin had begun to send arms to Spain out of revolutionary solidarity, or that there ever can be a unity between fire and water. Apart from the fact that Stalin waited 3½ months, the most critical period of the Spanish revolution and the anti-Fascist war, before he began sending arms should have proven to our comrades and to all thinking people that the man was waiting for the decision of his allies — France — and that he cared little for the sacrifices daily made in Spain in the anti-Fascist struggle. It also should have proven to them that Stalin sent arms in return for good gold and that he imposed conditions on the CNT/FAI which have unfortunately fettered both organisations to a very large extent. One of the conditions was that no anti-Soviet criticism or propaganda should be continued in the anarchist press. The other that Soviet emissaries should have full control of the procedure of the defence of Madrid. Of course they never would have succeeded had it not been for the fact that Duruti was foully murdered. I did not believe the rumours while I was in Bar-

him to France where the life of Berneri was made impossible. From the very first moment of the Spanish revolution, July 19th, Berneri rushed to Spain and put himself and his abilities at the disposition of the CNT/FAI. He organised the first Italian column. He fought at many fronts and he was the spirit of all the Italians in the rear. I had occasion to meet and know Berneri and I found him one of the kindest and sweetest personalities, besides being one of the most brilliant. The Communists, together with the Fascist forces, have murdered Berneri because, like Duruti, he was in their way. He was too outspoken, too consistent and his vision was clear. He saw what was coming and he warned the leading comrades against it.

It is certain, however, that Stalin and his new bed fellows have made their calculations without taking into account that the Spanish workers with their background of an incessant struggle for a century for Libertarian Communism and a Federalist basis of a new economic and cultural society can not be subdued to dictatorship and Fascism as has been done in other countries. Times without end the Spanish Feudal lord, the Church, the Monarchy have tried to crush the glowing spirit of freedom of the Spanish masses. Their success was ever short lived. For the Spanish workers love liberty more than their lives and no power on earth will ever eradicate that love.

True, reaction is again on top in Spain, our comrades foully murdered in the dead of night, the CNT/FAI betrayed once more, as in the past. But no one who has been in Spain, who has come close to the Spanish masses in country and towns will believe for a single moment that the old masters in new disguise will be able to impose their will on the workers for long.

The 19th of July has proven that. It has demonstrated to the whole

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repeated time on end so convincingly that we began to wonder whether we had understood the effect of Revolution on the rights of the individual and the mass. We decided to wait. But weeks and months passed and there was no letup in the relentless extermination of all people who dared disagree even in the least with the methods of the Communist State. It was only after the massacre of Kronstadt, that we, our comrades Alexander Berkman and Alexander Chapiro felt that we had no right to wait any longer, that it became imperative for us as old revolutionists to cry the truth from the very housetops. Nevertheless we waited until the fronts were liquidated, though it was bitterly

ANARCHIST IDEALS FROM THE ROOT (Cont. from previous column) potkin libertarian sphere. What might have been the true essence of *Guild Socialism* e.g. had been said all along in *Freedom* by Marsh and in fact as far back as 1826 in the *Address to the industrious classes of Britain and Ireland*; particularly to our neighbours, the distressed *Spitalfields Weavers*, by William Thompson—and might be said once more to the people of the distressed districts of England and Wales, if the libertarians were prepared to speak up.

This garland of English Anarchism of the 1879—1914 period might be lengthened, if there were space, but ought to have shown that Anarchism was an intellectual and moral factor in these years. Let me remember only one fact more, the moral victory over the intolerance of Marxist social democracy on the occasion of the International Socialist Congress held in London, 1896, when Anarchists, Syndicalists and Upright Socialists combined and held that memorable mass meeting in Holborn Town Hall, July 28. The Marxists might then concoct stringent regulations to exclude anarchists and other unbelievers from international congresses—scathing contempt for them was felt in London in those weeks when they were seen at work at close range.

There is—unfortunately—little more to say. *Freedom*, as remarked above, held out until 1927 and its friends are still alive; they kept their heads up during the War, they withstood the allurements of Moscow communism and still raise their voice for *Free Spain* and against every form of Fascism. There are young friends with them, as this very paper shows. They know something of Anarchism in Spain and all over the world and are not disheartened nor dismayed by the fact that only a few papers may be published now and meetings held in one or the other country, and that the enemies brag, bray and brawl and commit nameless cruelties on helpless victims when

calists and Anarchists are the petit bourgeoisie, and that they should be exterminated. Nevertheless, it is true that his political victims were sentenced for a definite period and were left with the hope that they would be set free when their sentence expired. Since the advent of Stalin, that bit of hope, hope so essential to people in prison, and so necessary for the continuance of their morale has been abolished.

Stalin, true to the meaning of his name, could not bear to think, that people, given 5 or 10 years, should be left with the expectation that they would one day see freedom again. Under his iron rule, people, whose sentence expired are re-sentenced and shipped to another concentration camp. Thus we have today numerous comrades who have been shoved from exile to exile since 1920. And there is no end in sight. But why should we be surprised at the relentless grinding mill Stalin has inaugurated for such opponents as Anarchists and Social Revolutionists? Stalin has proven that he is as cruel with his own former comrades as with the rest who dare doubt his wisdom. The latest purge, quite equal to the purge of Hitler, should prove to all who are still capable of thinking, that Stalin is determined to exterminate everybody who has looked into his cards. We need not hope therefore that our Anarchist comrades or any of the Left wing Revolutionaries will be spared.

I am writing this from Barcelona,

to establish a dictatorship and a political grinding machine that would crush all their opponents.

Yes, 15 years have passed. According to the glad tidings from Russia one hears over the Radio, in the Communist press and on every occasion: "Life is joyful and splendid" in the Socialist Republic. Did not Stalin issue this slogan and has it not been re-echoed over and over again. "Life is joyful and splendid." Not for the tens of thousands of political victims in prison and concentration camps. Anarchists, Socialists, Communists, Intellectuals, masses of the workers and tens of thousands of the peasantry know nothing of the new joy and splendour proclaimed by the Torquemada on the Communist throne. Their lives, if they are still alive, continue hopeless, drab, a daily purgatory without end.

The more reason for us, comrades, and for all those who are sincere Libertarians, to continue the work for the political prisoners in the Soviet Union. I do not appeal to the Libertarians who shout themselves hoarse against fascism or against the political abuses in their own countries and yet remain silent in the face of the continued persecution and extermination of true Revolutionaries in Russia. Their senses have become blunted. They therefore do not hear the voice that rises to the very heavens from the hearts and the stifled throats of the victims of the political grinding machine. They do not realise that

was foully murdered. I did not believe the rumours while I was in Barcelona that he was put out of the way by a Communist. But from the events of the last two weeks I am beginning to think that there was more truth than fiction in this rumour. Durruti was too astute a strategist and absolutely consistent with his ideas and he would never have submitted to any political deal with the Communists. The Communists were not slow in taking advantage of these conditions. They not only increased in numbers, sometimes 2,000 a week, who arrived in Spain, but a great deal of the arms sent for the defence of Madrid went to the headquarters of the Communists for the arming of their comrades. The next step dictated by Stalin was to change the slogan of the defence of the revolution to the defence of democracy, the kind of democracy which the old reactionary police officials and the reactionary middle class wanted to bring back in order to destroy the constructive work of the CNT/FAI and to crush the revolution. There is no doubt that this "great dream" of Stalin was shared by the other powers who are all in favour of some kind of a deal with Franco in order to establish "peace." Otherwise it is difficult to explain how it happened that British and French warships should be rushed to Spanish waters almost at the identical moment when this well prepared plot in Spain was brought to a head, namely the attack on the telephone building—the most strategic point of Barcelona—by armed force. Incidentally, at the same moment the same attack took place in Taragon and Lerida, 250 kilometres from Barcelona. Naturally our comrades defended their position. They could not be expected to do anything else. They realised that they had already given way far beyond what they should have done. In other words the anarchists were not the originators of the attack. To have done otherwise than defend the position would emasculate the revolution.

The originators of the plot did more than an open attack. They raided the rooms of a very distinguished Italian anarchist who shared them with a comrade; they confiscated all their

The 19th of July has proven that. It has demonstrated to the whole world that the Spanish Anarcho-Syndicalists and the Anarchists are made of a stronger fibre than the workers in all Fascist countries. They were the first to offer resistance to the Spanish Fascists. The first to drive them out of Catalonia. The first to send their grand fighter Durruti to the Aragon front. Moreover, it was the CNT/FAI that had shown the possibility of constructive work in the midst of the gallant anti-Fascist fight and the defence of the Revolution. No people capable of such courage and determination can be subdued for long.

No! A thousand times NO! The CNT/FAI will and can not be crushed. They are invincible. They will conquer in the end over all their enemies. For the CNT/FAI whatever their mistakes, and whatever price they are paying for their child-like faith in their so called allies they are the only people in the world today who believe passionately enough in the Revolution and in Libertarian Communism to sacrifice all for the victory of both.

London, May 22/37.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

NOTICE :

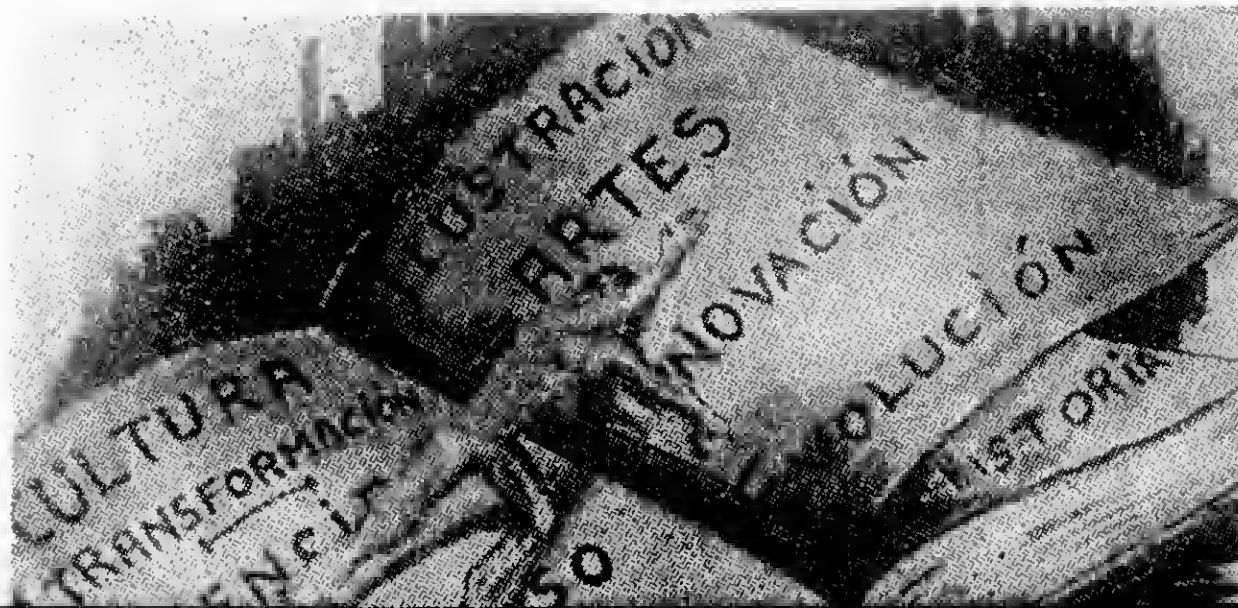
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The quotation of Bokunin should have read as follows:—

"Unity is the goal towards which humanity is inevitably drawn. But if achieved without liberty — or through violence — or under ecclesiastical, political, or even economic influence, it is harmful and destroys the intelligence, dignity and prosperity of individuals and peoples."

For reasons known only to the printers the issue was dated Wednesday, May 19th instead of Friday, May 14th. We mention this as it more



The Emma Goldman Papers

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March 26th, 1937.

we be surprised at the relentless grinding mill Stalin has inaugurated for such opponents as Anarchists and Social Revolutionists? Stalin has proven that he is as cruel with his own former comrades as with the rest who dare doubt his wisdom. The latest purge, quite equal to the purge of Hitler, should prove to all who are still capable of thinking, that Stalin is determined to exterminate everybody who has looked into his cards. We need not hope therefore that our Anarchist comrades or any of the Left wing Revolutionaries will be spared.

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The originators of the plot did more than an open attack. They raided the rooms of a very distinguished Italian anarchist who shared them with a comrade; they confiscated all their documents and material, they put them under arrest and supposedly were to take them to police headquarters. The next day both were found dead, shot in the back, exactly as the many victims of Mussolini and Hitler were found. One of these comrades, Camillo Berneri, was one of the most distinguished anarchists in Italian ranks. Before Mussolini he was Professor of Philosophy in the Florence University. He had been victimised by Mussolini while he was still in the country and then pursued

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EMMA GOLDMAN.

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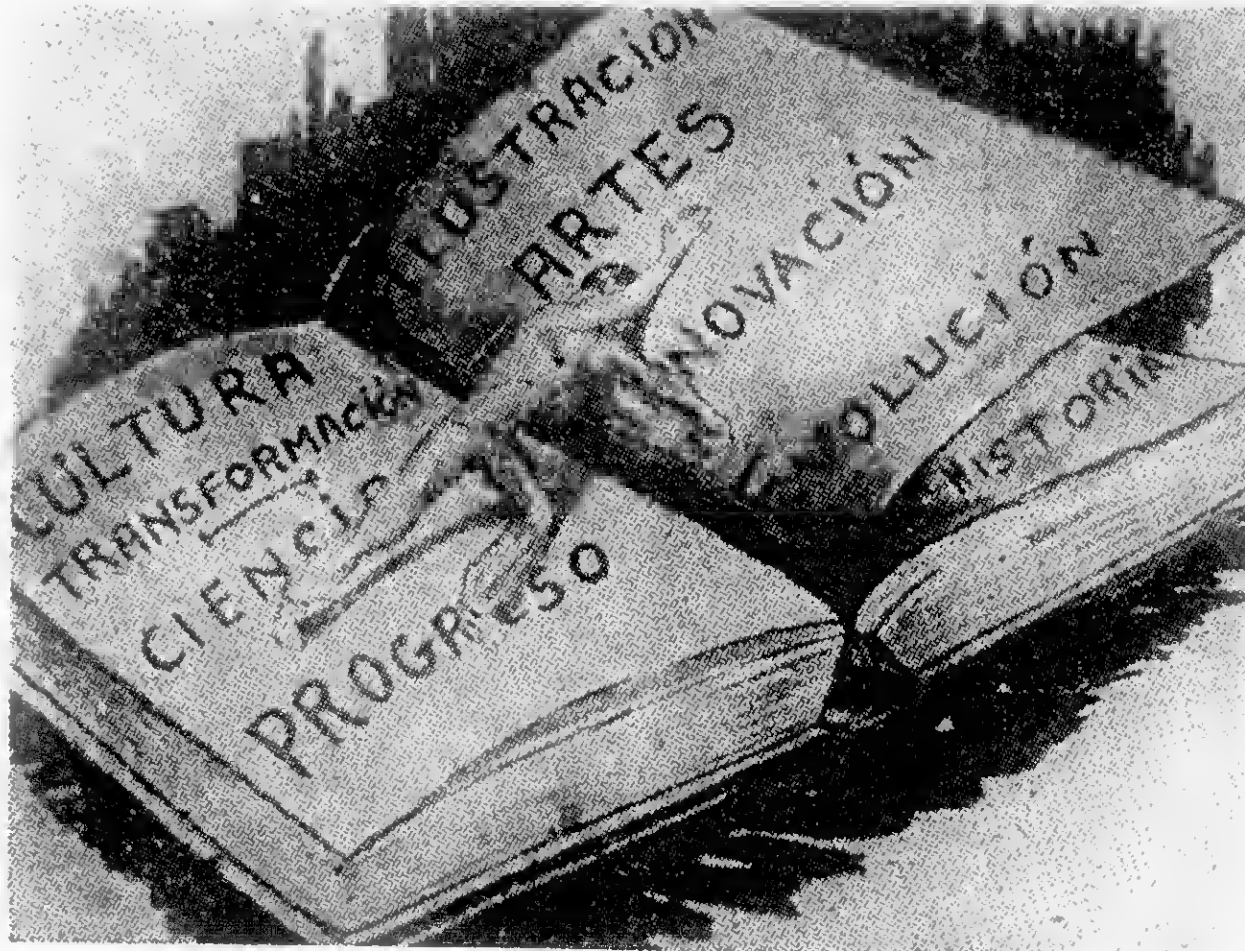
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For reasons known only to the printers the issue was dated Wednesday, May 19th instead of Friday, May 14th. We mention this as it more easily explains the lack of information on the uprising in Barcelona.

The (perhaps) surprising lack of suitable epithets when making reference to some sections of the *Yellow Press* or to certain individuals who represent Interest and exploitation can only be attributed to the fear which for ever lurks in the hearts of our printers, that some grandee or newspaper magnate might consider our remarks (however true they may be) as offensive and a slur on their (doubtful) character.



The workers of the New Society will no longer be kept in ignorance, as they were under the rule of the Church.

The Emma Goldman Papers

Emma Goldman and the "Daily Worker" / Emma Goldman. — p. 2 ; 28 cm. *In Spain and the World* [London]. — (June 11, 1937).

Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

THE WORLD, FRIDAY, JUNE 11th, 1937.

CORRESPONDENCE:

EMMA GOLDMAN
and the "DAILY WORKER"

The Editors,
SPAIN AND THE WORLD
Dear Comrades,

In case you have not seen the very kindly tribute paid me in the *Daily Worker* of May 26th I am enclosing the cutting. In view of the ultra fairness of that paper and its insistence upon truth and justice, you will probably be surprised that the tribute was so gentle. I must therefore consider myself in luck. Do you not think so?

When I entered our ranks many years ago I promised myself never to reply to personal attacks. I believed with the great philosopher, Alexander Humboldt, who though violently attacked and maligned all his life, never replied in kind. He held that when one meets filth with filth one is sure to soil one's own garments. My own experience has borne out this truism. I should therefore not take the trouble to answer the attack in the *Daily Worker*, except that I do not want to be guilty of a conscious misrepresentation of any organisation or individual. I am quoted as having said at the Norwich meeting that "not one penny, not one bandage, no relief of any kind has been sent to Catalonia." Unfortunately it should have read "had been sent to Catalonia." Anyone who knows the King's English would understand the difference. That is to say, when I said that Catalonia had received no help I spoke of the time of my presence there, and my visits to the Aragon and Huesca fronts. While there, I was assured by our late comrades, Dorutti and Ascasio, as well as by the physicians of the Hospitals, that not one bandage or medical supply of any sort had been contributed to their needs. On my return to Barcelona I made it my business to enquire from our comrades of the *Comite Regional*, and those at the head of the *Sanidad* (Health Dept.) and in

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of any sort had been contributed to their needs. On my return to Barcelona I made it my business to enquire from our comrades of the Comité Regional, and those at the head of the Sanidad (Health Dept.) and in both places the information I received at the fronts was verified. Moreover, I learned that from all the money collected in the United States by labour bodies in England, not one penny had been contributed to the CNT FAI or the Sanidad in Catalonia.

I am glad to learn that £30,000 has since been contributed to Catalonia's needs and I am surprised at the same time.

I had occasion to be thrown together with members of the Spanish Medical Aid Committee who were on the Spanish Exhibition Committee. I saw their antagonism and their determination that nothing of their efforts

of Bakunin has ever been found in the Tsarist Archives—and this has been abundantly proved by the efforts that the Bolsheviks themselves have made to make capital out of the revolutionary glory of Bakunin's life and writings.

They published a "governmental edition" of his works by which they helped to interest and placate those people friendly to his ideals, and they even tried—without success—to transport his bones to Moscow, clearly as those of a hero of the Russian Revolution. It is true that several fair and valuable works on Bakunin were pub-

lished persons. This regrettable weakness has been abundantly proved—and in no case better than that of Bakunin. Even the greatest admirers of Marx, like Franz Mehring, saw through this weakness, and tried to make amends for it. Now the *International Press Correspondence* reinstates Marx in his full glory as a past master in slander, the man who was "absolutely right when he described Bakunin as a scoundrel. The poor fellow who wrote this nonsense must have trembled in his shoes lest he could not satisfy the Stalinists who held the knout over him—or perhaps he was a joker on the sly!" X. X. X.

should go to Catalonia, much less to the CNT/FAI. It took several sessions and no end of argument to convince these ladies of the Spanish Medical Aid Committee that Cata-

lonia is also on the Spanish map and that the CNT/FAI are the most dominant organisations in Catalonia. No, they would have nothing to do with any political party, they claimed. This was absurd on the face of it because the leading spirits in the Spanish Medical Aid Committee are Communists, either direct members of the party or carried away by the glory that is Stalin. They are therefore ultra political and fanatical to the extreme in their zeal to monopolise everything. They simply cannot bear that anyone outside of themselves should have the credit for what is being done in Spain. Especially when it concerns the anarchists and syndicalists.

On more than one occasion I wanted to withdraw from the Spanish Exhibition Committee, in fact I admit I should never have joined it, for I came out of Spain with material as rich as gathered there by other bodies. It was only due to Fenner Brockway and Roland Penrose that I remained in an atmosphere with the poison of hatred and antagonism. After weeks of wrangling the delegates of the Spanish Medical Aid Committee kindly consented to my proposition that if any profit should accrue from the Exhibition it should be divided in three parts and sent to the Sanidad of Barcelona, Valencia and Bilbao. Unfortunately the expenses of the Exhibition proved so excessive that not only was there no profit left but I believe the Exhibition is still collecting funds to make up the deficit.

Having had this experience with members of the Spanish Medical Aid Committee, I am perfectly justified in doubting their concern in Catalonia and the amount they are supposed to have spent for the needs of that part of Spain. However, I am quite willing to believe this to be true, but also I know from my experience in the United States and in this country that Communist channels are limited to party needs; certainly no group outside of this Holy of Holies has ever benefited by their generosity.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

IT MEETING IN PARIS

Paris Correspondent

The workers will continue to see that their only chance of social freedom is in the CNT and FAI organisations as long as the bourgeois civil war continues.

Pon, of the FAI, said: "The Proletariat of Catalonia will not give up the social conquests it has gained at so great a price." The FAI and the CNT were the only organisations which had not been paralysed by the desertion of the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie, thinking the danger past, wished to steal back its privileges and therein lay the causes of the events of May 3rd organised by the PSUC.

Cortes, of the CNT, said: "The workers are about to start their own revolution. The 19th July was not a revolution in the sense of the Great French Revolution, but a military uprising against which the workers rose." The Middle Classes, the right-wing of the PSUC, were serving the policy dictated by England, France and Russia to re-establish the bourgeois republic as if nothing had happened since July 19th. The governmental crisis was provoked by Hernandez, who demanded that Caballero should obtain the resignation of Galaiza, Minister of the Interior, as he had not been sufficiently energetic in the campaign for the suppression of the Catalao proletariat after May 4th.

Caballero revolted and said that it was infamous to provoke a political crisis at a time when Bilbao was threatened. Prieto sided with the Communists. "The workers are not beaten, the workers are now about to start their revolution.

"We are not the revolutionaries of yesterday. We are the old guard of the revolution. We remain Anarcho-syndicalists always and we shall know

how to bear the historic responsibilities dictated by the necessity of the moment."

Lucien Haussard, of the French Youth, said that the international proletariat must assure the safety of the Spanish Revolution. He also said that the CNT Congress had 1,200,000 adherents. On May 3rd, between four and five hundred soldiers were sent by Salas to capture the post office.

The humanity of the Anarchists contrasted with the cruelty of their adversaries—cruelty exemplified in the murders of Berneri, Barbieri, Ferreri. The torturing of the Spanish youth, some of whom had their ears cut off. The sexual organs of one were cut off and hung in his mouth. Sebastian Faure said "We are against all governments, against all parties, against all social rule, which is on the side of authority, which for thousands of years had held authority in human slavery. We wish to crush all idolatry and we will not even support the élite who pretend to be better than we. As for our friends they are filled with such a flame of enthusiasm that they are prepared to make any sacrifices—even the laying down of their lives. They are fighting against the past to prepare a better world for the future."

"Thanks to them, it can be no longer said that the Anarchists are the jabberers who do not know what they want. You have shown that you know what you want and how to bring it about.

"Anarchy is not a barren but a fecund woman! She has already had one child—and if this dies, it will be replaced—and around the cradle, our hearts will be more affectionate, our attentive care more watchful, our guard more effectively set."

Faure was cheered to the echo. Clearly a sign that the workers are tiring of Moscow dictators.

The Emma Goldman Papers

A Correction / Emma Goldman.-- 28 cm. In Spain and the World [London]. -- (June 11, 1937).
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THE WORLD, FRIDAY, JUNE 11th, 1937.

Aims of the A.S.U.
(Cont. from page 3, col. 5)

after the revolution—to avoid the usurpation of power and the re-establishment of some form of statism. To destroy is easy—but that is only the negative part of the revolution. To construct—that is more difficult. It is the positive part of the revolutionary work; and Anarcho-Syndicalism is concerned to develop the constructive capacity of the proletariat not only its destructive capacity. But even for destruction it is absolutely necessary to know what is wanted and that, too, is the function of Anarcho-Syndicalism.

The A.S.U. is really a propaganda body working at this time to spread the Anarcho-Syndicalist ideology throughout the length and breadth of the country in the hope that industrial syndicates will in due course be established and that they will in turn be synthesised and federated horizontally and vertically along Anarcho-Syndicalist lines. Once these syndicates are formed their immediate purpose would be concerned with improving the conditions of the workers under existing capitalist conditions, but in addition to that and even more important, these syndicates would keep always in mind the main object of their being—namely, to prepare for the complete overthrow of Capitalism and the establishment of a new society.

S.V.C.

IMPORTANT NOTICE

We draw our readers' attention to the fact that our offices are no longer at 207 Goswell Rd., E.C., and that no further correspondence should be sent to us at that address.

Until we find new offices in London, all communications should be addressed to:—

"SPAIN and the WORLD"

Whiteway Colony,
STROUD,
GLOUCESTER.

SOLIDARITY FUND.
Vth List.

Canada, Montreal: L. Martinis 4/-;
Providence, R.I.: per S. Cimini on behalf of Gruppo Severino di Giovanni £2/0/10; London: Testo 5/-; Mayo 2/-; Tab. 5/-; New Haven, Conn.: per P. Giacobbi £1/12/4; Newark, N. Jersey: (List No. 39 per Osvaldo) Calabrese 60c., J. Danton \$1; F. Rasioppi 50c.; J. Amorosi 50c.; N. di Domenico \$1; P. Eusebio \$1; M. Petito \$1; J. Piccone 50c.; A. Calvani \$1; J. Contella 50c.; Louis Cosentino \$1; Osvaldo 40c. (Total \$9) — £1/16/0; Detroit, Mich.; Int. Libertarian Committee against Fascism in Spain (per E. Vivas) £1/4/0; Belfast; H. Compton 5/-; London: P. 5/-; London: List No. 82 per A.R. (T.U. 5/-; E. M. 1/-; J.K. 1/-; Osip 6d.; A. Jarvis 2/6; Anon 2/3)—Total 12/3; Australia, Sydney; F. Carmagnola 15/6; New York, per Ray Randall, £1; London; List No. 81 per W. Farrer—(J. Thomson 2/6, E. Whya 1/-; B. Bloom 2/6; T. Brown 6d.) — 6/6; Bristol: J. Richfield 2/6; Newark, N. Jersey: (List No. 144) Ateneo de Educacion Social 8/-; London: V.R. 5/-; London: Libertarian 5/-; — Total £11/13/11; Previously acknowledged £38/16/1; Total: £50/10/0.

ORPHANS FUND. Vth List.

Previously acknowledged £67/11/0
No.

- 67. London: E.M. 2/-.
- 68. Greenock. J. Marletta Jr. 1/6.
- 69. London: W. 1/-.
- 70. London: Anon 5/-.
- 71. London: C.R. 7/-.
- 72. U.S.A. Springfield: L. Borgo 4/-
- 73. U.S.A. Bronx: L. Zanvier £1.
- 74. Detroit, Mich.: International Libertarian Committee against Fascism in Spain £10/0/0.
- 75. Detroit, Mich.: Gruppo Cultura Libertaria £1.
- 76. London: V.R. 5/-.
- 77. London: Libertarian 5/-.
- 78. London: G.R.T. 10/-.
- 79. London: A. D. B. (Collecting Box) 7/8.
- 80. London: Dick & Barbara 10/-.
- 81. Bristol: J.Richfield 2/-.
- 82. Plymouth: Mrs. L. Avery (made up by 60 contribns.) £1/14/2.
- 83. London: W. 1/-.

A CORRECTION

Dear Comrades,

"Spain and the World,"

The statement of monies received by the CNT-FAI London Bureau in your last issue of June 11th needs some correction: first of all the collection were on behalf of the Evacuated and Homeless women and children in Spain. Secondly the money was contributed in response to my appeals at the various meetings I addressd in London and in the provinces. Also in response to the appeal made by Dr. Stella Churchill at our benefit concert on April 25th at the Victoria Palace. The rest came in contributions, some to Dr. Stella Churchill and the balance to me. Thirdly, the contributions from Palestine were not from comrades but personal friends of mine who though in sympathy with us are not Anarchists. The £20 credited to "anonymous donations" are from the same friends—in other words the full amount from our Palestinian sympathisers was £39. It is very important that anything connected with my work for the CNT-FAI and the unfortunate victims of Fascism should be correctly stated.

Will you be good enough to reprint all the figures and my explanation in your next issue.

Fraternally,

Emma Goldman.

1937

Jan: Conway Hall Meeting	57	0	0
Jewish Students Meeting ...	7	0	0
Feb.: Plymouth Meeting ...	4	2	9
Glasgow Meeting ...	27	0	0
Paisley Meeting ...	3	0	0
Friends House	79	0	0
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Bristol Meeting ...	100	0	0
March: Neath Meeting ...	4	0	0
Southend Meeting ...	2	12	6
Glasgow second meeting (Capt. White) ...	7	0	0
Mile End Baths Meeting ...	10	0	0
April: Bristol 2nd Meeting	12	4	0
Plymouth second Meeting	1	10	0
Norwich Meeting ...	8	8	0
Victoria Palace Concert ...	201	3	9
Contributions:			
Palestine comrades ...	19	0	0
N.A.O.P. Plymouth per T. Edmunds ...	10	0	
Three anonymous donations of £2 ...	6	0	0
Two anonymous donations	20	0	0
H. Lipman ...	5	0	
Mrs. Jaeger ...	2	6	

Total £554 2 6

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Barcelona Uprising / Emma Goldman. — 28 cm. In New York Herald Tribune. — (June 22, 1937).

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The Barcelona Uprising

Emma Goldman Presents "Other" Side of Picture

To the New York Herald Tribune:

Though far removed from my erstwhile country, I have never lost contact with it. I know pretty much what is going on in the states, by no means only through the American Press. And I also know what your paper has been writing of the events in Spain. I cannot say it has always been accurate or friendly. Especially is this true of the uprising in Barcelona in the early days of last month. Since the National Confederation of Labor and the Anarchist Federation of Iberia have been charged with having caused the uprising perhaps you will be willing to hear their side.

That anarchism and anarchists have been a target for every sort of calumny from the ignorant as well as those who pose as the banner-bearers of education and culture is nothing new. Of course one does expect more from intelligent people than from those who have never had a chance to learn anything first hand. Though why one should I do not know. The utter confusion of mind and the insensibility to every wrong since the world slaughter have proved that the educated are by far less capable of independent thinking than the masses. The gravest offense today is independent thinking. A case in point is dictatorship of varied hues. Its defenders are the pseudo-cultured. They worship at its shrine. They justify every crime committed in its name. Anarchism and anarchists still adhering to the "old-fashioned" idea that life without freedom is a monstrous delusion even if "trains run on time" and "our beloved comrade in the Kremlin has made Russia the most comfortable and joyous in the world." Small wonder anarchism and anarchists should continue to be grossly misrepresented and their struggle distorted beyond belief.

The incredible reports of the recent tragic events in Barcelona demonstrate once more to what extent most scribes will go to pervert news when it concerns anarchists and their cause.

A document that came to me from Barcelona subrosa describes the amazing plot against the National Confederation of Labor and the Anarchist Federation of Iberia. Knowing the nature of "our beloved comrade" Stalin, we in Barcelona, at the time when the Soviet government offered to send arms to Spain, saw only too clearly the price the C. N. T.-F. A. I. will ultimately have to pay. We warned our Spanish comrades against the sudden show of Stalin's brotherly love after the criminal delay of the most critical three and a half months in the anti-

Fascist struggle. But the singular faith of the Spanish anarchists and anarcho-syndicalists in the inner goodness and honesty of man made them scorn the idea that the Communist idol and his blind followers could or would play them false.

I wish I could quote at length from the historic account of the attempt to break the anti-Fascist front, to crush the Spanish revolution and to exterminate the dominant parties in Catalonia, the C. N. T. and the F. A. I. It would show your readers how very naive and trusting the Spanish anarchists are and will probably continue to be, always. That is their great charm even if it is also a great drawback in dealing with allies who will have it that the highest aim justifies the most reprehensible methods. But I dare not impose on your liberality too much. There is, however, one fact of more than usual significance. It is the change of the leaders of the National Confederation of Labor and the Anarchist Federation of Iberia from their tradition of direct revolutionary action to passive resistance.

These anarchists, ever reviled, repeatedly charged with fostering confusion, terror and destruction, these men and women all through the four days' armed attacks cautioned peace and patience and did their utmost to hold back the pent-up wrath of the rank and file of their organizations. And that, if you please, in the very sight of the mowing down of their comrades by Communist and other reactionary forces. That is passive resistance with a vengeance. Verily, Mahatma Gandhi could have done no more.

Nevertheless the misrepresentation goes merrily on. Thus, a gentleman writing from Spain for a London liberal weekly does not hesitate to speak of "gunmen," in anarchist ranks. True, he pays tribute to the C. N. T.—I suppose because they were willing to be killed rather than to kill. "If only the gunmen were eliminated from the anarchist organization, all would be well," the author assures us. It is obvious that the writer obtained his information from his Communist friends. They are past masters in putting facts on their heads. They are the loudest to cry "hold the thief" while they make their getaway.

While I myself believe that situations in the social struggle may arise that would call for passive resistance rather than direct action, I am not at all sure that the wanton assault on the C. N. T.-F. A. I. by the enemies of the Spanish revolution presented such an emergency.

But whether it did or not, the fact remains that the anarchists and syndicalist leaders and no other party urged loyalty (too much, so I fear) to the anti-Fascist unity, and that they called a halt to fratricide and not their assailants.

The outstanding phase of Catalan life that so impressed me during my visit was the amount of political freedom everybody enjoyed. Certainly as far as it is possible to end joy such rights under any government and in the face of war and revolution, the freedom all the parties of the anti-Fascist front had was truly extraordinary. This was entirely due to the C. N. T.-F. A. I., numerically and morally the most important party. Steadfastly they refused to have any truck with dictatorship. When their attention was called to the abuse of freedom on the part of their allies, to the open and secret preparation to undermine their position and destroy their magnificent constructive efforts their reply used to be "we will be ready when such moment arrives. Better abuses of liberty than dictatorship. The value of liberty only comes with the exercise therefore. Dictatorship turns everybody into abject slaves, barren of feeling for, or appreciation of physical, mental and spiritual freedom."

The present reaction in Spain denotes the danger of dictatorship once more. But also it demonstrates that my comrades were babes in the political woods. That they naively underestimated the perfidy of their enemies. What effect can peaceful methods and the call to retreat mean to people who have for years waded in rivers of blood and have heaped up mountains of human lives for the sake of their power? It is childish to expect anything but reaction from such methods. But then the naivest and most confiding people in the world are not the hard-boiled realists. They are the idealists, the romantics and visionaries, as the anarchists are called by our well-wishers.

I suppose I am one of these incorrigibles. For I have abiding faith in the resiliency of the Spanish people. Persecution, prison, torture, suppression of their movement, their publications and their works—they overcame everything. They rebounded with new strength and new determination to go on and on until their ideas would triumph. I am certain that this will happen again in the near future despite all plots and connivance to crush them and to undermine the social edifice the C. N. T.-F. A. I. have begone in the glorious revolutionary days of July 19. EMMA GOLDMAN, London, June 22, 1937.

A Crusader Passes

the wrong foot and hence

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教授：如果不是沒有真實地讀過原著，便是有意識的顛倒黑白。

一九三七年五月十六日深夜

高爾基：「夜店」

Emma Goldman 著
祝融 譯



我們在美國常談到流浪人文學 (Vagabond literature)。許多著名的作家也曾描寫過這常稱做「下流人」(Underworld) 者。其中，如約西亞弗林特 (Joshua Flynn) 和賈克倫敦 (Jack London) 便能幹地解說過流浪人的生活和心理。但是，除了對於他們的才能，與以一切相當的尊敬外，還必得說，他們是以旁觀者觀者的身分而寫的。依「流浪人」一字的真義，他們不是流浪人。在他的「深淵之孩」(The children of the abyss) 裏，賈克倫敦說過，當他在「麵包線」(案，當是和我們的「飯碗問題」有同類的意義——譯者) 上之時，他有一家在好旅館裏有一間屋子，而且有更換的一襲襯衣。他因之不是無家可歸的，無希望的下流社會中的一個。

但像高爾基那樣，給社會底層描出如此真實的，寫實主義的圖景，從前却沒有過。他，高爾基本人，從早年孩提時代起，便是下流社會當中的一個公民，他八歲離開了他的貧乏之所棲策的家，此後多年，他便過着「波西涅克」(Bosnyak——俄文意即為流浪人，譯者) 的生活。他走遍俄國；他和農人，工廠工人以及流浪人一起過活。他深知他們；他懂得他們的心理；因為他不是和他們在一起，而且還是他們中間的一人。因之，高爾基便能寫把那下流社會的活生生的圖景表現出來了。

「夜店」(A night's lodging) 描寫一所可怕的，污穢的宿舍，那兒聚集着社會的「垃圾」(Social leeches)

——匪徒，賭棍，從前的僕役，落了難的貴族，賣淫婦。他們一切人，在一個時候，都有過一種野心，一個目的，但因為他們缺乏意志，與乎世界之不義與殘酷，他們都在企圖超拔之時，不得不沉淪與被擱置了。他們是些剩餘的，毀去人性而且被人當成禽獸看待的。

在這種惡毒的空氣裏，一切都將枯萎與死亡，我們却發見了人性。娜它亞 (Nastya)，一個年青的女郎，依然保留了她的健全的本能。她從不曾覺得過愛或同情，她一生孤獨，受饑，而且，除了受她所依恃的姊姊的虐待而外，沒有嘗過別的滋味。華斯嘉 (Vaska Peta) 是寄居在這所夜店裏的一個年青匪徒，他在使她感覺到他在關心她，她也能在精神上和道德上幫助他——的時候，發動她心裏的感應的紐。華斯嘉，像娜它亞一樣，是他的社會環境的產物。

華斯嘉——我從小起，已經是一個賊——不過是一個賊……我常被人家叫做「手華斯嘉」，華斯嘉，強盜兒子！瞧，那對於我可沒有多大關係，他們既然要如此……他們自然就會如此的……我是一個賊，也許，僅由於怨憤……因為沒有一個人叫我別的名字……只是賊……你叫我別的名，娜它亞……我過活得不容易呀！——我沒有朋友，像個一樣被人追趕。我像一個陷進泥潭裏的人……不管我扶著什麼，總是泥潭，總是腐爛……沒有那樣東西穩固……但你却像一顆小樹；你雖多刺，却能扶著我……

此外在「夜店」裏還有一個高貴的人物光耀着黑暗的環境。他叫盧加 (Luka)。他是個老嫖客 (Pleasure man) 型的人物，由生活的經驗而獲得了智慧。他已經過過俄國，到過西伯利亞，而且和各種人相交結；但失學與悲哀却不曾丟去他對美的，對於理想主義的信仰。他相信一個人，不管他如何卑微，頑固或墮落，如果我們懂得如何去觸着他的靈魂，總是可以達到的。盧加在他所遇見的每一個人身上，喚起了勇敢和希望，要各人重新生活起來。他向一個從前做過僕役，而今沉淪於酒的人說：

盧加！——我聽說有治病的人現在是可以醫的，不用花錢。你曉得他們現在知道了酗酒者也是一個人。你應該着手準備，開始一個新生活了！

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盧加想以新的信念來改變它和羅斯。他們對於他的惡毒。他(盧加)以單純心吐露他的生之哲學。

盧加！你說，我爲人好。但是，你曉得，也一定有些人會好起來的。……我們對人必須得有憐憫……

有時來憐憫人，相信我，那是很好的事情。譬如，我有一回，在西伯利亞離湯司克(Tomsk)城不遠

的一個屬於工程師的鄉下做看守人。這屋子在森林的中心，位不富路。……在冬天的時候，我一個人

住在那裡。……那兒是美麗的……宏大的！……可是有一次，我聽見有人正在爬屋！……

那它！……是賊！……

盧加！……是的。當他們爬得更高一些，我便拿了我的來福槍走了出去。……我向上望——有兩個人……他

們正在開一扇窗，忙得完全看不見我的動靜。我同他們叫道：「嘿，那兒的……下來……」……而

且，你曉得，他們竟用斧頭來砍我……我警告他們——「住手」，我喊得嗓子不乾，我開槍了，……

……於是，我首先對準一個，再對準另一個，他們都跑了下來，說，「我們呀！……我當時發熱得很，因

爲我提了一拳，我記得的。『你這些東西』，我喊道，『我對你們不要幹，你們偏不聽……現在』，

我說，『你們拿一個到樹林裏去——給我砍來。』他來了。『現在』，我喊令，『你們拿一個直躺在地

上，拿一個去抽打他……』他們就這樣低我的命令互相抽打。而且當他們各人抽了一頓着實的打的時候，

他們對我說：『我的祖，看基督的兒子，給我們一塊麵包啊。我們肚子裏空得一點東西也沒有了。』而

他們是賊呀，是拿起斧頭砍在我身上的賊呀。是的……他們真是一對好傢伙……我對他們說，『你

們要過了麵包嗎？』他們答應我，『我們要了又要，但沒有一個人給我們一點東西……真是熬不過了

。』……這樣，他們便和我一塊兒過了整個冬天。他們當中有一個名叫斯哥芬，愛拿到來福槍到林子

裏去……而另外一個，叫做羅可夫，却常常害病，常常在咳嗽……我們三個人看守這個地方，當春天

來了，他們說，『請了，老祖父』，他們走了，——到俄羅斯去了。……

那它！……他們是罪犯！……在逃嗎？

盧加！……他們是……亡命者……他們離開了他們的移居地……一對漂亮朋友……假如我不憐憫他們！

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戀愛與結婚

V. Aretta 著
天鳥 譯

他們是生動的，我們不能從冷淡的漠然無心與愚鈍的面容之下去觀察而發現深刻的人性，畢竟者中之最卑微者的潛伏的可能（即深刻的人性）嗎？如果他們——！在我們的社會狀況之內——！是無用的材料，常常邪惡，且有損於一般的善，那是因為他們以機會所拒，迫不得已投入那種社會狀況之中，而後者却殺害他們本有的信念與他們天性中的最良好的本性的。

所謂這些拉拔的邪惡與罪惡，根本是社會自身的邪惡與反社會的罪惡的態度，牠，首先創出下流社會，而且，已經創造出來了，又耗費許多精力與力量去壓迫與摧毀牠自己的創造之威脅的幻象（Menacing Phantom）——！牠忘去了人的根本的同胞之誼，竟不見個人的價值，而且，縱使在深底下最遭人蔑視的孩子當中，也賦有美麗的天性，——！這一點，牠也自然不知道。

一九三七年，五月十三日夜，初譯。

每個頭腦清楚的人都曾告訴你，說，自從一個瘋子決定把他的剛察的妄念彫刻在木板上，或另外的地方，且以之推行在一個生活共同體或社會上，人造的法律就成了人類的枷鎖了。在你認定人造的法律，是代表一種妨礙或阻止自然進行的企圖的時候這樣一種主張，便證明是不錯的和適當的了。換句話說，他們對於人類的有效的活動是一種人為的障礙，並且，像所有的障礙那樣，牠們決不會不引起普遍的失望，鬥爭，和不幸的。

今以，虛偽的結婚為例，牠是一種強迫的人為的結合，目的在一個男人和一個女人彼此相愛，而將他們團結在一起。現在，假定結婚是一種「愛」的結合，這個更顯然是不必須，此外，更是一種產生互相嫌惡和痛苦的根源。他方面，假如這結合是無愛情的結合，則此結合的唯一目的，只是生活之維持，奢侈之享受，或其他野心而已。於是，這會比一幕滑稽劇更可笑。牠是一種最不適宜的買賣，一種最壞的投資。其結果，充其量也不過，相見在法庭之中，得到自由而同所望的贈養費之判決，事實上，你常常聽得見一個善笑頰開的離婚女子，自誇她在結

婚之前立下的和「豬頭三」離婚而獨取他的錢的計劃。

自然，我們不願意為此種無情的交易而流淚。如果一個有錢的老頭子妙想天開，想他能够用和肉體結婚的方式

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Blood-Freezing Callousness in the World / [Emma Goldman]. — [1937 July?, draft]. — 2 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the private collection of Millie Desser Grobstein of Cranbury, New Jersey.

THE BLOOD-FREEZING CALLOUSNESS IN THE WORLD

The advent of Dictatorship and Fascism has resulted in appalling indifference to the most harrowing crimes. Time was when political abusers in any country were met with immediate response from all Liberals and revolutionaries. Especially was this the case with the victims of Czarism: more than one heroic fighter in Russia was saved from death or banishment by the concerted action and protest undertaken everywhere outside of Russia. All this wonderful spirit of solidarity and fellowship have gone by the board since Dictatorship and Fascism have infested all ranks. No matter how heinous the crime committed in their names hardly a voice is being raised in indignation against them. Indeed they are accepted as a matter of course and quite in keeping with Dictatorship as a redeemer of the human race.

The astounding accord between Fascism and Dictatorship has again been demonstrated in two flagrant recent crimes. I mean the murder of Professor Camillo Berneri and his comrade Barbieri, anarchists, by Communist police in Barcelona, and the equally foul murder of Professor Carlo Rosselli and his brother by Fascist thugs. They all use the identical methods in destroying their political dissenters. They not only take their lives, they also defame their characters. Thus Stalin perpetuates the infamous story that Russia has become a cesspool of self-confessed "spies, traitors, Trotskyists" and crooks of every sort. Mussolini on the other hand proclaims the conversion of Anti-Fascists to his creed. He paints them as miserable weaklings and renegades who have come to see the error of their ways. They are just dying to embrace Fascism and do the bidding of its master if he will only forget-and-forgive. It is for this reason that the murder of Professor Rosselli and his brother must needs be laid at the door of the Anarchists. Unfortunately there are plenty of blind zealots who take this scandalous libel of old Russian revolutionists and anti-Fascists as gospel truth.

To charge Professor Carlo Rosselli with having gone back on the anti-Fascist cause is adding insult to injury. Far from having made peace with Mussolini his loathing had increased when Mussolini's alliance with Franco and his support of the latter became a fact. I had occasion to talk to Carlo Rosselli while I was in Barcelona and I know that no-one of the anti-Fascist forces could be more dedicated to their cause, or more determined to fight Fascism to the bitter end, than Carlo Rosselli. Shortly before I left Spain for England Professor Rosselli told me of a plan he had perfected for the coordination of the militia without deadly military drill and command. At the time I was the guest of our comrade D.A. de Santillan who was at the head of the militia in Barcelona. His days were filled with calls upon his energy by multitudes and it was only at a late hour at night that he could meet people with important missions. I therefore arranged for

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I am mentioning this merely as a proof of the close unity and cooperation between the comrades of the CNT-FAI and Professor Carlo Rosselli. But if there should be anyone so dense as to believe the fantastic charge that Anarchists have taken the life of their close friend and comrade in arms against Fascism, Professor Rosselli's own tribute to the Anarchists of Catalonia should convince the most credulous; Spain and the World has already reprinted in its early issues the article by Carlo Rosselli in the paper *Guistizia E Liberta*.

I can only add that Carlo Rosselli enjoyed the full confidence of the CNT-FAI and the admiration and affection of all the Spanish Anarchists at the front as well as in the rear. It is therefore a cowardly evasion of responsibility on the part of Mussolini to charge the Anarchists with the murder committed by his hirelings.

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WHERE I STAND

The tragic events in Barcelona of last May and all that has followed in its wake impel me to make clear my own position, especially is this necessary since the publication of the manifesto of our French comrades which will also appear in the next issue of SPAIN AND THE WORLD.

It is sad but true, that the glorious achievements of the CNT-FAI between July 19th and the first days in May have received a terrible jolt. I fear very much that the CNT-FAI will not recover from it so soon. From the moment the leaders of the CNT-FAI entered into ministries and submitted to the conditions imposed upon them by Soviet Russia in return for some arms, I foresaw the inevitable price our comrades will have to pay. Actually all the foreign comrades present in Barcelona agreed that the concessions made by the CNT-FAI were the first wrong step taken in the rise of the Revolution. We foresaw, and we did not hesitate to call the attention of our Spanish comrades to it, that they were about to roll down a precipice. If I nevertheless continued to defend the course taken by some of our comrades I did so because I felt that the gravity of the anti-Fascist situation seemed to make the actions of the CNT-FAI inevitable. The other alternative that presented itself was Dictatorship, which the Spanish comrades justly considered the greatest menace. Nevertheless it is unfortunately true that the Anarchist participation in the Government and the concessions made to Russia have resulted in almost irreparable harm to the Revolution.

I can therefore understand perfectly the indignation of our French comrades and those in other countries against the CNT-FAI leaders. They have shown anything but clarity and judgment in dealing with their allies. My one objection to the manifesto issued by the comrades in France is the charge of treachery and political corruption against the leading comrades in the CNT-FAI. Anarchists are but human, all "too human", and therefore as likely to blunder as other men and women, nor do I think that their revolutionary past would always save Anarchists from being inconsistent. It has not done so in the case of the erstwhile Bolshevik revolutionists. There is a difference however. Lenin and his party aspire to the Dictatorship while the CNT-FAI have from the beginning of their inception repudiated Dictatorship and have held high the banner of Libertarian Communism.

Whatever compromises the leaders of the CNT-FAI have made and are still making, no one - not even their bitterest enemies - can say that they did so for personal aggrandisement or because they wanted power.

For myself I find it impossible to believe that anyone of them have turned traitors or have become corrupt politicians within the limited period of six months. I repeat that human nature is vulnerable yet I cannot conceive of revolutionists of such courage, heroism and consecration as demonstrated all through the years in the Spanish Anarchist

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struggle by our outstanding comrades would no easily have become a prey to the lure of government position.

I hold no brief for the foolish belief that in entering ministries, Anarchists could hope to effect the course of the Spanish revolution. Or that by accepting the paralyzing conditions of Stalin our comrades would hasten the triumph of the anti-Fascist cause. Much less do I defend the weak stand taken by the leaders of the CNT-F.I in the tragic battle of May 3rd, 4th, 5th and 6th. I certainly consider it an extraordinary reversal of the proud revolutionary stand always defended by the CNT-F.I to turn the other cheek, to call a retreat and to hold back the pent-up feelings of the rank and file by passive resistance. All this does not imply that we should be silent or not criticize. On the contrary we should definitely state our disagreement and we should frankly and honestly call these comrades to account. However, I feel that Anarchists should be more careful than any other social groups to shout anathema against those who have served their cause all their lives or to crucify them at the first display of inconsistency.

Is there anyone of us who can truthfully say that he has always remained faithful to his ideas? For example our beloved comrade Peter Kropotkin. By his stand on the war he was guilty of a breach of principle. His defence of the allies, his statement that if he were younger he would muster a gun, were diametrically opposed to Anarchism and to everything our great teacher has taught us about war as capitalist conquest and loot. We who were opposed to the world slaughter criticised our comrade and condemned his stand but it never occurred to anyone of us to charge Peter Kropotkin with treachery or corruption. And what about ourselves? We were against the world war and some of us went to prison for our opposition to it. Yet, we immediately rallied to the support of the anti-Fascist war. We did so because we consider Fascism the most frightful menace in the world, the poisonous contagion which disintegrates all political and social life. The Fascist countries as well as the Russian Dictatorship certainly prove this. One can still breathe in democratic countries, little democracy though they may have. One can still raise one's voice against every political abuse and social iniquity. One still has a certain amount of security to one's life and limb. All this is obliterated by Fascism. May it not be, therefore, that the comrades now held up for scorn and all kinds of cruel charges, acted as they did because they felt and feel that everything must be consecrated on winning the anti-Fascist struggle. For it must be obvious to all thinking people that the Revolution and all else would be lost unless Fascism is defeated. We outside of Spain, we who do not face starvation and danger, should at least try to understand, if not to excuse, the motivations of the concessions and compromises made by the leaders of the CNT-F.I.

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I wish to state emphatically I stand to-day where I have stood all through my Anarchist life. I believe as fervently as I always have that affiliations with governments and political parties are inimical to Anarchism and harmful. I cannot however remain blind to the fact that life is more impelling than theories, that moments in the revolutionary struggle may arise when it ~~is~~ requires superhuman will and the wisest judgment to choose the right course. And as I myself am not all-wise or can boast of super-human will, I cannot honestly say what I would have done had I been in the position of the Spanish comrades at the head of the CNT-FAI. For this very reason I am not prepared to accept the charges of treachery or political corruption against them, much as I disagree with their methods.

In conclusion I wish to say I am with every fibre of my being with the struggle of the CNT-FAI and the Spanish people. Having been closely thrown together with our comrades in every city and hamlet of the parts of Spain I have visited, and have learned to know and love them, my faith in them remains abiding. I know that they will not tolerate for long anyone who will try to stem the tide of their revolutionary feeling and determination. Their ingrained love of libertarian communism will never for long accept any individual or institution that stand in their way. That is enough for me to give myself utterly to the anti-Fascist and the revolutionary struggle of our Spanish comrades.

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9 pt ink

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26 ems

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13 ems

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EMMA GOLDMAN

HABLA A LA JUVENTUD

Nuestra camarada Emma Goldman ha vuelto a España después de proclamar valientemente por media Europa la razón y la trágica grandeza de nuestra lucha antifascista. Ha recorrido casi toda la España leal, ha visitado las trincheras madrileñas y ha expresado, ratificado, su fe de siempre condensada en estas palabras: «Tengo fe absoluta en la victoria del pueblo español, en su lucha antifascista, porque el fascismo, una vez vencido en España, continuará su derrota en los demás países. Y tengo la ilusión de un nuevo orden de vida».

En Madrid, como en otros lugares, Emma ha dejado oír su palabra segura. Allí, se ha dirigido especialmente a la juventud. De su discurso reproducimos estos párrafos:

«Siento una gran emoción al dirigirme a los auténticos luchadores por la paz y la libertad.

Hoy me encuentro entre los que representan para nosotros los ejecutores de medio siglo de actividad, entre los que han de ser la fuerza emotiva que juzgue puramente el proceso histórico de toda una Revolución.

Lo que vosotros vivís en estos históricos días sobrepasa a todas las Revoluciones registradas por la Historia, en contenido social y espontaneidad creadora que tiene boquiabiertas a todas las cancillerías extranjeras.

Habéis luchado primeramente contra vuestros generales traidores, oponiendo a su táctica militar el tesón y el



arrojo de un pueblo indómito e invicto; después, ¡oh, odisea!, estáis luchando con dos naciones enormemente militares.

Madrid goza internacionalmente de la admiración de todos los trabajadores del Mundo, que ven en vuestro pueblo la más esforzada potencia contra el fascismo.

Los jóvenes libertarios han de ser la vanguardia de nuestro movimiento y tienen que tener la fuerza necesaria para imponerse a aquellos que van contra la libertad integral del Pueblo.

Repetidas veces he lanzado mi voz por diversos países de Europa en defensa de vuestra causa, que en estos momentos representa la causa común de todos los trabajadores del Mundo. Siempre que me he dirigido a la Juventud para que os imitase a vosotros, he hablado de las vastas proporciones de vuestro movimiento. Todos los jóvenes afines a vuestra concepción revolucionaria han coincidido en la necesidad inmediata de aunar internacionalmente los diversos movimientos juveniles que, igual que vosotros, luchan en estos instantes contra la tiranía de sus Estados, en la medida de sus fuerzas. Además, vuestra organización y sus métodos necesita que sea conocida en las diversas agrupaciones juveniles que en estos instantes defienden vuestra causa con la misma vehemencia que si fuera la suya propia. Yo os recomiendo que preparéis los materiales necesarios para que edifiéis la Internacional Juvenil Anarquista».

¡¡Asesinos!!



The Emma Goldman Papers

Callousness or Indifference? / Emma Goldman.— p. 1 ; 29 cm. In Spain and the World [London]. — (July 2, 1937).

Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

Arms! Arms, and not telegrams of sympathy for the Spanish people fighting International Fascism!

Prof. Carlo Rosselli's Opinion On Catalan Anarchists

I AM not an anarchist; but I deem it my duty in the face of justice to state quite frankly my opinion on the true nature of Catalan anarchism, too often represented as a purely critical, destructive, ever criminal force. Catalan anarchism is, apart from everything else, a strong current in the western workers' movement. The Libertarian-Communists of Catalonia are the "voluntaries" to whom social life in its entirety is not the result of a mechanised development of productive forces, but the result of creative willingness, and the struggle of the masses. Their starting point is the individual. According to them the revolution must have the services of the individual as the starting point, as the instrument and as the aim. No bureaucratic laws, but free association of free men.

A kind of "libertarian humanism," such is the essence of Catalan anarchism which is a movement steeped in culture. Culture is its passion. Its greatest martyr was a teacher, a pedagogue: Francisco Ferrer. The "allegalist anarchists"; Durruti, Ascaso, Jover, Oliver founded in Paris a library at the time when they were being hunted in Catalonia like thieves.

I remained 75 days at the front with anarchists, and I admire them.

The Catalan anarchists are the heroic vanguard of the Western Revolution. With them has been born a new world, and it is a great joy to be able to serve it.

You, doctrinal Revolutionaries of Madrid, men of the IInd and IIIrd Internationals, reformists, and you who are mixed up in it! When it concerns anarchism, think of the 19th and 20th of July in Barcelona: do not forget that one of the ablest fascist Generals, namely Godet, had scientifically prepared for some time, the shattering attack on Catalonia. The strategic points were occupied beforehand by 40,000 men. Theoretically, Barcelona had fallen

The fate of Spain is in the hands of Catalonia. Authoritarian Socialism and Communism look on with anguish at this phenomenon which goes beyond their written formulac.

Callousness Or Indifference ?

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EMMA GOLDMAN.

(* For the benefit of new readers we reprint extracts from this article elsewhere in this issue—Eds.).

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WHITEWAY COLONY,
STROUD,
GLOUCESTER.

BRITAIN AND SPAIN

THE incident of the "Deutschland" and Germany's reprisal on Almeria have been followed by a rather clumsy attempt on the part of Germany to induce Britain and France to demonstrate a more clearly defined anti-Spanish Government attitude. Germany obviously was trying to implicate these two powers in whatever aggressive actions she might have been contemplating.

There would seem to be little doubt that the "incident" of the "Leipzig" was but a typical trick of the agent provocateur!

For the moment the trick has not worked—but it has demonstrated more clearly than ever the intention of the Fascist Governments. It has also demonstrated the pitiable weakness of Socialist France; and further evidenced Great Britain's policy of pursuing a vacillating attitude publicly — although Mr. Chamberlain has given a sidelight on her inner intentions by his moral blessing in praise of Germany's self-restraint! In the same breath he admitted that the whole Leipzig episode could well be considered a mistake on the part of the officers concerned. So what Chamberlain considered praiseworthy, was virtually Germany's restraint from retaliation—possibly after the manner of Almeria — for something

WHERE I STAND

BY EMMA GOLDMAN

THE tragic events in Barcelona of last May and all that has followed in its wake impel me to make clear my own position, especially is this necessary since the publication of the manifesto of our French comrades.

It is sad but true, that the glorious achievements of the CNT-FAI between July 19th and the first days in May have received a terrible jolt. I fear very much that the CNT-FAI will not recover from it so soon. From the moment the leaders of the CNT-FAI entered into ministries and submitted to the conditions imposed upon them by Soviet Russia in return for some arms, I foresaw the inevitable price our comrades will have to pay. Actually all the foreign comrades present in Barcelona agreed that the concessions made by the CNT-FAI were the first wrong step taken in the rise of the Revolution. We foresaw, and we did not hesitate to call the attention of our Spanish comrades to it, that they were about to roll down a precipice.

If I nevertheless continued to defend the course taken by some of our comrades I did so because I felt that the gravity of the anti-fascist situation seemed to make the actions of the CNT-FAI inevitable. The other alternative that presented itself was Dictatorship, which the Spanish comrades justly considered the greatest menace. Nevertheless it is unfortunately true that the Anarchist participation in the Government and the concessions made to Russia have resulted in almost irreparable harm to the Revolution.

I can therefore understand perfectly the indignation of our French comrades and those in other countries against the CNT-FAI leaders. They have shown anything but clarity and judgment in dealing with their allies. My one objection to the manifesto issued by the comrades of the F.A.F. in France is the charge of treachery and political corruption against the leading comrades in the CNT-FAI. Anarchists are but human, all "too human," and therefore as likely to betray their cause as other men and women, nor do I think that their revolutionary past would always save Anarchists from being inconsistent. It has not done so in the case of the erstwhile Bolshevik revolutionists. There is a difference however. Lenin and his party aspired to the Dictatorship while the CNT-FAI have from the beginning of their inception repudiated Dictatorship and have held high the banner of Libertarian Communism.

Whatever compromises the leaders of the CNT-FAI have made and are still making, no one—not even their bitterest enemies—can say that they did so for personal aggrandisement or because they wanted power.

ish Anarchist struggle by our outstanding comrades would so easily have become a prey to the lure of government position.

I hold no brief for the foolish belief that in entering ministries, Anarchists could hope to effect the course of the Spanish revolution. Or that by accepting the paralyzing conditions of Stalin our comrades would hasten the triumph of the anti-fascist cause. Much less do I defend the weak stand taken by the leaders of the CNT-FAI in the tragic battle of May 3rd, 4th, 5th and 6th. I certainly consider it an extraordinary reversal of the proud revolutionary stand always defended by the CNT-FAI to turn the other cheek, to call a retreat and to hold back the pent-up feelings of the rank and file by passive resistance. All this does not imply that we should be silent or not criticise. On the contrary we should definitely state our disagreement and we should frankly and honestly call these comrades to account. However, I feel that Anarchists should be more careful than any other social groups to shout anathema against those who have served their cause all their lives or to crucify them at the first display of inconsistency.

Is there anyone of us who can truthfully say that he has always remained faithful to his ideas? For example our beloved comrade Peter Kropotkin. By his stand on the War he was guilty of a breach of principle. His defence of the allies, his statement that if he were younger he would muster a gun, were diametrically opposed to Anarchism and to everything our great teacher has taught us about War as capitalist conquest and loot. We who were opposed to the world slaughter criticised our comrade and condemned his stand but it never occurred to anyone of us

The Emma Goldman Papers

Where I Stand / Emma Goldman. — p. 2 ; 29 cm. *In Spain and the World* [London]. — (July 2, 1937).

Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

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For myself I find it impossible to believe that anyone of them have turned traitors or have become corrupt politicians within the limited period of six months. I repeat that human nature is vulnerable yet I cannot conceive of revolutionists of such courage, heroism and consecration as demonstrated all through the years in the Span-

her down, Sir Samuel Hoare and Mr. Eden pinioned her arms behind her back."

While we expect nothing more of a National Government, to whom Fascism, no matter how brutal and murderous, is preferable to any form of proletarian rule, we surely cannot believe that the Labour Party of Great Britain has been blind to what has been going on! Now they have belatedly demanded the right of the Spanish Government to receive arms but they should have realised this long ago and together with the Front Populaire they should have taken a definite stand. No consideration of expediency, no fears of an international conflagration could possibly justify their cowardliness. If they had truly represented the solidarity of the working class, they would have called a General Strike. Such a demonstration of International Proletarian solidarity is the only weapon which would put a stop to Fascist aggression and Nationalist ambitions.

Had they demonstrated their International solidarity, the threat of war would have faded into nothingness and the terror-ridden workers in Germany and Italy would have been inspired to throw off their Fascist oppressors.

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I wish to state emphatically I stand to-day where I have stood all through my Anarchist life. I believe as fervently as I always have that affiliations with governments and political parties are inimical to Anarchism and harmful. I cannot however remain blind to the fact that life is more impelling than theories, that moments in the

came against the enemy divisions and tanks. Thus we saw our milliamen, whose courage never waned, obliged to retreat kilometre by kilometre as far as the gates of Madrid.

By our collaboration in the Government we were able to avoid a complete rout, by the creation of popular forces highly organized and ready for an offensive.

Thus were we able to bring the economic life of the country back as far as was possible in a country at war and in a state of Revolution.

All at once, the political parties manifested against syndical participation in the Spanish government because they were aware that, not only were we effectively collaborating in the struggle against Fascism, but above all we were working to consolidate the economic and social conquests of the proletariat.

We were obliged to leave the Ministry. Once more the CNT was in a dilemma: either to pre-empt ourselves in a totalitarian movement or make a supreme effort to establish a democracy of a most advanced nature.

In Catalonia our comrades were faced with the same situation, when as an answer to the political elements of May last, they hurled themselves into a struggle of resistance, they had to decide for or

revolutionary struggle may arise when it requires superhuman will and the wisest judgment are required to choose the right course. And as I myself am not all-wise or can boast of super-human will, I cannot honestly say what I would have done had I been in the position of the Spanish comrades at the head of the CNT-FAI. For this very reason I am not prepared to accept the charges of treachery or political corruption against them, much as I disagree with their methods.

In conclusion I wish to say I am with every fibre of my being with the struggle of the CNT-FAI and the Spanish people. Having been closely thrown together with our comrades in every city and hamlet of the parts of Spain I have visited, and having learned to know and love them, my faith in them remains abiding. I know that they will not tolerate for long anyone who will try to stem the tide of their revolutionary feeling and determination. Their ingrained love of libertarian communism will never for long accept any individual or institution that stand in their way. That is enough for me to give myself utterly to the Anti-Fascist and the revolutionary struggle of our Spanish comrades.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

Naive Anarchists / Emma Goldman. — 27 cm. In The New York Times. — (July 4, 1937).

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Naive Anarchists

Emma Goldman Writes of Conditions in Spain

July 4, 1937

To the Editor of The New York Times:

Though far removed from my erstwhile country, I have never lost contact with it. I know pretty much what is going on in the States, by no means only through the American press. And I also know what your paper has been writing of the events in Spain. I cannot say it has always been accurate or friendly. Especially is this true of the uprising in Barcelona in the early days of last month. Since the National Confederation of Labor and the Anarchist Federation of Iberia have been charged with having caused the uprising, perhaps you will be willing to hear their side.

That anarchism and anarchists have been a target for every sort of calumny from the ignorant as well as those who pose as the banner-bearers of education and culture is nothing new. Of course one does expect more from intelligent people than from those who have never had a chance to learn anything first hand. Though why one should, I do not know. The utter confusion of mind and the insensibility to every wrong since the world slaughter have proved that the educated are far less capable of independent thinking than the masses.

Thinking an Offense

The gravest offense today is independent thinking. A case in point is dictatorship of varied hues. Its defenders are the pseudo-cultured. They justify every crime committed in its name, anarchism and anarchists still adhering to the old-fashioned idea that life without freedom is a monstrous delusion even if "trains run on time" and "our beloved comrade in the Kremlin has made Russia the most comfortable and joyous country in the world." Small wonder anarchism and anarchists should continue to be grossly misrepresented and their struggle distorted beyond belief.

You will no doubt be surprised to find that Stalin's crushing hand does not lie heavily only on his own domain, but that it also played its part in the Barcelona events of May.

Knowing the nature of "our beloved comrade," we in Barcelona, at the time when the Soviet Government offered to send arms to Spain, saw only too clearly the price the C. N. T.-F. A. I. [National Confederation of Labor-Anarchist Federation of Iberia] will ultimately have to pay. We warned our Spanish comrades against the sudden show of Stalin's brotherly love after the criminal delay of the most critical three and a half months in the anti-Fascist struggle. But the singular faith of the Spanish anarchists and anarcho-syndicalists in the inner goodness and honesty of man made them scorn the idea that the Communist idol and his blind followers could or would play them false.

Trusting Anarchists

I wish I could quote at length from the historic account of the attempt to break the anti-Fascist front, to crush the Spanish revolution and to exterminate the dominant parties in Catalonia—the C. N. T. and the F. A. I. It would show how very naïve and trusting the Spanish anarchists are and will probably continue to be. That is their great charm even if it is also a great drawback in dealing with allies who will have it that the highest aim justifies the most reprehensible methods. There is, however, one fact of more than usual significance. It is the change of the leaders of the National Confederation of Labor and the Anarchist Federation of Iberia from their tradition of direct revolutionary action to passive resistance.

These anarchists, repeatedly charged with fostering confusion, terror and destruction—these men and women all through the four days of armed attacks—cautioned peace and patience and did their utmost to hold back the pent-up wrath of the rank and file of their organizations. And that, if you please, in the very sight of the mowing down of their comrades by Communist and other reactionary forces. Nevertheless, the misrepresentation goes merrily on.

While I believe that situations in the social struggle may arise that would call for passive resistance rather than direct action, I am not at all sure that the wanton assault on the C. N. T.-F. A. I. by the enemies of the Spanish revolution presented such an emergency. But, whether it did or not, the fact remains that the anarchists and syndicalist leaders and no other party urged loyalty to the anti-Fascist unity and that they called a halt to fratricide.

Politically Free

The outstanding phase of Catalan life that so impressed me during my visit was the political freedom everybody enjoyed. Certainly, as far as it is possible to enjoy such rights under any government and in the face of war and revolution, the freedom all the parties of the anti-Fascist front had was truly extraordinary. This was entirely due to the C. N. T.-F. A. I., numerically and morally the most important party. Steadfastly they refused to have any truck with dictatorship. Dictatorship turns everybody into abject slaves.

The present reaction in Spain denotes the danger of dictatorship once more. But also it demonstrates that my comrades were babes in the political woods; that they naively underestimated the perfidity of their enemies.

I suppose I am one of these incorrigibles. I have abiding faith in the resiliency of the Spanish people. Persecution, prison, torture, suppression of their movement, their publications and their works—they overcame everything. They rebounded with new strength and new determination to go on and on until their ideas would triumph. I am certain that this will again happen in the near future despite all plots and connivance to crush them and to undermine the social edifice of the C. N. T.-F. A. I.

EMMA GOLDMAN.
London, June 18, 1937.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[A letter from Emma Goldman to the director of "Times". In Italian] Una lettera di Emma Goldman al direttore del "Times" / Emma Goldman. — p. 4 ; 42 cm. In L'Adunata Dei Refrattari [New York]. — Vol. 6, no. 27 (July 10, 1937).

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ANNO XVI 10 LUGLIO 1937 n° 27 p. 4

L'ADUNATA DEI REFRATTARI

Sabato 10 Luglio 1937

Una lettera di Emma Goldman al direttore del "Times"

Benchè molto lontana dalla terra che fu mia, non ho mai perso il contatto con essa. Sono quindi al corrente di quanto avviene negli Stati Uniti, e non soltanto pel veicolo della stampa americana. E conoscendo anche quel che il vostro giornale ha scritto degli avvenimenti di Spagna, non posso dire che sia sempre stato esatto o ben disposto. Questo è particolarmente vero per quel che concerne la sollevazione avvenuta a Barcellona nei primi giorni dello scorso mese. Dal momento che la Confederazione Nazionale del Lavoro e la Federazione Anarchica Iberica sono state accusate di aver provocata quella sollevazione, spero che voi vorrete sentire la loro versione.

Non è la prima volta che l'anarchismo e gli anarchici sono bersaglio di calunnie di ogni genere, sia da parte della gente ignorante, sia da parte di coloro che posano ad alfiere dell'istruzione e della cultura. Naturalmente ci si attende di più dalla gente intelligente, che da quella che non ha mai avuto l'opportunità di imparare, ma io ignoro la ragione di questa distinzione. La grande confusione intellettuale e l'insensibilità al male esistenti dalla guerra mondiale in poi, hanno dimostrato che la gente colta è molto meno capace di pensare con indipendenza di quel che le masse non siano.

Il grande delitto è oggi di pensare con indipendenza. Lo prova il caso della dittatura nelle sue varie sfumature. Coloro che la difendono sono persone pseudo-colte, le quali giustificano qualunque delitto nel suo nome, mentre l'anarchismo e gli anarchici si attengono ancora alla idea caduta di moda, che la vita senza libertà è un inganno mostruoso anche se i "treni arrivano in orario" e se "il nostro carissimo compagno nel Cremlino ha fatto della Russia il paese più agiato e allegro del mondo". Nessuna meraviglia, quindi, se anarchismo e anarchici continuano ad essere presentati sotto falsa luce e la loro attività è sempre incredibilmente distorta.

Voi sarete certamente sorpreso di sapere che il pugno pesante di Stalin non grava soltanto nel suo dominio, ma ha avuto una parte importante anche negli avvenimenti del maggio a Barcellona.

Ben conoscendo l'indole del "nostro carissimo compagno", noi, a Barcellona, al tempo in cui il governo sovietico offrì di mandare armi alla Spagna, vedemmo con precisione quale prezzo la C. N. T. - F. A. I. avrebbero alla fin dei conti dovuto pagare. Ne avvertimmo i nostri compagni spagnoli, rilevando l'improvvisa dimostrazione d'amor fraterno di Stalin dopo la criminale dilazione di tre mesi e mezzo, che furono i più critici della lotta contro il fascismo. Ma la fede straordinaria degli anarchici e degli anarco-sindacalisti spagnoli nella bontà ed onestà fondamentale dell'uomo, li fecero sdegnare l'idea che l'idolo comunista e i suoi ciechi seguaci potessero giocarli.

Vorrei poter recitare estesamente la storia del tentativo di spezzare il fronte anti-fascista, di schiacciare la rivoluzione spagnola e di sterminare gli elementi prevalenti in Catalogna; la C. N. T. e la F. A. I. Provarebbe quanto ingenui e creduli siano; e probabilmente continueranno ad essere, gli Anarchici spagnoli. Questo è il loro grande fascino, anche se è un grande discapito quando si ha a che fare con alleati i quali pretendono che il fine più alto giustifica i mezzi più repressibili. V'è, tuttavia, un fatto di grande importanza: il passaggio dei capi della Confederazione Nazionale del Lavoro e della Federazione Anarchica Iberica dalla loro tradizione d'azione rivoluzionaria diretta alla resistenza passiva.

Codesti anarchici, spesso accusati di promuovere la confusione, il terrore, la distruzione, — uomini e donne durante quattro giorni aggrediti da forze armate — consigliavano la pace e la pazienza e fecero tutto il possibile per trattenere l'ira compressa dei seguaci delle loro organizzazioni. E ciò, si noti, mentre i comunisti ed altre forze reazionarie massacravano i loro compagni. Ciò-

nonostante, la falsificazione continua allegramente.

Pure essendo persuasa che nella lotta sociale possano presentarsi situazioni in cui la resistenza passiva è da preferirsi all'azione diretta, io non sono affatto sicura che il folle assalto sferrato dai nemici della rivoluzione spagnola contro la C. N. T. - F. A. I. presentasse una situazione di tal genere. Comunque, il fatto resta che i capi anarchici e sindacalisti, e nessun altro partito, sostenevano la fedeltà all'unità anti-fascista, e che essi invocarono la fine del fratricidio.

L'aspetto della vita catalana che più mi impressionò durante la mia visita, era la libertà politica che tutti godevano. Nella misura che il godimento di tali diritti è possibile sotto un governo e in tempi di guerra e di rivoluzione, la libertà di tutti i partiti componenti il fronte anti-fascista era veramente straordinaria. E ciò era per merito esclusivo della C. N. T. - F. A. I. che è il partito numericamente e moralmente più importante, e tenacemente avversario alla dittatura. La dittatura rende tutti abievolmente schiavi.

Ora, la situazione spagnola presenta di nuovo il pericolo della dittatura. Ma dimostra anche che i miei compagni sono stati bambini nella jungla politica; che essi hanno ingenuamente sottovalutato la perfidia dei loro nemici.

Forse io sono di questi incorreggibili. Io ho una fede tenace nella ripresa del popolo spagnolo. Persecuzione, prigione, tortura, soppressione del loro movimento, delle loro pubblicazioni, e dell'opera loro, i compagni hanno tutto superato. Da ogni rovescio sono risorti con forza ereditata e con una nuova determinazione di andare avanti fino al trionfo delle loro idee. Sono sicura che così sarà; ancora nel prossimo futuro, ad onta di tutte le cospirazioni e di tutte le complicità per schiacciarli e minare l'edificio sociale della C. N. T. - F. A. I.

EMMA GOLDMAN
("N. Y. Times", 4-VII-37)

Londra, 18 Giugno, 1937.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[L[eon] Tolstoy's forces of darkness. In Chinese] Tolsty de Hei-an Zhi shi Li / Emma Goldman. — pp. 3-7 ; 21 cm. In Jing Zhe. — Vol. 1, no. 4 (July 31, 1937).
Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

心地稱呼我們的窮而無告者)也是有其程度的保守,雖然為了別的理由即是:他們的所有幾乎其微,所以害怕這這一點兒也損失了,便也怯懦起來了。一個個深服的人,自然要多少提心吊胆的。這便是社會理想家不單和那些剝削者底決然的取勢的保守主義相戰,而且這和剝削階級底被動的(消極的)怯懦的保守主義相戰的理由了。

在社會改造路徑上的第三個障礙是現時過甚的不健全國家主義(Nationalism)。我們近代的超資本主義(Supercapitalism)滋長了帝國主義,極端愛國主義(Chauvinism)和戰爭,大眾的靈魂,深受其毒,而他們的心智,便從他們底真實的需要上誤開了。

這些對於公正的人類社會之實現的障礙顯得有這樣的可怕,但我們却不可欺瞞我們自己——資本主義之XX,的確是一件該當担起來的工程。

幸而,一件很令人心慰的事實,在絕望的時辰,出現在人們的心裏。那就是:那些用他們的全心來希冀一個更公正和更好的人類社會的人數,在不斷地,迅速地增加起來。這是每一個誠實的觀察者都承認的事實,且為近代最顯著徵象。這些逐日增加的人,其信奉拯救人類的舊信念,並不是因為上帝的意志,而是由於人類本身的意志。

發見此新信念的廣佈之隱微的原因,乃是歷史哲學家的本務。現代底經濟的崩敗,身受其害者覺僅無產階級,即農工階級,小資產階級和多數的智識分子,亦所不免。而這些便是一般公認的主要原因。但大眾中文化與智識之普及,在舊宗教教義與迷信下的覺醒,革命宣傳之繁瑣的效果,與乎社會學以及其他社會科學的進步,却也是應該加上的,重要的因子。

現在日增月漲的醜惡,不和諧與惡毒,使得飽受憤恨的人非常難堪,而資本主義之錯誤與矛盾,更見顯著,雖巧辯亦不能為之開脫。也許這便是法西斯主義所以興起的主要原因。布爾喬亞世界底覺得自由的演說與自由的出版應該取締,以求停止對於資本主義罪惡的討論與批評。克魯伯斯(Krupps),福特斯(Ford)赫爾斯特(Hilts)實為資本主義與民主政治,甚至於偽民主政治,不能再安全地舒舒適適地并行了,他們并須于二

者之中犧牲其一;自然,那不會是他們的心裏,永遠愛國的資本主義的。

要想壓迫一切對於現社會制度的批評,布爾喬亞便漸漸地放棄了牠的年青時的觀念:民主政治,和講出出版自由。有些比較聰明些的資本主義的擁護者,他們幹起來,又害怕,又害怕。他們害怕,不惟不敢起資本主義的自由,反而會被法西斯主義變成牠的(資本主義的)沒落。因為取消一切自由言論和民主制度,會使資本主義的多少,而人的力量消失,而將牠置於一種個人機會平等,權利平等以及行動完全自由的制度的一切漂亮架子撤去的。

「舊秩序」的理想之壓迫,更吸引他們,令他們心移神眩,尤其是對於年青人,更顯得有力。此外,我們的「舊秩序」(Dynamic Industrialism)是否能夠和一種靜的(不變的)政治制度(Static Political system)與一種動的產業主義(Dynamic Industrialism)攜手前進,還是一個問題。法西斯主義,實是經濟的衰敗,因為舊秩序敗了的精神生活(Purified mental life)攜手前進,還是一個問題。法西斯主義,實是經濟的衰敗,因為舊秩序敗了的精神生活,加在重負過甚的資本主義身上。牠不能獨存,牠沒有建造一個恆久一些的社会制度,除非布爾喬亞把牠別的重担,加在重負過甚的資本主義身上。牠不能獨存,牠沒有建造一個恆久一些的社会制度,除非布爾喬亞把牠別的重担,加在重負過甚的資本主義身上。牠不能獨存,牠沒有建造一個恆久一些的社会制度,除非布爾喬亞把牠別的重担,加在重負過甚的資本主義身上。

這樣一種歷史的停滯是不會有好大希望的。社會革命的理想之普及,似不能永遠停頓。法西斯主義或納粹主義(Nazism)都沒有充分的力量,永久使民衆不知道——剝削與壓迫的世界是不可再忍的了,而且是無可辯解的了,必須讓位於一種更高的社會制度了——的真理。

所以我們希望這個從法國大革命開始而且絕未完全中斷的工作,會向著牠的終極的成功前進。

一九三七年六月十八日初六之晨。

托爾斯泰的「黑暗之勢力」

俄 E. Goldman 著

在托爾斯泰死了的時期,教會的代表們宣稱他是他們自己的。「他是和我們一起的」,他們說。這令人想起

The Emma Goldman Papers

[L[eon] Tolstoy's forces of darkness. In Chinese] Tolsty de Hei-an Zhi shi Li / Emma Goldman. — pp. 3-7 ; 21 cm. In Jing Zhe. — Vol. 1, no. 4 (July 31, 1937).
Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

俄羅斯的一個蠅和牛的寓言。當牛在犁田的時候，蠅則洋洋地住在牛的角上，但等到牛勞苦够了，回到家，蠅却說：『我們犁過田了』。教會的代理人跟托爾斯泰的關係，便與這同樣。的確，托爾斯泰把他的人類關係之概念，建立在『福音』的解釋之上。但他和今日的基督教間的距離，却正合基督之和他當時的宗教一樣，是相反的。托爾斯泰是最末一個真正的基督教徒，以此，他便毀壞那一切惡毒的黑暗勢力，和一切的不正與殘酷的，教會的偽善。

爲了這個原故，托爾斯泰便爲宗教會議所迫害，而被革出教會；爲了這個原故，俄皇和他的龐大僕衛怕他；爲了這個原故，他的著作便受了處罰和禁止。

托爾斯泰之得以逃免別的人的命運，唯一的原因，便是他比教會更有力，比公爵的爪牙更有力，其至於比俄皇更有力，他是，在文明世界之前對露地的罪與惡的，有力的俄羅斯的良心。

托爾斯泰對於他時代的嚴重的問題如何深刻地感覺，對於民眾如何地密切相關，他曾在他的各種著作中彰示出來；可是，沒有那一種比得上像『黑暗之勢力』裏面，那樣的顯著。

『黑暗之勢力』是一部不幸與悲劇的悲劇。牠表現一羣陷於貧乏與黑暗的農民。這種駭人的人情景，尤其是對於婦女，由劇中人物之一表白出來。

密特里 你們婦人和女子有千百之多，但你們，却像森林的野獸。她生過了，所以她也就死了。她既沒有看見過什麼事情，也沒有聽見過什麼事情。一個人是學些什麼的，如果沒有旁的地方，至少可以在旅館裏，或者過機緣，在監獄裏，在軍隊裏，像我一樣。但一個婦人怎麼呢？她是不曉得一件關於上帝的事情的，不以此，她今天過了還不得明天。她們像瞎了的小狗一樣，而把牠們的頭鑽進肥堆裏。

彼得，是一個有錢的農人，病得要死了。但他捨不得他的錢，而且把牠的年青的兒子阿尼西，他前妻生的兩個女兒，和他的長子尼其泰，像奴隸一樣驅使。他不許他們休息，因爲他的血管裏是貪慾，他的骨子裏是死的恐懼。阿尼西恨她的丈夫：他憎着她做苦工，而他又老又病。她愛尼其泰。後者年輕而又隨便，不能抵抗婦女，而這便是他的主要的弱點，而使他終於被敗。在他來到老彼得得用莊之前，他已經誘惑了一個孤女。當他懷了

— (4) —

孕，她便去告訴了尼其泰的父親阿奇姆，一個誠實簡單的農人。他督促他的兒子和那個女郎結婚，因爲『欺負一個孤女，是有罪的，想想呀，尼其泰！侮辱的淚是不白白地流過去的，而會在一個人的頭上流呀。想想呀，否則，你會遭報應的。』

阿奇姆的慈愛和簡樸，受了他的狠毒而貪心的妻子瑪德那的反對。尼其泰依然留住田莊，而阿尼西却受了他母親的誘惑，便殺死了老彼得，並且偷了他的錢。

當她的丈夫死了，阿尼西便和尼其泰結婚，而將偷來的錢歸他。尼其泰成了一家之長，而且不久，便證實了他自己是一個強盜和一個暴君。懶惰和富足，毀了他本有的善。錢——這靈魂的毀滅者——和他曾經間接地成了阿尼西的謀殺罪的共犯者的自覺，將尼其泰對於他妻子的愛，變成了恨。他把彼得得的女兒阿庫林，一個又黑又矮的十六歲的姑娘，升做主婦，而強迫阿尼西服侍他們。她雖有力量抵抗她年老的丈夫，但她對尼其泰的愛却使她弱了起來。『只要我看見他，我的心就軟了。我沒有反抗他的勇氣。』

老阿奇姆來同他的新發富的兒子借錢。他很快地便得到了他的兒子已經陷入了敗壞和罪惡的泥潭裏。他設法拯救他，激發他的大性中的善良的一面。但他失敗了。

在阿奇姆看來，那種生活方式是太有罪了。他離開了他，甚至於不受他兒子給他做買馬的錢。

同奇姆 一條罪或另一條罪接在一起，而且推着你跟過去。尼其泰，你現在更惡劣了。我曉得你簡直站在罪惡裏了。你覺得這樣，老實說，但這只能使你毀滅，毀滅，老實說。……那兒是你的錢。我可以去討，老實說，但我決不拿你的錢，老實說。……讓我走吧！我寧可在荒山下過夜，總比在你的泥潭裏要好。

阿奇姆的典理，由托爾斯泰記他在和一個老農，田莊的新助手的談話裏極生動地刻畫着。密特里 讓我們來假定，例如，你有錢，而我，例如，田地却仍舊荒着。春天來了，我沒有種子；或者，我須得完稅。我於是來找你，說：『阿奇姆，給我十個盧布呀！等我從田裏收下來，我就還你，另外還奉敬你一點。』你，例如，看見我還有一匹馬或者一條牛，可以敲一吓，你便說：『給我兩盧布或三盧布的利

— (5) —

一九三七年六月十九日下午初譯竣。

The Emma Goldman Papers

[A letter from Emma Goldman to the director of "Times." In Spanish] Una carta de Emma Goldman al director del "Times" / Emma Goldman. — pp. 2,4 ; 32 cm. In Acracia [Lerida]. — (Aug. 2, 1937).

Obtained from the Arxiu Municipal de la Paeria (Lleida), Spain.

Nacional del Trabajo y de la F. A. I. en Lérida

Una carta de Emma Goldman al director del "Times"

Aunque muy alejada de la tierra que fué mía, no he perdido el contacto con ella. Estoy, por lo tanto, al corriente de cuanto sucede en los Estados Unidos, y no solamente por el vehículo de la prensa americana. Y conociendo también lo que vuestro periódico ha escrito de los sucesos de España, no puedo decir que haya sido siempre exacto y haya estado en buena disposición. Esto es particularmente verdad por lo que concierne a la provocación y revuelta ocurrida en Barcelona en los primeros días del mes de mayo. Desde el momento en que la Confederación Nacional del Trabajo y la Federación Anarquista Ibérica han sido acusadas de haber provocado aquella sublevación, espero que estaréis dispuesto a oír la versión de ellas.

No es la primera vez que el anarquismo y los anarquistas son blanco de calumnias de todo género, tanto por parte de la gente ignorante, como por parte de aquellos que se consideran exponentes de aquellos que se consideran, exponentes de la instrucción y de la cultura. Naturalmente se espera más de la gente inteligente, que de aquella que no ha tenido la oportunidad de aprender, pero yo ignoro la razón de esta distinción. La gran confusión intelectual y la insensibilidad al mal existen desde la guerra mundial en adelante y han demostrado que la gente culta es mucho menos capaz de pensar con independencia que la masa.

El gran delito es hoy pensar con independencia. Lo prueba el caso de la dictadura en sus varias esfumaciones. Aquellos que la defienden son personas pseudocultas, las cuales justifican cualquier delito en su nombre, mientras el anarquismo y los anarquistas se atienen todavía a la idea pasada de moda, de que la vida sin libertad es un engaño monstruoso aunque "los trenes lleguen a su hora" y aunque "nuestro querido compañero de Cremlin haya hecho de Rusia el país más acomodado y alegre del mundo". Ninguna maravilla, por lo tanto, si el anarquismo y anarquistas continúan siendo presentados bajo falsa luz y sus actividades son siempre

Vosotros los veréis comprendidos por cierto al saber que el puño pesado de Stalin no grava solamente en su dominio, sino que ha tenido una parte importante, también, en los acontecimientos de mayo en Barcelona.

Conociendo bien la índole de nuestro queridísimo compañero, nosotros, en Barcelona, en el tiempo en que el gobierno soviético ofreció mandar armas a España, vimos con precisión a qué precio la O. N. T. y la F. A. I. habrían tenido que pagar a fin de cuentas. Advertimos a ello a nuestros compañeros españoles, haciendo notar la improvisa demostración de amor fraterno de Stalin después de la dilación de tres meses y medio que fueron los más críticos de la lucha contra el fascismo. Pero la fe extraordinaria de los anarquistas y de los anarcosindicalistas españoles en la bondad y honradez fundamental del hombre, les hicieron desdeshar la idea de que el idolo comunista y sus ciegos secuaces pudieran jugársela.

Quisiera poder recitar extensamente la historia del intento de romper el frente antifascista, de aplastar la Revolución española y de exterminar a los elementos prevalentes en Cataluña: la O. N. T. y la F. A. I. Probaría cuán ingenuos y crédulos son, y probablemente continuarán siéndolo los anarquistas españoles. Esta guerra es su gran fascinación, aunque sea una desventura, cuando se tiene que tratar con aliados que pretenden que el fin más alto justifica los medios más reprensibles. Hay todavía un hecho de gran importancia: el paso de los hombres de la Confederación Nacional del Trabajo y de la Federación Anarquista Ibérica de su tradición de acción revolucionaria directa a la resistencia pasiva.

Estos anarquistas, amenudo acusados de provocar la confusión, el terror, la destrucción, —hombres y mujeres durante cuatro días agredidos por fuerzas armadas— aconsejaban la paz y la paciencia e hicieron todo lo posible por contener la ira comprimida de sus secuaces y de sus organizaciones. Y esto, nótese bien, mientras los comunistas y otras fuerzas reaccionarias provocaban la matanza

por la censura



"Idea" ha que de algu- as. Sólo terso que no parti- a compli- hecho de con co- afias co- compues- o fotogr- a es un do." (De contra las del pro- puede re- dieho los interpre- yor. Aho- rtante en indepen- ayores. ¿A cuando se que se tie- mensa ma- á sea un laborato-

los, autorizados por los rebel- des, están hechos por obreros españoles que junto a los antiguos muros de la torre San Roque." (De la Prensa.)

E Inglaterra, dispuesta a "controlar" la intervención extranjera en España. Indudablemente, hay naciones imperialistas en decadencia, que no son capaces de impedir los atropellos a la dignidad ni a la propia integridad.

"Representación auténtica de la causa antifascista de todos los españoles y de todos los pueblos unidos a la república: la primera Conferencia del P.S.U.C. ratifica la adhesión de ayuda entusiasta de nuestro Partido al gobierno legítimo..." (Del saludo de la Conferencia del P.S.U.C. al Gobierno de la república.)

Continúa, por lo visto, el afán de "totalizar" y de "autentizar" por parte de los psiquistas de Cataluña. Vaya por la nueva consigna stajanovista!

"Aprendan a callar, siquie- ra sea en homenaje a los muertos —que también son de todos— los habladores; las trompetas de la fama sona- rán para anunciar se la

el resul- versaciones ezadas con ndi Cham- el recono-

The Emma Goldman Papers

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Obtained from the Arxiu Municipal de la Paeria (Lleida), Spain.

mañana han estado visi-
Comisarió Vladiv, el Al-
Alfés y Expluga y diver-
siones de los pueblos, pa-
r de asuntos relacionados
Orden Público.

ION DE PRESUNTOS ITORES

o de Urgel, han sido dete-
xs cludadanos, vecinos de
e Mar por presuntos de-

ara la defensa rio (pecial)

Esto supera, casi con 200
l de rublos, la suscripción
éstito del año pasado en
o plazo. Continúa con enor-
o la suscripción al emprés-
refleja la voluntad inquie-
le de los pueblos de la
de reforzar más aun, la
de las fronteras de su
defensa de las conquistas
gran Revolución Socialista.

BRES hallareís una orien-
margen de toda política
tido emancipador y autén-

BRES significan una sólida
er de su triple esclavitud:
id de hembra y esclavitud

n ... 50 cts.
cía Sánchez Saornil 30 "

EVOLUCION, por Mercedes

INFANTIL, por Carmen

BRES.

BRES LIBRES
paganda). - BARCELONA

Lo que se hace público a los
efectos consiguientes.

Lérida, 2 agosto de 1937.

Una carta de Emma Goldman...

(Viene de cuarta página)

entre sus compañeros. Y esto, no
obstante, la falsificación continúa
alegremente.

A pesar de estar persuadida de
que en la lucha social pueden pre-
sentarse situaciones en que la re-
sistencia pasiva es preferible a la
acción directa, yo no estoy abso-
lutamente segura de que el vesá-
nico asalto desencadenado por los
enemigos de la Revolución espa-
ñola, contra la C. N. T. y la F.
A. I. preséntase una situación de
tal género. De todas maneras, que-
da el hecho de los hombres anar-
quistas y sindicalistas, y ningún
otro partido, sostenían la fidelidad
a la unidad antifascista, y que
ellos invocaron la fin del fratrici-
dio.

El aspecto de la vida catalana
que más me impresionó durante
mi visita, era la libertad política
que todos gozaban. En la medida
que el goce de tales derechos es
posible bajo un gobierno y en
tiempos de guerra y de revolución,
la libertad de todos los partidos

que componían el frente antifac-
cista era verdaderamente extraor-
dinaria. Y esto por mérito exclu-
sivo de la C. N. T. - F. A. I. que
es el partido numéricamente y
moralmente más importante, y te-
nazmente adversario de la dicta-
dura. La dictadura hace a todos
vilmente esclavos.

Ahora la situación española pre-
senta de nuevo el peligro de la
dictadura, pero demuestra también
que mis compañeros han sido ni-
fios en la selva política; que han
despreciado ingenuamente la per-
fidia de sus enemigos.

Quizá yo sea de los incorregi-
bles. Tengo una fe tenaz en la
reivindicación del pueblo español.
Persecuciones, cárceles, torturas,
supresión de su movimiento, de
sus publicaciones y de su obra: to-
do lo han superado los compañe-
ros. De cada revés han surgido
con una fuerza acrecentada y con
una nueva determinación de ir
hacia adelante hasta el triunfo de
sus ideas. Estoy segura de que así
será en el futuro a pesar de to-
das las conspiraciones y de todas
las complicidades para destruirlas,
y minar el edificio social de la C.
N. T. y de la F. A. I.

Las operaciones guerreras en China

(Dé nuestro servicio especial)

Nanking, 2 (madrugada).—Co-
munican que las tropas chinas
han ocupado Llangh-Siang, al nor-
te de Lirillho y el ferrocarril de
Han-Kan—Pei-Ping. Parte de la
leal gendarmería de leste de Hoepi.

habíase atrincherado a lo largo
del río Yung-Ting. La avanzada
china había tomado contacto con
la gendarmería, salida de Tient-
Sin.—Océan.

Entrevistas de elementos militares

(De nuestro servicio especial)

Nanking, 2 (madrugada).—Han-
Futs-Chu, gobernador de la pro-
vincia de Chan-Tung, llegó el do-
mingo a Nanking, conferenciando
con el general Feng-Yun-Hiang y
después con Chang-Kal-Chek, so-

licitando instrucciones respecto a
la actual situación. Se considera
la visita como pruebas de lealtad
de Han-Futs-Chu al gobierno cen-
tral.—Océan.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[A letter from Emma Goldman to the director of "Times". In Spanish] Una carta de Emma Goldman al director del "Times" / Emma Goldman. — p. 1 ; 36 cm. In Frente Libertario [Madrid?]. — (Aug. 2, 1937).

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frente libertario

Redacción y Administración
Comité de Defensa
(Sección de Propaganda)
Serrano, 111.-Tel. 36633

¡Dejad que se abracen los hijos del pueblo!

Los manejos del Partido Comunista. Los manejos de los burgueses que pertenecen al Partido Comunista. Los que no tenían carnet el 19 de julio y muchos de los que después tampoco lo tuvieron. Los de los que antes de julio se unían a los guardias de asalto en las calles de Madrid y fuera de las calles de este. Los de los que con pistola en mano se unían a los galacianos para reprimir, perseguir y apalear a los hijos del pueblo que sufrían, que trabajaban y que no comían. Los de los que en la huelga de la Construcción presionaban y obligaban a volver al trabajo a los que en el andamio eran atenazados por las nieves de diciembre, por las heladas de enero y por las lluvias de marzo. Los de los que no trabajaban ayer. Los de los que no trabajan hoy y los de los que no trabajaron nunca. Los de los que ayer cantaban himnos en el periódico de March. Los que los cantaban en otro diario de la noche y que no recordaban cuántos ni cuáles fueron sus años y menos aún cuál fue el último. Los de los sacristanes de cierto periódico de la mañana que a coro piden el sacerdote al que han de ayudar a oficiar.

Todos ellos, sí, todos ellos pueden ahora, y con rapidez, la formación del partido único, y del partido único del proletariado. Y piden más, piden la unidad. Y piden por medio del Partido Comunista, el partido de la pequeña burguesía, el partido anticomunista, el partido de la contrarrevolución, el que agrupa en su seno, y los agrupa para entregarlos a la economía, a los antiguos burgueses que bantiza con el nombre de pequeños propietarios, que ya serán grandes, y de pequeños propietarios que venden por mil lo que les costó no más de diez, y que, además, escalan, con perjuicio del pueblo que trabaja, los órganos del Estado, para desde ellos asegurarse el botín, el botín que ese partido no tiene inconveniente en entregarlos para que con él imitan, y nada más que para que imitan, la Revolución del pueblo, la Revolución ibérica, la Revolución social la Revolución mundial.

Por eso lucha ese partido, ese partido que habla de unidad, y que habla de unidad para esconderla e impedirla. Y eso hace también cuando de partido único del proletariado habla. Lo explota y lo explota en perjuicio de los que trabajaron ayer, de los que trabajan hoy y de los que trabajaron siempre. ¿Con qué diferencia? Con la de que ayer trabajaban para los señores gandules de todos los partidos y hoy pretende que trabajen para todos los gandules agrupados ya en el partido de los "mejores", en el partido de los escisionistas y de los escisionistas no pretendo de la unidad.

Pero, ¿cómo quiere, cómo pretende el Partido Comunista la unidad? La quiere arrojando del Poder a la C. N. T. La quiere persiguiendo a los hombres de ésta y a veces matándolos. La quiere persiguiendo a la C. N. T. como no la persiguieron los Gobiernos del capitalismo. Y la

quiere anulando, deshaciendo, desorientando y engañando a los trabajadores de la sindical hermana. Sacándolos de una Internacional para, sin el asentimiento de ellos, llevarlos a otra. La quiere calumniando y babeando sobre la parte más activa, más honrada y más revolucionaria de la U. G. T.

Esa, esa es la unidad de ese partido, de ese partido que podrá ser el partido de la pequeña y aun de la gran burguesía que nadie le discute, pero el partido único, y el partido único del proletariado, ¡jamás, jamás! Ese partido será, y lo será porque no puede ser otra cosa, la cuña con que se quiere impedir la Alianza Revolucionaria que garantice la REVOLUCION SOCIAL y el

FRENTE ANTIFASCISTA que posibilite la victoria y que la posibilite pronto. Pero ni su unidad es tal unidad, ni es honrada, ni procede con honradez.

¿Es honrado, es leal, tirar y tirar de Largo Caballero y los suyos hacia la izquierda más revolucionaria, mientras se tira y se tira de Prieto y los que le siguen hacia el régimen vigente antes del 18 de julio? ¿Es así como queréis la unidad? ¿Es esa vuestra unidad? ¡Apartaos, farsantes! No metáis cuñas de mala madera, y menos aún de madera de mala ley, entre los trabajadores que sufren, entre los trabajadores que caen, entre los trabajadores que mueren y mueren por conquistar vuestras libertades y las suyas, por vuestro pan y por el suyo. ¡Apartaos, farsantes! ¡Dejad que se unan los que en las trincheras luchan juntos, los que en las trincheras mueren juntos! ¡Apartaos, apartaos! ¡Dejad que se abracen los hijos del pueblo!

Intendencia y la cerveza

Muchas son las cosas que vienen sucediendo en nuestra industria, pero pasemos por alto varias de ellas y tratemos hoy solamente la que, a nuestro juicio, recaba mayor urgencia.

Todos conocéis, por ser de dominio público, el oficio de Intendencia mandado hace varios días al Comité de la fábrica de cervezas "El Águila", por el que se comunicaba que este organismo pasaba a incautarse de toda la producción de cerveza para nuestros hermanos los combatientes, por ser de justicia que éstos sean los primeros, supuesto que también son los más sacrificados en nuestra lucha.

Antes de nada, nosotros, los obreros de la fábrica aludida, y con nosotros todo el gremio, hacemos constar, de una manera tajante, que jamás les fué negada la cerveza a ningún combatiente por nosotros, siempre que éstos justificasen su destino con la firma de su responsable.

También queremos destacar, de una manera clara y categórica, que todos, absolutamente todos los obreros lininos siempre, y lo seguimos siendo, los primeros en reconocer y defender esta afirmación, porque hemos de denunciar ante la opinión pública lo que con este asunto se viene haciendo por Intendencia o por quien la representa.

Y una vez aclarado esto, pasemos al asunto en cuestión.

Seguidamente de mandar la comunicación Intendencia, como ya decimos antes, se presentó en la fábrica un teniente acompañado de cinco números, pasando el primero a encargarse de la distribución de la cerveza para nuestros hermanos combatientes, prohibiendo al mismo tiempo, por espacio de dos días, que se sirviese un solo litro a los clientes de esta fábrica.

Todo esto estaría muy bien si la cerveza facilitada por este teniente fuese absolutamente toda con destino a los luchadores del frente, pero nosotros podemos demostrar, con pruebas claras y terminantes que, en nombre de los hermanos que luchan en los frentes, los que abandonaron los lugares de trabajo para regar con su sangre los campos de batalla,

se facilita incluso en bares, donde se despacha con vales para determinado cuerpo de tren y sus familiares, y, además, podemos demostrar también que se autoriza se sirva a departamentos y destinos, como son, entre otros, la Dirección General de Seguridad y al mismo Intendencia, y ante esto, los obreros cerveceros, con todas las fuerzas de nuestros pulmones, gritamos: "¡Pase el combatiente, todo!", pero lo que no podemos tolerar ni un momento es que, en su nombre, mientras él se derrite de sol junto a las trincheras, se sirva ni una gota más a estos lugares, que si luchan en bien de la guerra, lo hacen a la sombra y sentados en un sillón de cuero.

Los compañeros confederados de la Fábrica "El Águila"

ES LOGICO QUE LOS TRABAJADORES ESPEREN MAS DE LA UNION DE SUS DOS SINDICALES QUE DE LA UNION DE DOS PARTIDOS.

FEDERACION LOCAL DE SINDICATOS UNICOS DE MADRID

Por la presente se convoca a los compañeros de los diversos sindicatos que se encuentran representando a esta Federación Local en los Tribunales Populares, a una reunión que se celebrará el próximo martes día 3, a las cinco de la tarde, en la Secretaría de esta Federación Local, sita en la calle de Juan Bravo 28, esperando acudiréis todos por tratarse de un asunto de importancia. — Por la Federación Local de Sindicatos Unicos de Madrid, EL SECRETARIO.

Una carta de Emma Goldman al director del "Times"

Aunque muy alejada de la tierra que fué mía, no he perdido el contacto con ella. Estoy, por lo tanto, al corriente de cuanto sucede en los Estados Unidos, y no solamente por el vehículo de la Prensa americana. Y conociendo también lo que vuestro periódico ha escrito de los sucesos de España, no puedo decir que haya sido siempre exacto y haya estado en buena disposición. Esto es particularmente verdad por lo que se concierne a la provocación y revuelta ocurrida en Barcelona en los primeros días del mes de mayo. Desde el momento en que la Confederación Nacional del Trabajo y la Federación Anarquista Ibérica han sido acusadas de haber provocado aquella sublevación, espero que estaréis dispuesto a oír la versión de ellas.

No es la primera vez que el anarquismo y los anarquistas son blanco de calumnias de todo género, tanto por parte de la gente ignorante como por parte de aquellos que se consideran exponentes de la instrucción y de la cultura. Naturalmente, se espera más de la gente inteligente que de aquella que no ha tenido la oportunidad de aprender; pero yo ignora la razón de esta distinción. La gran confusión intelectual y la insensibilidad al mal existen desde la guerra mundial en adelante, y han demostrado que gente culta es mucho menos capaz de pensar con independencia que la masa.

El gran delito es hoy pensar con independencia. Lo prueba el caso de la dictadura en sus varias esfumaciones. Aquellos que la defienden son personas pseudocultas, las cuales justifican cualquier delito en su nombre, mientras el anarquismo y los anarquistas se atienen todavía a la idea pasada de moda de que la vida sin libertad es un engaño monstruoso, aunque "los trenes lleguen a su hora" y aunque "nuestro queridísimo compañero de Cerebrin haya hecho de Rusia el país más acomodado y alegre del mundo". Ninguna maravilla, por lo tanto, si anarquismo y anarquistas continúan siendo presentados bajo falsa luz y sus actividades son siempre increíblemente deformadas.

Vosotros os veréis sorprendidos, por cierto, al saber que el puño pasado de Stalin no grava solamente en su dominio, sino que ha tenido una parte importante también en los acontecimientos de mayo en Barcelona.

Conociendo bien la índole de "nuestro queridísimo compañero", nosotros, en Barcelona, en el tiempo en que el Gobierno soviético ofreció mandar armas a España, vimos con precisión a qué precio la C. N. T. y la F. A. I. habrían tenido que pagar a fin de cuentas. Advertimos de ello a nuestros compañeros españoles, haciendo notar la improvisada demostración de amor fraternal de Stalin, después de la dilación de tres meses y medio, que fueron los más críticos de la lucha contra el fascismo. Pero la fe extraordinaria de los anarquistas y de los anarcosindicalistas españoles en la bondad y honradez fundamental del hombre les hicieron desdeñar la idea de que el ídolo comunista y sus ciegos secuaces pudieran jugarla.

Quisiera poder recitar extensamente la historia del intento de romper el frente antifascista, de aplastar la Revolución española y de exterminar a los elementos prevalentes en Cataluña: la C. N. T. y la F. A. I. Pero cuán ingenuos y crédulos son, y probablemente continuarán siéndolo, los anarquistas españoles. Esta es una gran fasciación, aunque sea una derivación, cuando se tiene que tratar con aliados que pretenden que el fin más alto justifica los medios más responsables. Hay todavía un hecho

de gran importancia: el paso de los jefes de la Confederación Nacional del Trabajo y de la Federación Anarquista Ibérica de su tradición de acción revolucionaria directa a la resistencia pasiva.

Estos anarquistas, a menudo acusados de promover la confusión, el terror, la destrucción—hombres mujeres durante cuatro días agredidos por fuerzas armadas—, aconsejaban la paz y la paciencia e hicieron todo lo posible por contener la ira comprimida de sus recuaceros y de sus Organizaciones. Y esto, nótese bien, mientras los comunistas y otras fuerzas reaccionarias provocaban la matanza entre sus compañeros. Y esto, no obstante, la falsificación continúa alegremente.

A pesar de estar persuadida de que en la lucha social pueden presentarse situaciones en que la resistencia pasiva es preferible a la acción directa, yo no estoy absolutamente segura de que el veneciano asalto desencadenado por los enemigos de la Revolución española contra la C. N. T. y la F. A. I. presentase una situación de tal género. De todas maneras queda el hecho de que los jefes anarquistas y sindicalistas, y ningún otro partido, sostenían la fidelidad a la unidad antifascista, y que ellos invocaron al fin del fratricidio.

El aspecto de la vida catalana que más me impresionó durante mi visita era la libertad política que todos gozaban. En la medida que el goce de tales derechos es posible bajo un Gobierno y en tiempos de guerra y de Revolución, la libertad de todos los partidos que componían el frente antifascista era verdaderamente extraordinaria. Y esto por mérito exclusivo de la C. N. T.-F. A. I., que es el partido numéricamente y moralmente más importante y temerariamente adversario de la dictadura. La dictadura luce a todos visiblemente esclavos.

Ahora la situación española presenta de nuevo el peligro de la dictadura, pero demuestra también que mis compañeros han sido niños en la selva política; que han despreciado ingenuamente la perfidia de sus enemigos.

Quizá yo sea de los incorregibles. Tengo una fe tenaz en la reivindicación del pueblo español. Persecuciones, cárceles, torturas, supresión de su movimiento, de sus publicaciones y de su obra; todo lo han superado los compañeros. De cada revés han surgido con una fuerza acrecentada y con una nueva determinación de ir hacia adelante hasta el triunfo de sus ideas. Est y sé segura de que así será en el futuro, a pesar de todas las conspiraciones y de todas las comulicaciones para destruirlos, y minar el edificio social de la C. N. T. y de la F. A. I.

EN LA UNION DE LAS DOS SINDICALES NO HAY APAN DE PREDOMINIO EN NINGUNA DE ELLAS.

ESA ES PRECISAMENTE SU FUERZA; QUE ES UNION, NO ABSORCION DE UNA POR OTRA.

F. Anarquistas del S. U. L. P. de N. T.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Las realizaciones económicas del proletariado, la alianza U.G.T.-C.N.T.... [Economical realizations of the proletariat.... In Spanish] / Emma Goldman. — pp. 8-3 ; 34 cm. In Fragua Social [Valencia]. — (Sept. 21, 1937).

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Entrevista de FRAGUA SOCIAL

Emma Goldman, veterana del movimiento anarquista internacional, nos cuenta sus impresiones sobre España

Las realizaciones económicas del proletariado, la alianza U. G. T.-C. N. T. y la unidad del antifascismo

La personalidad de Emma Goldman

Emma Goldman es hoy la más vieja compañera del anarquismo militante mundial. Nació en Rusia, hace más de 70 años, en pleno régimen zarista. Participó desde muy joven en el movimiento revolucionario. Emigró con sus padres a América del Norte. Cuando en 1887 los anarquistas en Chicago fueron condenados a muerte por su valiente lucha a favor de la jornada de ocho horas, estaba una gran agitación en todo el mundo reclamando la no ejecución de estos idealistas. Esta agitación impulsó a la camarada Emma Goldman a trasladarse al movimiento anarquista.

Desde entonces, hace más de 40 años, nuestra valiente compañera lucha por la emancipación del proletariado desde las filas del movimiento anarquista. Sufrió años de cárcel y ha sido la primera mujer en América detenida por sus ideas sociales.

Algunos años más tarde, Emma conoció a nuestro compañero Alejandro Berkman. Este era otro emigrado ruso, que huyó de su país a causa de las persecuciones zaristas. Fue uno de los grandes luchadores del anarquismo. En 1892 se produjo una gran huelga contra el trust del acero. Los capitalistas negaron en redondo a atender las justas aspiraciones de la clase obrera. La policía intervino con gran violencia para romper aquel formidable movimiento. El camarada Berkman, entonces un joven de 23 años, ató contra el jefe del trust, el más cruel enemigo de los obreros. Condenado a 22 años de cárcel, nuestra compañera, Emma Goldman, inició una gran campaña a favor de la liberación de Berkman y de todos los presos sociales. Recorrió Estados Unidos dando mítines y agitando a la opinión pública. Era infatigable en su solidario trabajo. Y al camarada Berkman finalmente ha sido liberado, se debe en gran parte a la obra de esta compañera.

Emma Goldman abordó con brío la propaganda escrita de las ideas, tarea en la que se dedicó a causa de su clara inteligencia. Dirigió el semanario "Madre Tierra". Escribió abundantemente a favor de la emancipación femenina. En el terreno literario adquirió popularidad a través de sus obras. Es autora de un libro muy conocido en el exterior sobre el drama moderno. Dedicó una actividad formidable a captar a los liberales de América para las ideas anarquistas.

Cuando estalló la guerra mundial, nuestra compañera, en unión de Berkman, desarrolló una gran propaganda en contra. Como consecuencia de esta actividad fue condenada a dos años de cárcel. Al cumplir la condena, fue deportada a Rusia.

Hacia precisamente un año que la Revolución rusa liberó a los trabajadores del régimen zarista. Nuestra compañera quiso participar en esa Revolución anhelada con tanta vehemencia. El desmovimiento hacia el socialismo de Estado no era lo que querían nuestros compañeros que siempre habían defendido el socialismo libertario. Cuando Lenin impulsó la nueva política económica, Goldman y Berkman salieron de Rusia y en algunos libros expusieron sus concepciones revolucionarias.

Al llegar el 19 de Julio del año pasado, nuestra vieja amiga se vino inmediatamente y con gran entusiasmo al lado del proletariado español. Emma Goldman se ha convertido en al exterior en una de las más fervientes defensoras de nuestra causa. En Inglaterra ha participado en multitud de mítines pidiendo armas para la España revolucionaria. En infinidad de artículos publicados en este último país, en Canadá y Estados Unidos, se ha esforzado por presentar la causa que defiende el proletariado español. Ha rechazado con energía las acusaciones falsas propagadas en contra de la lucha que ensayamos nuestro pueblo.

Emma Goldman realiza en estos momentos su segundo viaje por España para estudiar el desenvolvimiento de nuestra lucha revolucionaria. A pesar de su edad avanzada despliega una energía admirable que pone íntegramente al servicio de la Revolución española. Después de su viaje volverá a Inglaterra y América para llamar la atención del mundo y reclamar la ayuda que merece el heroísmo de nuestros combatientes. Nuestra querida compañera, anarquista ayer y hoy, quiere que al mismo tiempo que se afirma el triunfo en la guerra, se desarrolle la Revolución social. En más grande anhelo se dice que la realización de sus sueños tiene en España campo apropiado. Hemos aprovechado el paso de Emma Goldman por Valencia, para pedir su opinión sobre la Revolución española. Estamos satisfechos de poder publicar esta breve entrevista.

Pleno de Regionales de la C. N. T.

Saludo a los combatientes de Asturias

De Comité Nacional a BELARMINO TOMAS
Presidente del Consejo Provincial de ASTURIAS-GIJÓN

«Pleno Nacional de Regionales de la C. N. T. reunido en Valencia, transmite fraternal saludo a los bravos luchadores, pueblo Astur, y afirma decidido propósito ayudarlos. La unidad de todos los antifascistas asturianos enseña camino a seguir por nosotros, para alcanzar la victoria. Por el Comité Nacional, VAZQUEZ»



—¿Cómo ves la situación internacional en torno al problema de España?

—Los poderes reaccionarios y fascistas están, como todos sabéis, abiertamente en contra del pueblo español. Los poderes democráticos tampoco quieren la victoria de la Revolución española. El capitalismo internacional no tiene ningún interés en que se instale en España un régimen nuevo sobre las bases del socialismo libre. El proletariado mundial es el único que simpatiza con la lucha de los obreros españoles, pero es también verdad que no está bien informado sobre la situación verdadera de España.

(PÁSA A LA PAGINA 2)

Comité Regional

AVISO URGENTE

Hoy y mañana miércoles deben presentarse con toda urgencia en este Comité una delegación de los siguientes Comités Territoriales: Sagunto, Caragante, Oriol, Albarche, Foyos, Gandia, Jativa, Liria, Montcada, Onteniente, Paterna, Requena, Utiel, Sueca, Denia, Villajoyosa, Benicarló, Alcora, Segorbe. Y los siguientes Federaciones Locales: Castellón, Albufera, Burriana, Vinuesa, Puerto de Sagunto y Torralba.

Se trata de un asunto de gran importancia, por lo que encarecemos su presencia sin falta.

POR EL COMITÉ REGIONAL: EL SECRETARIO

Cortas a la Luna

Ahí están los hechos

Siempre confíe sólo y exclusivamente en nuestras propias fuerzas. Las fuerzas antifascistas todas, ajustadas a la guerra, pensando en ganarla por nuestro propio esfuerzo. La visión clara de los anarquistas y de los anarcosindicalistas, pidiendo su incorporación al Poder para participar de la plena responsabilidad en la dirección, obedeciendo a la firme convicción de que en el extranjero nos tratarían conforme a nuestros propios méritos. No todos opinaban así, hasta el punto de sacrificar muchas cosas para agradar.

Toda guerra y toda Revolución nacida de sus entrañas, se coló en ellas según su desenvolvimiento. Las actitudes pusilánimes, dudosas, de confianza en el esfuerzo ajeno, hacían bajar el papel y se colocaban al filo del desastre. Y es que la fuerza es madre del derecho, y cuando éste falla por haberse agotado en el curso de los años, las potencias que el pueblo pone a contribución para salvarse, son engendradoras de un derecho nuevo, que chocó, indefectiblemente, con el capitalismo universal.

Con esta combinación quisimos gobernar. El descontento no es para nosotros. Lo será para los que aun confían en el esfuerzo ajeno. Una vez más hemos hecho de profetas, en estos tiempos en que la profecía debería estar arrinconada por la anulación de los hechos que acumula la historia.

Seguimos por el camino del suicidio, con políticas irresponsables de críticas corrosivas, contra hombres que son una esperanza por su visión correcta. (No nos haremos un bloque de granito para triunfar y cambiar la faz del mundo entero, do ese mundo que nos niega el derecho que con nosotros tenía concertado). Veremos si ahora esas los chiflones, hacen examen de conciencia ante los hechos, y demostramos lo que puede un pueblo cuando se ve acosado. A ver si estas cosas tienen que dejar de escribirse para la Luna, porque sean recogidas y escritas para todos con la claridad de sus responsables, en las noches más claras.

LUNATICO

Si la S. de N. no garantiza la independencia española seguirá el camino de fracaso del Comité de Londres

Política diplomática

El doctor Negri, presidente del Consejo del Gobierno legítimo de la República española, ha expuesto desde la alta tribuna de la Sociedad de las Naciones, ante la conciencia internacional, la situación creada en España como consecuencia de la invasión extranjera. Su discurso es un nuevo alegato que viene a completar el drama español, en sus diferentes fases. Durante el Gobierno Largo Cubellero, su voz de España se dejó oír varias veces. Cada actuación de nuestros representantes añadía nuevos elementos de fealdad sobre el crimen cometido con nuestro país por los aventureros del fascismo extranjero, sometidos en pivotes y golpes salteadores de la economía de los pueblos libres. Con el discurso del doctor Negri, el panorama español ha quedado completamente al descubierto. La impresión producida, en sus diversas intervenciones ante la Sociedad de las Naciones, muestra que Europa y el mundo entero se ha percatado, hasta el menor detalle, de lo sucedido en la Península ibérica en relación con la invasión extranjera y la guerra clandestina que nos están haciendo Italia, Alemania y Portugal.

Mussolini aparece, a última hora, como el mayor responsable, sobre el cual fluyen sus miradas las naciones democráticas. El discurso de Palermo y las agresiones de los submarinos italianos "misteriosos" en el Mediterráneo han dado a su figura especial relieve, pesando sobre él la acusación de intentar producir la inmensa catástrofe de una guerra mundial, que significaría la más grave ofensa y un daño irreparable para la Humanidad.

El jefe del Gobierno español expuso con perfecto método y argumento de forma irrefragable, fijando los puntos esenciales del problema español.

"España—dijo el señor Negri—ha sabido responder al ultraje lanzado hecho a la civilización europea por el fascismo internacional. Este ultraje lo ha sufrido nuestro país en su propia carne. Los españoles han caído en los campos de batalla defendiendo una causa común a todos los pueblos libres, y piden, en estas últimas horas, que sean reparados los errores que una política que, con el mejor deseo de años y las más defendibles intenciones de otros, ha conducido a España y a Europa a la situación tan dramática que vivimos."

ALEMANIA E ITALIA HAN ORKADO INTERESES CUYA DEFENSA AGRAVA LA SITUACION EN FORMA ALARMANTE

Fue de una gran oportunidad la cita hecha por el doctor Negri de las palabras pronunciadas por Hitler en el último discurso de Nuremberg:

"Acaso a la Gran Bretaña —dijo el "führer" le interesa a lo sea indiferente que España se convierta en un desierto. Pero para nosotros, los alemanes, que carecemos de posesiones ultramarinas, España es una de las condiciones principales de nuestra existencia. Francia y la Gran Bretaña sienten una honda preocupación de que España pueda ser conquistada por Italia y Alemania. Nuestra preocupación, en cambio, es que sea conquistada por el bolchevismo."

A continuación el jefe del Gobierno español hace historia de la revolución en Santander, donde la actuación del ejército italiano, con sus doce generales, no dejó lugar a duda. Leyó el humillante telegrama de Franco al "duce" y la altanera contestación del fundador del Imperio romano a Franco, su prelátero en España, haciendo alusión a la campaña de la Prensa italiana, reivindicando para Italia los "éxitos obtenidos". Y si falta algo por comprobar—añadió—, podría comprobarlo en los cinematógrafos de Ginebra, donde se exhiben películas en las cuales aparece el ejército italiano cantando himnos fascistas por las calles de Santander.

Nada puede creer en la superchería de pretender defenderse del bolchevismo español. Ese es el pretexto para hacer propagandas tendenciosas que ocultan los planes de invasión imperialista que van preparando las cosas para asaltar en su día al golpe por la España a las libertades democráticas de Europa. Italia prepara nuevos contingentes, porque ya no le basta con nada para obtener la anhelada victoria, que cada día se aleja más, terminando por hacer constar que el Gobierno de la República española se considera con derecho a pedir las cinco reivindicaciones a que tiene derecho, que son: que se reconozca la agresión, de que ha sido objeto por parte de Italia y Alemania. Que, en consecuencia, la Sociedad de las Naciones examine la forma de poner fin a esa agresión. Que se destruya íntegramente al Gobierno español su derecho a adquirir libremente material de guerra. Que sean retirados del territorio español los combatientes no españoles. Por último, que las medidas de seguridad adoptadas en el Mediterráneo sean extendidas a España.

El doctor Negri, dijo apoyando su petición:

"Por encima de todo está para nosotros el Pacto de la Sociedad de las Naciones. A ella es a quien corresponde exigir que cada uno cumpla las obligaciones internacionales que se derivan del Convenant. La Asamblea no puede prescindir este vez de examinar el asunto a fondo y adoptar una posición frente a él."

LA CRISIS DE EUROPA EN SU MOMENTO ALICID

La Sociedad de Naciones se encuentra, pues, ante el momento decisivo en su vida como organismo eficaz para la defensa del derecho de los pueblos. El discurso del representante de España ha situado las cosas de tal forma que, frente a la argumentación española, no valen dilaciones ni sofismas. La política de dejar hacer, ocultando oficialmente lo que está a la vista de todos los ciudadanos, ha fracasado definitivamente. El por representantes acreditados en el organismo pibertino no adoptan una resolución rápida para poner en prácticas las bases que garantizan la independencia de los miembros pertenecientes a dicho organismo, su crédito sufrirá de tal forma que será imposible, de ahora en adelante, a los hombres de Estado seguir manejando la Sociedad de Naciones como organismo para dirimir las contiendas entre los pueblos. Su fracaso moral será definitivo. Como han tenido que reconocer la ineficacia del Comité de No Intervención después de un año de ridícula actuación, se verá forzado, ante la repulsa general, a reconocer, a su vez, que ha fracasado definitivamente la última posibilidad de encausar por la legalidad las relaciones entre los pueblos. Al derecho le sustituirá, en su mismo momento, la violencia, y tres días después la bárbara agresión como norma en las relaciones exteriores, retrotrayendo a Europa a las intenciones de una nueva Edad Media.

LO OCURRIDO CON LA ELECCION DE MAFARA, PRESIDENTA EL DESASTRE TOTAL DEL ORGANISMO GUBERNATIVO

El artículo 10 del Convenant marca claramente "que los miembros de la Sociedad se comprometen a respetar y mantener, contra toda agresión exterior, la integridad territorial y la independencia política actual de todos ellos. En caso de agresión, de omisión o de peligro de agresión, el Consejo acordará los medios de asegurar la ejecución de esta obligación."

A su vez, el artículo 16 declara "que si un miembro de la Sociedad recurre a la guerra, será "ipso facto" considerado como habiendo cometido un acto de guerra contra todos los otros miembros de la Sociedad. Rompiendo toda relación comercial o financiera con el agresor. Y recomendando a todos los miembros que con sus ejércitos y acueductos hagan respetar los compromisos de la Sociedad de Naciones."

Estos compromisos fundamentales los ha venido eludiendo en el caso de China y Etiopía. La cuestión española vuelve a plantear en Ginebra el ineludible deber de cumplir el Pacto. De negarse, permitiendo que continúe la invasión extranjera en el Península, la Sociedad de Naciones habrá dejado de existir. En lo sucesivo servirá del crédito necesario para arañar en relación.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Las realizaciones económicas del proletariado, la alianza U.G.T.-C.N.T.... [Economical realizations of the proletariat.... In Spanish] / Emma Goldman. — pp. 8-3 ; 34 cm. In Fragua Social [Valencia]. — (Sept. 21, 1937).
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Septiembre 21 de Septiembre de 1937

Fragua Social

Página 3

mañana miércoles 22 de Septiembre, en el Frontón Valenciano
se jugará el mejor partido del año, a beneficio de «Amigos de México»
Amenizará el acto la Banda de Música Confederal
NADIE DEBE FALTAR. - El acto empezará a las 3'45 tarde

La Junta de Defensa Pasiva de la población civil se dirige a la opinión

Después de salir al paso de cierto error de la Prensa que, con una política bien manifiesta, se ha limitado a la Junta de Defensa Pasiva en lo que respecta al de dos pestes mensuales, a la familia que habitan Valencia.

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Se vamos a repetir el programa interpretado el domingo en el Teatro Principal de bote en bote—por la cada vez más admirada Simfónica de Valencia. De ese programa, se desprenden dos símbolos: Beethoven y Wagner. Muy distintamente se nos olvidan la Simfónica número 9 (Pastoral del Genio) y el maestro izquierdo, caso típico de honores artísticos, de entusiasmo y de estudio, compartió con el magnífico grupo de profesores que dirige, uno de los momentos de mayor gloria. Beethoven estaba allí, en toda la orquesta, palpante, emocionado, hipercensurado ante la Naturaleza. Y los tres tiempos de la Pastoral prendían en la sensibilidad del espectador rotundamente. A nuestro lado, un camarada lloraba. Fue una de las más brillantes manifestaciones de Arte que hemos gustado los oyentes. Pero aquel remanso, aquel delicado fluir de notas se rompió de repente cortado a golpes orquestales por la intervención wagneriana. La abertura de "Los maestros cantores", era un torrente maravilloso de virtuosos entonaciones. La Simfónica de Valencia se había identificado con el otro coloso, dialogando con él, discutiendo con él, y la abertura era el tema de controversia. El final, el resumen de la milagrosa pugna Beethoven-Wagner-Glória de Valencia, fue una ovación estruendosa que no se acababa nunca y que recibieron, de pie, las bueltas del maestro izquierdo que, siempre, el primero que desaparece para dedicarse por completo al homenaje del público a los virtuosos componentes de la orquesta.

Después de Beethoven, de Wagner y de la actuación de la Simfónica en diálogo sublime con ambos, permitenos decir que algunos puntos. Sería inútil añadir una sola palabra más.

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Sobre el mitin pro abastecimiento de Valencia y su región

Se nos comunican que sufre un aplazamiento, de momento, el grandioso mitin que se preparaba por la Federación Regional de Campesinos de Levante, para dar a conocer de qué forma se puede abastecer Valencia y su región, debido a que las gestiones que por otro conducto se venían realizando han dado buenos resultados.

Según se nos dice, también es muy posible que dentro de unos días se pueda exponer al público arroz a razón de ochenta céntimos el kilo. Veinticinco céntimos más barato que el precio impuesto por el Gobierno en la tasa hecha pública hace días.

Lo celebramos. Cuando hay voluntad en servir los intereses del pueblo, todos los obstáculos se erizan.

Prosigue por ese camino la Federación Regional de Campesinos, que es el medio más eficaz de aplastar a los acaparadores, elementos pasivos del fascismo en nuestra zona.

HOMENAJE A CRISTIAN OZANNE, director de la Agencia Havas

Nuestro compañero Cristian Ozanne, director en España de la Agencia Havas, fue agasajado ayer con una comida. Fue este un acto de despedida.

Cristian Ozanne marchará en breve a China como enviado especial de la Agencia Havas. Deja España, en donde desde hace siete años, ha realizado una inmensa labor de valorización de cuantos elementos vienen representando la transformación que en nuestro país se desarrolla. Pocos amigos tiene y ha tenido España como Cristian Ozanne. Espirito agudo y periodista comprensivo a lo largo de su actuación se ha significado como uno de los criterios más justos y más profundamente conocedores de nuestra España.

Para testimoniar el reconocimiento a su labor en pro del pueblo español, en todos los momentos de sus más dramáticas inquietudes, se reunieron en su torno, en el día de ayer, en fraternal agasajo, numerosos periodistas y escritores.

Los obreros valencianos rindieron tributo de consideración y reconocimiento a cuanto a Cristian Ozanne deben todos los españoles, prestando a la organización de la comida en su honor.

Nuestro compañero Barrado, al final de la comida, leyó las adhesiones al acto que se celebraba.

En nombre de los periodistas valencianos, habló a continuación el

Instituto-Escuela de Segunda Enseñanza de Valencia

El Ministerio de Instrucción Pública en su decreto de 5 de Septiembre actual "Gaceta" del 9, con una amplitud y una concepción sin precedentes concede becas y subsidios para estudios a quienes demostrando capacidad y vocación carezcan de medios económicos o sean insuficientes para atender debidamente a la educación de sus hijos.

El Instituto-Escuela de Valencia, vivamente complacido por el alcance del decreto, lo comunica a quienes interesen estas disposiciones, invitando reiteradamente a su propaganda y extensión. Y consciente de su labor cultural y educativa, sobradamente conocida en la ciudad y en la región, aprovecha gustoso esta oportunidad ministerial, para dar las máximas facilidades a los que se interesen por su labor.

El plazo para la admisión de solicitudes termina el día 18 de Octubre próximo. Copia del decreto—que debe ser conocido y propagado por todos—, cuestionarios e instancias de solicitud y cuantos informes sean necesarios podrán encontrarse en la Secretaría del Instituto-Escuela, calle de Juan María, 19, Valencia.

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LA MUTUAL DEL TURIA

Asociación de Socorros Mutuos

En cumplimiento de lo dispuesto por el decreto del Ministerio de Hacienda y Economía, de fecha 2 de los corrientes ("Gaceta" del 3), se convoca a todos los asociados de LA MUTUAL DEL TURIA a la Junta general extraordinaria que habrá de celebrarse en la calle Metelería, núm. 30, entrepuerto, domicilio de UNION TRUQUERA VALENCIANA, a las cuatro de la tarde del día 27 del actual, al solo fin de elegir, por los comparecientes con derecho a voto, dos vocales que representen a los asociados en el Consejo de Administración que instituye la disposición citada. La condición de asociado se justificará mediante la presentación en el domicilio de la Junta, de la que podrá proveer todo asociado en el domicilio de la Junta, hasta las cuatro horas del día de la celebración de la Junta general.

Valencia 18 de Septiembre de 1937.—El interventor del Estado, J. Mingarro y San Martín.

Interviús de FRAGUA SOCIAL

(VIENE DE LA PAGINA 2)

España. No sabe lo que significan las colectivizaciones en el campo y en la industria. Tampoco sabe que la función del capitalismo ha desaparecido en la economía española. Pero la situación económica y política de la mayoría de los países fuera de España es tal, que es muy difícil que se produzca una intervención abierta a nuestro favor. Otro factor que se cruza en el camino de la solidaridad es el miedo a la guerra mundial. Pienzan muchos, especialmente los países democráticos, que abrir el mercado de armas a España significa el principio de la conflagración mundial.

—¿Qué opinas de los acuerdos de la Internacional Socialista?

—Pienso que, por ejemplo en Inglaterra, las Trades Unions son un factor conservador, uno de los baluartes firmes en que basa su existencia el Imperio británico. Por eso es necesario que el empuje nazca en la base, es decir, en el proletariado mismo, y si fuese preciso contra la voluntad de algunos elementos reformistas diligentes. Podemos confiar en que millares de obreros de las Trades Unions y también del Partido Laborista independiente se agiten con energía y sus esfuerzos tomen forma concreta en un futuro cercano.

—¿Pueda, al movimiento obrero tener fuerza operante sobre los Gobiernos, obligándolos a reconocer nuestros derechos?

—Esta fuerza reside, naturalmente, en el proletariado mismo. Su desenvolvimiento depende de dos factores: Primero, de la situación económica, y después del proceso de conciencia dentro del proletariado. Grandes luchas económicas en otros países pueden contribuir a crear una situación más o menos revolucionaria. Y en esta situación será mucho más fácil hacer comprender al proletariado, la significación internacional trascendente que tiene la guerra antilascista en España.

—¿Qué opinas de las realizaciones económicas del proletariado español?

—Las realizaciones económicas del proletariado español, tienen una significación importantísima. Es admirable como los obreros de España, luchando en buena parte por los ideales libertarios, hayan podido realizar tantas cosas en el terreno social durante un período breve de guerra. El signo característico de la nueva situación económica, consiste en que el proletariado ha podido iniciar una labor de reconstrucción durante una guerra dura como la que libra contra el fascismo. Basándose en las

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Interview] Emma Goldman, vella militant anarquista Russa, diu... [Emma Goldman, long-time Russian anarchist activist, declares... In Spanish] / Emma Goldman. — p. 6 ; 36 cm. In Catalunya. — (Sept. 21, 1937).

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Emma Goldman (1869-1935), de 60 anys, domiciliat en aquesta ciutat, carrer de Santa Eugènia, 3, qui manifesta el següent:

Rebaza, rubricat. — Hi ha una signatura il·legible, rubricat.

EMMA GOLDMANN, VELLA MILITANT ANARQUISTA RUSSA, DIU QUE LA SIGNIFICACIÓ DE L'ALLIANÇA C. N. T. - U. G. T. ULTRA-PASSA LES FRONTERES D'ESPANYA

València, 21. — Emma Goldmann, vella anarquista russa que ha vingut defensant la causa d'Espanya a Anglaterra, ha fet, entre altres, les següents manifestacions:

Pel que es refereix a l'ajut que el proletariat mundial pot prestar a la causa espanyola, he de dir que "Trade Union's", organització que conec més de prop, és un factor conservador, un dels baluards més fermes en què basa la seva existència l'Imperi britànic. Per això és necessari que l'empenta neixi en la base, és a dir, en el proletariat mateix i, si fos precis contra la voluntat d'alguns elements reformistes i dirigents. Podem confiar que els obrers de "Trade Union's" i també el Partit Obrer Independent s'expressin amb energia a donar llurs esforços; però és precis que aquests

prenguin forma concreta en "utur" proper.

Referint-se a l'aliança entre la U. G. T. i la C. N. T., s'expressa així:

Penso que una aliança d'aquesta envergadura, si és creada amb total lleialtat per ambdues parts, pot ésser la major garantia per al triomf de la guerra i de la Revolució. Per això em sorprèn que els camions de la U. G. T. no hagin comprès el tot el seu valor i abast fonamental d'aquesta unió, interessant per a la seva pròpia organització i per a tot el proletariat espanyol. La significació d'aquesta unió rebassa les fronteres d'Espanya. En el proletariat internacional no hi ha utilitat sinó escissió; i l'aliança revolucionària del proletariat mundial és la gran empenta per a l'establiment d'una bona harmonia entre els treballadors de tot el món. — Febus.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] El movimiento obrero Ingles, encabezado por las Trade Unions... [The English workers' movement, led by the trade unions... In Spanish] / Emma Goldman. — p. 8 ; 24 cm. In Solidaridad Obrera [Barcelona]. — (Sept. 22, 1937).
Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

Miles heridos en los campos de batalla españoles.
En el mismo buque ha llegado el general Piazzoni coman-

listas del buque-hospital.
Todas estas bajas, provienen del frente de Santander. — Telexpress.

cónsul fascista, todos he

Emma Goldmann, la conocida militante revolucionaria rusa, de regreso a España, hace declaraciones en Valencia

EL MOVIMIENTO OBRERO INGLES, ENCABEZADO POR LAS TRADE UNIONS Y EL PARTIDO LABORISTA INDEPENDIENTE, SE APRESTA CON ENERGIA A DAR SUS ESFUERZOS POR ESPAÑA

La alianza U. G. T.-C. N. T. será un ejemplo para el proletariado mundial

Valencia, 21. — Emma Goldman, vieja anarquista rusa que ha venido defendiendo la causa de España en Inglaterra ha, hecho, entre otras, las siguientes manifestaciones:

Por lo que se refiere a la ayuda que el proletariado mundial puede prestar a la causa española, he de decir que las Trade Unions, organización que conozco más de cerca, es un factor conservador, uno de los baluartes firmes en que basa su existencia el Imperio británico. Por eso es necesario que el empuje nazca en la base; es decir, en el proletariado mismo, y si fuese preciso, contra la voluntad de algunos elementos reformistas y dirigentes. Podemos confiar en que los obreros de las Trade Unions y también el Partido Laborista Independiente se aprestan con energía a dar sus esfuerzos; pero es preciso que éstos tomen forma concreta en un futuro cercano.

Refiriéndose a la alianza entre la U. G. T. y la C. N. T., se expresa así:

Pienso que una alianza de esta envergadura, si es creada con toda lealtad por ambas partes, puede ser la mayor garantía para el triunfo de la guerra y de la Revolución. Por eso, me sorprende que los camaradas de la U. G. T. no hayan comprendido, en todo su valor, el alcance fundamental de esta unión interesante para su propia organización y para todo el proletariado español. La significación de esta unión rebasa las fronteras de España. En el proletariado internacional no hay unidad, sino escisión; y la alianza revolucionaria del proletariado español será el gran empujón para el establecimiento de una buena armonía entre los trabajadores de todo el Mundo. — Febus.



FRACASO DE UN CHANTAJE M

Por Go

sudamericanas, el Perú entra ellas.

El negocio que nos proponían era muy sencillo, aunque poco limpio. Si nosotros poníamos en libertad a los facinerosos que ellos habían albergado en sus legaciones, abusando indignamente de la extraterritorialidad de los edificios, ellos nos daban sus votos para el Consejo de la Sociedad. Nada más rufianesco. Habríamos merecido que, elegidos por tales artes, nos expusiesen por indignos.

En esta pena de expulsión están incursos todos los individuos de la italiana diplomática que fraguaron el negocio. Veamos lo que hace la Sociedad de Naciones.

III

El representante del Irak habló después de Delbos y de

QUE CADA PALO AGUANTE SU VELA

Las situaciones anormales en los países crean conflictos que el triunfo del lugar común acaba por atribuir a la misma causa o a la misma persona, aunque muchas veces ni la causa ni la persona sean los promotores de los conflictos.

Aun no hace mucho que este fenómeno se producía indefectiblemente a costa de los Comités. Ellos eran los causantes de cuanto acontecía en la retaguardia y hasta en la vanguardia. Discretamente, los Comités se relegaron a un prudente segundo término y los conflictos, no sólo siguieron sucediéndose, sino que se han intensificado. Pero el instinto, en su afán de desenbrar a un culpable, lo ha siluetado en seguida con grave disgusto del señalado, que se lamenta amargamente de que todo cuanto de malo ocurre se le atribuya a él.

No está justificada la lamentación si el señalado, o los señalados no son flacos de memoria y recuerdan aquellas formidables cargas de

Hace muchos años que me consta el infimo carácter moral de la Sociedad de Naciones. Infimo carácter moral, digo, porque finge ser una cosa y es otra. Se dice amparadora de la seguridad colectiva y no es más que un aparato inglés para regir desde Londres la política internacional. Si en Londres creen buen negocio entregar una nación a sus enemigos, la Sociedad hace el negocio a gusto del patrón. Pregúntese sobre ello al Negus, y a lo que él diga me atengo.

También China sabe algo de esto desde el feo asunto del Manchukuo.

Pero nosotros no tenemos que preguntar a nadie. Nuestra propia experiencia es suficiente. Eralo ya antes del último episodio. Ahora, si alguna duda le quedaba a alguien en España, creo se habrá disipado.

Ha dicho cosas estúpidas. Entre otras, ésta: "Estamos convencidos, y lo declaramos enérgicamente, de que no existe ningún conflicto que no pueda solucionarse pacíficamente."

Y no hay duda de que es así. No hay más que aplicar el viejo principio pacifista: "Cuando uno no quiere, dos no riñen." Y dejarse conquistar. Mediante esta receta, la paz resulta incommovible. Pero entonces, quiten ustedes el tenderete de la Sociedad de Naciones.

Salvo si quieren conservarlo para votar las primas a los ogresores. Entonces, lo comprendo.

II

Pero aunque no nos hubieran negado la entrada, no debíamos pensar en volver por allí, después de lo que acaba de ocurrirnos con los representantes de varias naciones

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Habla la compañera Emma Goldman [Comrade Emma Goldman declares. In Spanish] / Emma Goldman. — p. 4 ; 29 cm. In C.N.T. [Barcelona]. — (Sept. 22, 1937).

Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

HABLA LA COMPAÑERA EMMA GOLDMAN

"En el proletariado internacional no hay unidad, sino escisión, y la Alianza Revolucionaria del proletariado español puede crear una buena armonía entre los trabajadores de todo el Mundo"

Agil de pensamiento, sincera y rotunda en sus afirmaciones, nuestra querida compañera, que viene a España por segunda vez, cuando muchos "antifascistas" sólo piensan en marcharse de aquí, contesta así a nuestras preguntas:

—¿Cómo ves la situación internacional en torno al problema de España?

—Los poderes reaccionarios y fascistas están, como todos sabéis abiertamente en contra del pueblo español. Los poderes democráticos tampoco quieren la victoria de la Revolución española. El capitalismo internacional no tiene ningún interés en que se instale en España un régimen nuevo sobre las bases del socialismo libre. El proletariado mundial es el único que simpatiza con la lucha de los obreros, españoles, pero es también verdad que no está bien informado sobre la situación verdadera de España. No sabe lo que significan las colectivizaciones en el campo y en la industria. Tampoco sabe que la función del capitalismo ha desaparecido en la economía española. Pero la situación económica y política de la mayoría de los países fuera de España es tal, que es muy difícil que se produzca una intervención abierta a nuestro favor. Otro factor que se cruza en el camino de la solidaridad es el miedo a la guerra mundial. Piensan muchos, especialmente los países democráticos, que abrir el mercado de armas a España significa el principio de la conflagración mundial.

—¿Qué opinión de los sucesos de las Internacionales Socialistas?

—Pienso que, por ejemplo en Inglaterra, las Trade Unions son un factor conservador, uno de los factores firmes en que basa su existencia el Imperio británico. Por eso es necesario que el empuje nazca de la base, es decir, en el proletariado mismo, y si fuere preciso, contra la voluntad de algunos elementos reformistas diligentes. Podemos confiar en que millones de obreros de las Trade Unions y también del Partido Laborista independiente se agiten con energía y sin esfuerzos tomar forma concreta en un futuro cercano.

—¿Puede el movimiento

UNA VIDA DE LUCHA ANARQUISTA

Emma Goldman es hoy la más vieja compañera del anarquismo militante mundial. Nació en Rusia, hace más de setenta años, en pleno régimen zarista. Participó desde muy joven en el movimiento revolucionario. Emigró con sus padres a América del Norte. Cuando en 1887 los anarquistas en Chicago fueron condenados a muerte por su valiente lucha a favor de la jornada de ocho horas, estalló una gran agitación en todo el mundo reclamando la no ejecución de estos idealistas. Esta agitación impulsó a la camarada Emma Goldman a ingresar en el movimiento anarquista.

Desde entonces, hace más de cuarenta y ocho años, nuestra valiente compañera lucha por la emancipación del proletariado desde las filas del movimiento anarquista. Sufrió años de cárcel y ha sido la primera mujer en América detenida por sus ideales sociales.

Algunos años más tarde, Emma conoció a nuestro compañero Alejandro Berkman. Este era otro emigrado ruso, que huyó de su país a causa de las persecuciones zaristas. Fue uno de los grandes luchadores del anarquismo. En 1892 se produjo una gran huelga contra el trust del acero. Los capitalistas se negaron en redondo a atender las justas aspiraciones de la clase obrera. La policía intervino con gran violencia para romper aquel formidable movimiento. El camarada Berkman, entonces un joven de veintidós años, atentó contra el jefe del trust, el más cruel enemigo de los obreros. Condenado a veintidós años de cárcel, nuestra compañera Emma Goldman inició una gran campaña a favor de la liberación de Berkman y de todos los presos sociales. Recorrió Estados Unidos dando mítines y agitando a la opinión pública. Era infatigable en su solidario trabajo. Y al el camarada Berkman finalmente ha sido liberado, se debe en gran parte a la obra de esta compañera.

Emma Goldman abordó con brío la propaganda escrita de las ideas, tarea en la que se destacó, a causa de su clara inteligencia. Dirigió el semanario "Madre Tierra". Escribió abundantemente a favor de la emancipación femenina. En el terreno literario adquirió popularidad a través de sus obras. Es autora de un libro muy conocido en el exterior sobre el drama moderno. Dedicó una actividad formidable a captar a los liberales de América para las ideas anarquistas.

Cuando estalló la guerra mundial, nuestra compañera, en unión de Berkman, desarrolló una gran propaganda en contra. Como consecuencia de esta actividad fue condenada a dos años de cárcel. Al cumplir la condena fue deportada a Rusia.

Hacia precisamente un año que la Revolución rusa liberó a los trabajadores del régimen zarista. Nuestra compañera quiso participar en esta Revolución anhelada con tanta vehemencia. El des envolvimiento hacia el socialismo de Estado no era lo que querían nuestros compañeros, que siempre habían defendido el socialismo libertario. Cuando Lenin impulsó la nueva política económica, Goldman y Berkman salieron de Rusia y en algunos libros expusieron su concepción revolucionaria.

Al llegar al 29 de julio del año pasado, nuestra vida cambió de nuevo.

España, luchando en buena parte por los ideales libertarios, hacen posible replazar tantas cosas en el terreno social durante un período breve de guerra. El signo característico de la nueva situación española, consiste en que el proletariado, ha podido hacer una labor de reconstrucción durante una guerra dura como la que libra contra el fascismo. Basándonos en las observaciones que recogí el año pasado, en las industrias catalanas y en los campos de Aragón y de Valencia, y comparando esto con lo que yo he visto este año, puedo afirmar que existe un gran progreso en el orden económico y, puede extremar mi admiración por la capacidad del pueblo español y de nuestra Organización confederal y específica. La espontaneidad del proletariado español servirá como ejemplo, no solamente para las generaciones nuevas de Iberia, sino también para el proletariado mundial. Los trabajadores de todos los países deben agradecer a sus hermanos de España su capacidad creadora, anuncio de una vida nueva.

—¿Qué juicio te merece la alianza entre la U. G. T. y la C. N. T.?

—Pienso que una alianza de este encubierta, si se crea con toda lealtad por ambas partes, puede ser la mayor garantía para el triunfo de la guerra.

—Por eso me sorprende que los camaradas de la U. G. T. no hayan comprendido en todo su valor el elemento fundamental de esta unión, interesante para su propia Organización y para todo el proletariado español. La significación de esta unión rebasará las fronteras de España. En el proletariado internacional no hay unidad, sino escisión, y la alianza revolucionaria del proletariado español será el gran empuje para el establecimiento de una buena armonía entre los trabajadores de todo el mundo. El capitalismo internacional sabe muy bien que la unificación del poder económico del proletariado, será el mayor peligro creándose ante su existencia; por eso quiere impedir esta unión.

—¿Qué opinión del Frente

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problema de España?

—Los poderes reaccionarios y fascistas están, como todos sabéis abiertamente en contra del pueblo español. Los poderes democráticos tampoco quieren la victoria de la Revolución española. El capitalismo internacional no tiene ningún interés en que se instale en España un régimen nuevo sobre las bases del socialismo libre. El proletariado mundial es el único que simpatiza con la lucha de los obreros españoles, pero es también verdad que no está bien informado sobre la situación verdadera de España. No sabe lo que significan las colectivizaciones en el campo y en la industria. Tampoco sabe que la función del capitalismo ha desaparecido en la economía española. Pero la situación económica y política de la mayoría de los países fuera de España es tal, que es muy difícil que se produzca una intervención abierta a nuestro favor. Otro factor que se cruza en el camino de la solidaridad es el miedo a la guerra mundial. Pienzan muchos, especialmente los países democráticos, que abrir el mercado de armas a España significa el principio de la conflagración mundial.

—¿Qué opinión de los acontecimientos de las Internacionales Socialistas?

—Pienso que, por ejemplo en Inglaterra, las Trade Unions son un factor conservador, uno de los bastiones firmes en que basa su existencia el Imperio británico. Por eso es necesario que el empuje nazca en la base, es decir, en el proletariado mismo, y si fuese preciso contra la voluntad de algunos elementos reformistas diligentes. Podemos confiar en que millones de obreros de las Trade Unions y también del Partido Laborista Independiente se agiten con energía y sus esfuerzos tomen forma concreta en un futuro cercano.

—¿Puede el movimiento obrero tener fuerza operante sobre los Gobiernos, obligándoles a reconocer nuestros derechos?

—Esta fuerza reside naturalmente, en el proletariado mismo. Su desenvolvimiento depende de dos factores: Primero, de la situación económica, y después del proceso de conciencia dentro del proletariado. Grandes luchas económicas en otros países pueden contribuir a crear una situación más o menos revolucionaria. Y en esta situación será mucho más fácil hacer comprender al proletariado, la significación internacional trascendente que tiene la guerra antifascista en España.

—¿Qué opinión de las reacciones económicas del proletariado español?

—Las reacciones económicas del proletariado español, tienen una significación importantísima. Es admirable como los obreros de

nados a muerte por su valiente lucha a favor de la jornada de ocho horas, estalló una gran agitación en todo el mundo reclamando la no ejecución de estos idealistas. Esta agitación impulsó a la camarada Emma Goldman a ingresar en el movimiento anarquista.

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Al llegar el 19 de julio del año pasado, nuestra vieja amiga se puso inmediatamente y con gran entusiasmo al lado del proletariado español. Emma Goldman se ha convertido en el exterior en una de las más ferribles defensoras de nuestra causa. En Inglaterra ha participado en multitud de mítines pidiendo armas para la España revolucionaria. En infinidad de artículos publicados en este último país, en Canadá y Estados Unidos se ha esforzado por presentar la causa que defiende el proletariado español. Ha rechazado con energía las acusaciones falsas propiadas en contra de la lucha que ensangrienta nuestro suelo.

Emma Goldman realiza en estos momentos su segundo viaje por España para estudiar el desenvolvimiento de nuestra lucha revolucionaria. A pesar de su edad avanzada, despliega una energía admirable, que pone íntegramente al servicio de la Revolución española. Después de su viaje volverá a Inglaterra y América para llamar la atención del mundo y reclamar la ayuda que merece el heroísmo de nuestros combatientes. Nuestra querida compañera, anarquista ayer y hoy, quiere que al mismo tiempo que se adriene el triunfo en la guerra,

su más grande anhelo es decir que la realización de sus sueños tiene en España campo apropiado. Hemos aprovechado el paso de Emma Goldman por Valencia para pedir su opinión sobre la Revolución española. Estamos satisfechos de poder publicar esta breve entrevista.

guerra dura como la que libra contra el fascismo. Basándonos en las observaciones que recogí el año pasado en las industrias catalanas y en los campos de Aragón y de Valencia, y comparando esto con lo que yo he visto este año, puedo afirmar que existe un gran progreso en el orden económico y que de extremos en administración por la capacidad del pueblo español y de nuestra Organización confederal y específica. La experiencia del proletariado español serviría como ejemplo, no solamente para las generaciones nuevas de libertos, sino también para el proletariado mundial. Los trabajadores de todos los países deben agradecer a sus hermanos de España su valiente actividad creadora, anuncio de una vida nueva.

—¿Qué juicio le merece la alianza entre la U. G. T. y la C. N. T.?

—Pienso que una alianza de esta naturaleza, si se crea con toda lealtad por ambas partes, puede ser la mayor garantía para el triunfo de la guerra.

Por eso me sorprende que los camaradas de la U. G. T. no hayan comprendido en todo su valor el elemento fundamental de esta unión, interesado para su propia Organización y para todo el proletariado español. La significación de esta unión rebasará las fronteras de España. En el proletariado internacional no hay unidad, sino exclusión, y la alianza revolucionaria del proletariado español será el gran empuje para el establecimiento de una buena armonía entre los trabajadores de todo el mundo. El capitalismo internacional sabe muy bien que la unificación del poder económico del proletariado, será el mayor peligro cuando ante su existencia; por eso quiere impedir esta unión.

—¿Qué opinión del Frente Antifascista que propone la C. N. T. para dar unidad a la lucha de nuestro pueblo?

—Estoy completamente de acuerdo con el Frente Antifascista propuesto por la C. N. T. a todas las Organizaciones y Partidos. Entiendo que ese Frente debe obtener como consecuencia inmediata la supresión de toda obra partidista, de las intrigas masqueras y de las ambiciones políticas de sus componentes, y que esta Alianza debe concentrarse en la gran finalidad de aplastar al fascismo.

Espero que no se dará este caso y que la Alianza Antifascista propuesta por la C. N. T. se realice, precipitando la victoria final. (De "Fragua Social".)

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Emma Goldman, a su regreso de Madrid [Emma Goldman on her return from Madrid. In Spanish] / Emma Goldman. — p. 3 ; 32 cm. In Solidaridad Obrera [Barcelona]. — (Sept. 30, 1937).

Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

9/30/37 p. 3 SOLIDARIDAD OBRERA

Emma Goldman, a su regreso de Madrid

«La obra constructiva de la Confederación es lo que más me ha impresionado; constituye la base de la nueva estructuración social»

Está frente a mí Agustín Souchy es un intérprete amable Emma, conserva su fuerza espiritual y su salud física, a pesar de todas las persecuciones y todas las amarguras. Los años de lucha, de pueblo en pueblo y de camino en camino, llevando en su pluma y en su palabra el mensaje de la Humanidad nueva, han dejado huella profunda que sólo se percibe a través de la modulación nostálgica de sus respuestas. Habla ella. Me habla. Y Souchy me aclara conceptos que expresan palabras que cree respuesta a un drama. Ha regresado de Madrid y yo le pido sus impresiones sobre la capital heroica. Oigamos:

—Efectivamente. No me gusta hablar de mí, compañero. Aunque lo cierto es que estoy tan fatigado.

Insisto. Quiero conocer la impresión del drama de Madrid. Me interesa sobremanera oír de labios de este gran militante del movimiento anarquista internacional palabras que hablan de amor y también de fragor de combate. Palabras fuertes y Palabras, que acarician. Que todo es anarquismo en nuestra hora sangrante y de fuego. En esta hora de trinchera y de paz. Horas de odios y de voluntad que no se deja domar por nadie ni por nada. Horas de España, de hombres que quieren su tierra y sus hogares mancillados por la bota infamante del fascismo asesino.

Fuerte, generosa, con el espíritu de muchos años de dolor y lucha, Emma está frente a mí y mis ojos escudriñan en su alma cuya trayectoria espléndida de nobleza se muestra ahora desnuda en el recuerdo. Oigamos a Emma:

—He estado en Madrid. Visité las trincheras. Y hablé con los combatientes. Visité también las Colectividades agrícolas. Vi su gran obra. Y en general, he tenido ocasión de conversar con el pueblo de Madrid. Y he sacado la conclusión de que Madrid es el milagro de siglos, que representa la epopeya más grande de resistencia y abnegación, de valor y estoicismo, del cual sólo nos habían las leyendas. No me esperaba nunca encontrarme cara a cara con tanta grandeza. Pero aun más grande que el espíritu del pueblo, es ver a nuestros camaradas que siguen creando y construyendo y esperanzados en medio de ruinas y muerte...

—¿Qué es lo que más te ha impresionado?

—El trabajo que he visto realizar a las Colectividades en los campos, en las fábricas, en los pueblos pesqueros de la costa.

Y la obra constructiva de la Confederación es lo que más me ha impresionado, por considerarla más perdurable dentro del gran esfuerzo de la C. N. T. y de la F. A. I. Constituye de hecho la base de la nueva estructuración social.

—¿Qué piensas de la guerra, Emma?

—Toda mi vida he sido opuesta a la guerra. Incluso, he sufrido presidio por mis campañas anti-guerreras en América. Si la guerra actual de España fuera imperialista, o bien de conquista, me opondría también ciertamente a ella. Para mí, la guerra en España, impuesta al pueblo español, es distinta de

la guerra que se libra en Europa, distinta de la guerra que se libra en China, sino porque tiene la pretensión generosa de salvaguardar la Revolución iniciada el 19 de julio, con todas sus conquistas de entonces. Nadie puede predecir el desenvolvimiento de la misma. Por razones de que las organizaciones revolucionarias de España —C. N. T. y F. A. I.—, no solamente luchan contra Franco, sino contra sus amparadores —Italia y Alemania—



DEL SECC

Cipriano Mera
vez ma



frente. Los conocemos de sobra. En íntimas satisfacciones. En conversaciones con ellos. Hemos visto tirar desde la que se hallaba a unos pasos de

Y ahora, estos soldados diera, que les regala Cipriano paña como miliciano. Formó un miliciano más, y junto a los del Ejército Popular, salió del mes de julio de 1936. Casa de Campo. Con ellos del mes de noviembre. Ahora Ejército Popular. Prueba de trega de la bandera. El público priano Mera. Otro tanto pasó en Madrid el día 5 de septiembre. Mera, como si fuese el ídolo humilde, sonreía con esa risa

Aquí, también fue muy. Después de la entrega palabra a los soldados. Les contra el fascismo, en que Sierra a combatir a los enemigos de la formación del Mera de vencer al fascismo también la disciplina en el puede ser eficaz. Y junto a Todos los soldados deben de bemos, como militares, a este hablo mal de sus superiores.

Habló también de la de soldados que ahora les regala madrileño, una de las más no entraba en la ciudad en A continuación habló un elogio de Mera. Dijo que

que con hombres como Mera fia en la próxima ofensiva. Mía— que los fascistas, soldados aturianos, se defendido por los soldados Cipriano Mera. Terminó la a Mera.

El público allí congregado Mía y a Cipriano Mera.

Hemos visto estos días película que se titula "Casa de nuestro compañero Orla de Campesinos. En esta película de Cipriano Mera. Hemos albañil. Allí, con su blusa bajar con la paleta en la mano como agitador. Su voz fr la emoción que siente Mera

—¿Cómo ves tú la situación y futuro de ella?

—Sólo puedo contestar lo que he dicho muchas veces en conferencias y artículos. Es decir: que toda la confusión que hay en el mundo la arrastra la última guerra y hace imposible la profecía. Por la razón sencilla de que los acontecimientos se suceden con tanta rapidez, que no dan tiempo a prever lo que pueda ocurrir...

Nuestras fuerzas tienen que estar preparadas para encararse con el enemigo común, con todos los medios disponibles contra el fascismo, que no es otra

cosa que el imperialismo. La victoria del pueblo español, en su lucha antifascista, porque el fascismo, una vez vencido en España, continuará su derrota en los demás países. Y tengo la ilusión de un nuevo orden de vida.

—Nuestra guerra, ¿se puede comparar a la de China?

—Mientras que la guerra en China es la defensa contra los designios criminales del Japón, es distinta. Difiere considerablemente de la guerra antifascista de España por las razones expuestas anteriormente. Nuestra guerra en España es para la defensa de la Revolución y sus conquistas. Y nuestros camaradas españoles deben repetir incansablemente este lema.

Emma ha terminado de hablar. Ya no dice ni una palabra. Todo está dicho. Yo, recojo mis notas y camino hacia el trabajo de todas las horas y de todos los días...

Ben Krino.

Valencia, 28 septiembre 1937

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870817009

[The tragedy of woman's emancipation. In Spanish] La tragedia de la emancipación femenina / Emma Goldman. — pp. 6-11 ; 22 cm. In Nosostros [Valencia]. — (Oct. or Nov. 1937).

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La tragedia de la emancipación femenina

Empezaría con una afirmación: dejando de lado todas las teorías políticas y económicas, las distinciones de clases y razas, las fronteras artificialmente trazadas entre los derechos de la mujer y del hombre, sostengo que existe un punto de contacto en donde pueden encontrarse y fundirse estas divergencias.

La paz o la armonía entre los sexos, así como entre los individuos, no depende forzosamente de una nivelación superficial de los seres humanos, ya que no exige ni aun la eliminación de particularidades o rasgos individuales. El problema que hemos de examinar hoy y que un porvenir próximo habrá de resolver, es éste: ¿de qué manera ser para sentirse íntegramente uno mismo y a la vez formar una unidad con otro; cómo sentirse en profunda comunión con todos los seres humanos, conservando, al propio tiempo, sus cualidades características? Este me parece ser el terreno sobre el cual podrían encontrarse, sin antagonismos ni oposición, la masa y el individuo, el verdadero demócrata y el verdadero individualista, el hombre y la mujer. La fórmula no debe ser: perdonarse unos a otros, sino más bien: comprenderse todos. La frase de madame Stael "comprender todo es perdonar todo" no me ha convencido nunca, porque le encuentro sabor a confesionario; perdonar a otro evoca la idea de una superioridad farisaica. Basta con comprender al prójimo: es esta la afirmación que encarna, en parte, mis ideas sobre la emancipación de la mujer y sus efectos sobre su sexo.

Su emancipación debía dar a la mujer la posibilidad de ser humana, en el sentido más amplio y verdadero. Todo lo que reclama en ella su propia afirmación y actividad debería alcanzar su expresión más completa; y debería limpiar el camino que la conduce a una mayor libertad de los obstáculos que los siglos de sumisión y esclavitud han ido colocando en él.

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Este fué el fin perseguido por el movimiento en favor de la emancipación femenina. Pero los resultados obtenidos hasta aquí han dado lugar al aislamiento de la mujer, despojándola de las fuentes en donde ella podía beber la dicha. La emancipación exterior ha hecho de la mujer moderna solamente un ser artificial que hace pensar en los productos de la arboricultura francesa, con sus árboles podados en forma de pirámide, de conos, de cubos, etc. Y es en la llamada esfera intelectual de nuestros círculos, en donde puede encontrarse un gran número de estas plantas femeninas y artificiales.

¡Libertad e igualdad para la mujer! ¡Cuántas esperanzas y aspiraciones han despertado estas palabras, cuando fueron pronunciadas la primera vez por los más bravos y más nobles corazones de nuestros días! El sol, en toda su magnificencia, iba a iluminar un nuevo mundo en donde la mujer sería libre para poder orientar su propio destino; fin, ciertamente digno del entusiasmo, del valor, de la perseverancia, del esfuerzo incesante de los más atrevidos de ambos sexos que arriesgaron todo al levantarse contra un mundo podrido, lleno de prejuicios y de ignorancia.

Mis esperanzas tienden igualmente a este fin, pero sigo sosteniendo que la emancipación de la mujer, tal como se la practica y se la interpreta hoy, ha fracasado totalmente. La mujer se encuentra, hoy como ayer, en la necesidad de emanciparse de la emancipación si es que desea verdaderamente manumitirse. Esto puede parecer paradójico; pero, sin embargo, es exacto.

¿Qué ha obtenido, gracias a su emancipación? En algunos Estados, el derecho de votar. ¿Y ha purificado este resultado la vida política, como lo habían profetizado los sostenedores del sufragio femenino? Ciertamente que no, pues dicho sea de pasada, hace mucho tiempo que las personas dotadas de un juicio esclarecido y sano han dejado de hablar de la "corrupción en el dominio político" en tono benigno. La corrupción en política, no tiene nada que ver con la moral o el relajamiento de ciertas personalidades políticas. Su origen es puramente material. La política es el reflejo del mundo comercial e industrial del cual lleva las divisas: "se goza más tomando que dando", "comprar barato y vender caro", "una mano sucia lava la otra". Imposible esperar que la mujer provista del derecho de voto purifique la atmósfera política.

La emancipación ha igualado a la mujer y al hombre, económicamente hablando; es decir, la mujer puede elegir su profesión o su oficio. Pero como su educación física pasada y presente no la dotó de la fuerza necesaria para competir con el hombre, frecuentemente se encuentra obligada a consumir su energía, a agotar su vitalidad destrozando sus nervios para alcanzar un valor comercial. Muy pocas consiguen hacer fortuna, porque es un hecho innegable que a las "institutrices", a las doctoras, a las mujeres arquitectos o ingenieros no se otorga la misma confianza que a sus colegas masculinos, no recibiendo casi nunca una remuneración equivalente a la de aquéllos, y costando siempre, a las pocas que alcanzan esa ficticia igualdad, grandes trastornos físicos y psíquicos. En cuanto a las obreras, ¿qué independencia han ganado al cambiar la estrechez de miras y la falta de libertad del hogar por la estrechez de miras y la falta de libertad de la fábrica,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[The tragedy of woman's emancipation. In Spanish] La tragedia de la emancipación femenina / Emma Goldman. — pp. 6-11 ; 22 cm. In *Nosotros* [Valencia]. — (Oct. or Nov. 1937).

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del taller, del almacén, o de la oficina? Lo que se agrega, para muchas mujeres, es la desgracia de encontrar la casa fría, sucia, en desorden, cuando quiere refugiarse en ella después de una agotadora jornada de trabajo. ¡Gloriosa independencia en verdad! Nada de asombroso tiene que centenares de jóvenes se apresuren a aceptar el primer ofrecimiento de casarse que se les presenta, por lo cansadas que están con su "independencia" detrás de un mostrador, de una máquina de coser o de escribir. Corren hacia el casamiento tanto o más que las jóvenes de la clase media cuya aspiración es la de colocarse el yugo marital. Una independencia por la que sólo se alcanza una existencia mediocre, no puede, de ningún modo, exigir el sacrificio de la mujer. Después de todo, nuestra independencia, tan altamente alabada, no es más que un método lento de adormecer y ahogar la naturaleza femenina en sus instintos del amor y de la maternidad.

La estrechez con que la mujer concibe la independencia y su emancipación; el temor de amar a un hombre que no es su igual desde el punto de vista social; el miedo de que el amor la despoje de su libertad, o de su independencia; el terror que la inspiran el amor y la maternidad por hallarlos perjudiciales para su empleo, todas estas aprensiones hacen, por fuerza, de la mujer moderna emancipada una vestal, delante de la cual pasa la vida, con sus grandes dolores que purifican, y sus hondas alegrías que encantan, sin que su alma se conmueva o se exalte.

La emancipación femenina tal y como es comprendida por la mayoría de las que la aceptan o la propagan, ocupa un círculo demasiado reducido para dejar sitio a la expansión, en plena libertad, de las emociones profundas de la verdadera mujer, cuando es amante, o cuando es madre. Porque, si es verdad que la mujer, económicamente independiente, posee más conocimientos que su hermana de pasadas generaciones sobre el mundo y la naturaleza humana, es precisamente a causa de aquélla que vuelve a sentir profundamente la ausencia de lo esencial a la vida: el amor, que es él sólo capaz de enriquecer el alma humana, y por cuya falta muchas mujeres han llegado a ser simples autómatas profesionales.

Todo movimiento que procura la destrucción de las instituciones existentes y su cambio por algo más avanzado, más perfecto, cuenta con partidarios, los cuales, teóricamente, defienden las ideas más radicales, pero en la práctica de la vida cotidiana no aventajan al filisteo que finge ser firme en su opinión, mientras busca no quedar mal con el adversario. Así se encuentran socialistas, y aun anarquistas, que hablan de que "la propiedad es un robo", pero que se indignan al sólo pensar que alguien podría adeudarles el valor de media docena de alfileres.

Los mismos filisteos se encuentran en el movimiento feminista. Periodistas amarillos y literatos ramplones han trazado cuadros de la mujer emancipada que erizan los cabellos del buen ciudadano y de su triste compañera. Se describía a cada adherente al movimiento como una Jorge Sand desde el punto de vista del desprecio de la moralidad. Nada le era sagrado. Emancipación femenina llegaba a ser sinónimo de una vida de libertinaje y de lujuria, asocial, arreligiosa, amoral. Las partidarias de los derechos de la mujer se indignaron de tal caricatura, y aunque faltas de gracia

y de alegría para tal defensa, pusieron toda su energía en probar que las mujeres no eran tan malas como se las describía, sino todo lo contrario. Ciertamente que durante el largo tiempo que la mujer gimio bajo el yugo del hombre, no pudo ser buena ni pura. ¡Pero, libre e independiente en la actualidad, querla enseñar cuán buena podría ser y probar que su influencia, en todas las instituciones de la sociedad, tendría un efecto purificador!

El grandioso movimiento en favor de una emancipación real no ha encontrado en su camino una verdadera raza de mujeres capaces de mirar la libertad cara a cara. Su punto de vista puritano, hipócrita, apartó al hombre de su vida emocional como a un perturbador y a un sospechoso, considerando justo que se le tolerase como padre de la criatura, porque era imposible pasar sin él. Afortunadamente, los más rígidos puritanismos no han podido matar en la mujer su aspiración a ser madre. Porque la libertad de la mujer está estrechamente unida a la del hombre, y muchas de mis hermanas que se dicen emancipadas, parecen olvidar el hecho de que un niño nacido en libertad reclama el amor y la dedicación de todos los seres humanos que le rodean, hombres y mujeres. Pero, el concepto estrecho de las relaciones humanas es el que ha producido la tragedia actual, que perturba, para desgracia de todos, las relaciones armónicas entre los dos sexos.

Inteligencia rica y alma bondadosa se consideran generalmente como atributos necesarios de una personalidad noble y bien templada; pero en lo que concierne a la mujer moderna, estos atributos sirven de obstáculo a la completa afirmación de su ser. Hace más de un siglo que la antigua y bíblica fórmula del matrimonio "hasta que la muerte los separe", fue denunciada como algo que implicaba soberanía del hombre sobre la mujer, sumisión absoluta de esta última a los caprichos y órdenes de aquél, dependencia completa, perdiendo hasta el nombre y sirviendo sólo para su entretenimiento. Muchas veces se ha probado irrefutablemente que las viejas relaciones matrimoniales reducían a la mujer a las simples funciones de sirvienta del hombre y criadora de sus hijos. Y, sin embargo, tropezamos frecuentemente con mujeres que prefieren el casamiento con todas sus imperfecciones, al aislamiento de una vida celibataria: vida restringida a causa de los prejuicios morales y sociales que mutilan y atan la naturaleza femenina.

La explicación de semejante inconsecuencia por parte de muchas mujeres avanzadas, podemos hallarla en el hecho de no haber comprendido lo que significa la emancipación, por haberse imaginado que habían llegado al fin a sentirse independientes de ciertas tiranías exteriores; pero a las condiciones éticas y sociales, tiranos interiores más perjudiciales a la salud y a la vida individuales, se las ha dejado cuidar de todo; tan es así, que parecían ocupar un lugar tan preeminente en las cabezas y en los corazones de nuestras más activas propagandistas, como el lugar que ocuparon en los de nuestras abuelas.

¿Importa algo que estos tiranos se presenten bajo la forma de la opinión pública, de qué dirá mamá, la tía, los vecinos, san Pudor, el patrón o el Consejo disciplinario?... Mientras que la mujer no aprenda a desafiar a todos esos gruñones, a todos esos policías morales, a todos esos carceles del espíritu humano; mientras ella no se decida a sostenerse firmemente

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en su terreno, a defender el ejercicio de su libertad sin restricciones y a escuchar la voz de su naturaleza, ya venga del más grande tesoro de su vida: el amor hacia un hombre, ya proceda la invitación del más glorioso de sus privilegios: traer un hijo al mundo, hasta entonces no se le podrá llamar emancipada.

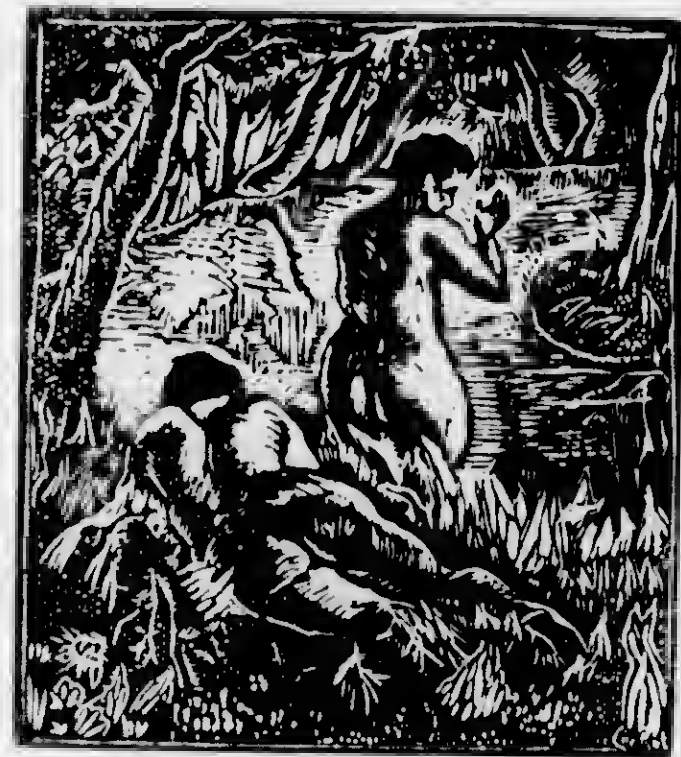
Un novelista moderno ha ensayado pintar, en uno de sus libros, a la mujer ideal, rica, emancipada. Este ideal se encarna en una joven doctora, la cual discurre con habilidad y sabiduría sobre la manera de educar a los niños, y, por caridad, suministra medicamentos gratis a las madres pobres. Un día, conversando con un joven amigo suyo, le habla sobre las condiciones sanitarias del porvenir, y explica cómo serán exterminados los bacilos y gérmenes de todas clases por el empleo de pisos y paredes de piedra y por la desaparición de tapices y cortinas. Ella, naturalmente, va vestida, tan sencilla como prácticamente, toda de negro. El joven que, en el primer encuentro, se había deslumbrado ante la sabiduría de su amiga emancipada, aprende gradualmente a comprenderla y un buen día se da cuenta de estar enamorado. Son jóvenes; ella es buena y hermosa, y aunque rigidamente vestida, un cuello y unos puños inmaculadamente blancos dulcifican su aspecto sereno. Se aguarda, se entretiene para que él le hable de su amor, pero prohibiéndole cometer absurdidades románticas. Y mientras que ella continúa mostrándose razonable, exacta, bien educada, él, imponiendo silencio a la voz de su naturaleza, continúa correcto. Yo temo que si se hubieran unido, el pobre hombre hubiera corrido el riesgo de helarse vivo. Confieso que no encuentro ninguna grandiosidad en esta "nueva belleza", tan fría como los pisos y las paredes con los cuales sueña ella. Yo prefiero las baladas amorosas de los siglos románticos, Don Juan, los raptos a la luz de la luna, las escalas de cuerda, las maldiciones paternas, los lloros maternos y los comentarios de los vecinos indignados, a esta corrección y a esta limpieza de iglesia. Si el amor no sabe cómo dar y tomar sin restricciones, no es amor, sino trato entre comerciantes que consideran en primer lugar el beneficio o la pérdida que les puede resultar de la operación.

La salud reside en una marcha enérgica hacia un porvenir más brillante, más claro. Lo que nos hace falta es librarnos de las viejas tradiciones, de costumbres en desuso para ir más adelante. El movimiento feminista no ha dado más que el primer paso en esta dirección y es preciso que pronto dé el segundo. El derecho al voto, a las capacitaciones cívicas iguales, pueden constituir reivindicaciones, pero la emancipación real no empieza en la urna ni en la abogacía. Indudablemente empieza en el alma femenina. La historia nos dice que los oprimidos no se libraron jamás de la opresión de los amos sino en virtud de sus propios esfuerzos. Por eso es necesario que la mujer retenga en su memoria esta lección: su libertad llegará hasta donde llegue su poder para liberarse a sí misma. Es, pues, mil veces más importante comenzar por su regeneración interior, dejando olvidados prejuicios, tradiciones y hábitos. La reivindicación de los derechos iguales en todos los dominios de la vida es equitativa y justa; pero, suma de todos, el derecho más vital es el de amar y ser amada. Si la emancipación feme-

nina parcial debe transformarse en una emancipación completa y verdadera, ha de ser con la condición que abandone el ridículo pensamiento de que ser amada, amante y madre es sinónimo de ser esclava o subordinada. Es necesario que se desembarace de la absurda noción del dualismo de los sexos; o dicho de otro modo, que el hombre y la mujer representen dos mundos antagónicos.

La mezquindad separa; la largueza reúne. Seamos generosos. Una concepción verdadera de las relaciones sexuales no admite vencedor ni vencido; no reconoce más que una cosa: el don de sí, ilimitado, a fin de encontrarse más rico, más firme, mejor. Aquél sólo puede satisfacer la vida y transformar la tragedia de la emancipación humana en alegría, una alegría sin límites.

EMMA GOLDMAN



The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Emma Goldman y Agustín Souchy en la local de Juventudes Libertarias de Madrid [Goldman and Souchy visit the Madrid *Juventudes Libertarias*. In Spanish] / Emma Goldman. — 30 cm. In *Juventud Libre* [Madrid]. — no. 58 (Oct. 2, 1937).
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Emma Goldman y Agustín Souchy en la local de



Nuestros bravos combatientes, además de valientes, son ingeniosos. Véase el modo de lanzar una simple bomba de mano a mayor distancia, por medio del fusil.

Ante la necesidad del momento

Hoy más que nunca se impone el frente antifascista

No sabemos cómo abordar el método que nos preocupa, ante la diversidad de opiniones y la manera de exteriorizarse. Es tal la confusión gubernamental que en ciertos periódicos dejan notar, que nos hace dudar muchas veces si la realidad y la necesidad que nosotros vemos no se presenta a la vista de los demás por metarismo lógico o porque en realidad es que no deja sentir. Tal es la urgente medida que ha de ponerse en práctica. La situación de nuestra guerra, las derivaciones que ha tomado y el carácter rebelde de nuestro pueblo invita a un cambio rápido de Gobierno. El Gobierno actual, sin aclararse ni tergiversaciones maliciosas, no representa al pueblo como el perfil de nuestra lucha ni la voluntad de los antifascistas. Es el Gobierno del Frente Popular, conformes. Pero, con sinceridad: no es el Gobierno del pueblo.

Hable de de por ofendido, porque si de ofensa pudiera hablarse y temer no hay lugar a dudas que el ofendido sería el poder libertario. No nos encontramos representados desde el primer momento en el Gobierno. Se nos ha combatido a sangre y fuego. En numerosos pueblos se han derribado nuestras Colectividades. Por la resistencia de Aragón se ha desencadenado una dura represión contra las Organizaciones de carácter libertario. Hemos sufrido la justicia reaccionaria del Sr. Irujo, en el levantamiento de cadáveres y encasillamiento de los que, "al parecer", fueron los que ejercieron a los traidores. Toda la traición reaccionaria de este Gobierno la hemos sufrido directa y crudamente, sin provocar incidentes en bien de la guerra. Pero los cosas llegan a un término que no se puede dejar que subsista. No se puede gobernar en un momento revolucionario tan conservadoramente como el actual Gobierno lo hace. Debe y tiene que terminar la actual situación.

Tenemos la satisfacción de que no somos nosotros los únicos que vemos la necesidad de que la dirección política se encuentre bajo la égida de todas las Organizaciones y partidos antifascistas. En la propia juventud la que en la Alianza efectuada pide la incorporación de las Organizaciones sindicales a las tareas gubernamentales. Debo darme satisfacción a los deseos del pueblo. Es éste el que entrega todas sus energías a conquistar la victoria para conseguir una libertad que en régimen burgués nunca pudo disfrutar.

Nunca podremos comprender hasta dónde llega la oscuridad para permanecer en el mismo cerrado de ciertos sectores políticos. El Frente Popular fue apoyado por los trabajadores cuando políticamente había que derrotar a los derechas.

Hay un eje en la lucha política la que se venía en España. Son dos mundos los que se ponen enfrente: el de la Libertad y el de la Dictadura. La lucha, aunque convertida en guerra internacional, tiene el perfil de toda una completa Revolución.

La política vieja tiene su órgano: el Frente Popular; y la obra del régimen democrático y republicano ha sido superada el 19 de julio. En el mismo momento que los ritos privilegiados y el militarismo se sobervieron para regular las aspiraciones del pueblo trasegó la política del Frente Popular. Razonable su reconstrucción.

Para dar cumplimiento al deseo de la juventud: Gobierno del Frente Antifascista. Y para que la guerra sufra una inclinación en favor de la causa del pueblo es urgente que la responsabilidad se encomiende entre todos y la obra que salga del Gobierno traza el aval de los trabajadores, impetrandos por su adaptación a los deseos revolucionarios del momento.

“El mundo entero confía en vosotros, la Libertad” (Emma Goldman) Sois quienes habéis de luchar más centu- ción Soc” (Sou-

Los militantes de Madrid han escuchado la palabra todavía energética de nuestra entrañable camarada Emma, quien, a pesar de su edad avanzada, conserva el impulso de un espíritu joven.

Aprovechamos esta oportunidad para reproducir parte de su discurso, lleno de objetividad y de visión clara.

“Siento una gran emoción al dirigir mi palabra a los auténticos luchadores por la paz y la libertad.

Hoy me encuentro entre los que representan para nosotros los ejecutores de medio siglo de actividad, entre los que han de ser la fuerza emotiva que juzgue puramente el proceso histórico de toda una Revolución.

Lo que vosotros vivís en estos históricos días sobrepasa a todas las revoluciones registradas por la Historia, en contenido social y espontaneidad creadora que tiene boquiabiertos a todas las Cancillerías extranjeras.

Habéis luchado primeramente contra vuestros generales traidores, oponiendo a su táctica militar el tesón y el arrojo de un pueblo indomito e invicto; después, ¡oh odisea!, estáis luchando contra dos naciones enormemente militares y sanguinarias.

Madrid goza internacionalmente de la admiración de todos los trabajadores del Mundo, que ven en vuestro pueblo la potencia más esforzada contra el fascismo.

Los jóvenes libertarios han de ser la vanguardia de nuestro movimiento y tienen que tener la fuerza necesaria para imponerse a aquellos que van contra la libertad integral del pueblo. Los jóvenes anarquistas son el resultado de la labor de los viejos, y las deficiencias de los jóvenes son debidas a la poca visión de los encargados de cultivar la mentalidad revolucionaria de éstos.

Repetidas veces he lanzado mi voz por diversos países de Europa en defensa de vuestra causa, que en estos momentos representa la causa común de todos los trabajadores del Mundo. Siempre que me he dirigido a la juventud, para que os imitaseis a vosotros, he hablado de las vastas proporciones de vuestro movimiento y de la grandeza de vuestras ideas. Todos los jóvenes afines a vuestra concepción revolucionaria han coincidido en la necesidad inmediata de aunar internacionalmente los diversos movimien-

tos juveniles que, igual que vosotros, luchan en estos instantes contra la tiranía de sus Estados en la medida de sus fuerzas. Además, vuestra Organización y sus métodos necesitan que sea conocida en las diversas Agrupaciones juveniles que en estos instantes defienden vuestra causa con la misma vehemencia que al fuera la suya propia.

Yo os recomiendo que inmediatamente preparéis los materiales necesarios para que edifiqueis la Internacional Juvenil Anarquista. CABAÑAS, EN NOMBRE DE LOS MILITANTES DE MADRID. DIRIGE UNAS BREVES PALABRAS A EMMA GOLDMAN

“En contestación recíproca



AGUSTIN SOUCHY

(Viene de la página primera.)

medias puestas a su custodia para defender al pueblo! Esto ha ocurrido ya una vez. La imprevisión y la torpeza, la ceguera absoluta para apreciar en su volumen justa las acontecimientos y los peligros, nos han costado esta guerra. Si antes del 18 de julio el pueblo hubiera tenido más medios de las que disponía para hacer frente a la rebelión fascista, que ya empezaba a ensancharse de la calle, la insurrección hubiera sido aniquilada antes de que se hiciera fuerte en los cuarteles. No justificamos la retención de armas y municiones. Sencillamente, lo explicamos. Si el Gobierno incrementara la plenitud de confianza del pueblo, si los organismos del Estado no nos ofrecieran los peligros y los riesgos que el propio Gobierno se ve obligado a afrontar con mano dura, nadie en la vanguardia hubiera retenido un solo fusil. Pero esta es una cuestión sobre la cual caben interpretaciones y diferentes dictámenes. El Gobierno pide, y a su petición acamoda especialmente las actividades de la Policía que todas las Organizaciones antifascistas sean desarmadas totalmente. ¡Todas!

TODOS PREPARADOS PARA LA “QUINTANA”. MIENTRAS ESTE ANTIQUILADO TIENE DERECHO A DESARMAR A LOS TRABAJADORES

¿Pueden especular con las cosas recogidas por en Barcelona quienes han estado a los fines?

Por ULISES MONFEL (Industria en Valencia)

Hasta ahora el desarme se ha hecho sólo contra la Confederación y contra los obreros de la Confederación. Hay que desarmar a los obreros de la Confederación. Sin embargo, hay que proceder para que tienen enormes cantidades de armas. Proceder para desarmar a los obreros de la Confederación y una provocación a los obreros de la Confederación. Son los únicos que han igual a todos los guardias particulares con fusil y pistola. Otra cosa es la yoneta calada. ¿Por qué no se ha hecho en Barcelona lo que se ha hecho en la Confederación, con el P. S. U. y los obreros de la Confederación?

REDACTED: con el fin de dar al ciudadano, en determinadas circunstancias, el derecho de P. que pueda de sustraer sus bienes a los que...

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en Local de Juventudes Libertarias de Madrid

en otros, que sois la vanguardia de
Emma Sois las Juventudes Libertarias
r macentuatadamente por la Revolu-
n So" (Souchy.)

biendo que
éis los matri
que edic
juvenil Anar
EN NOMIN
TANTES
GE UNAS
A EMMA
MAN
tación recien

locución dirigida por la compañe-
Emma Goldman, representación
de la veterania anarquista inter-
nacional, a los militantes de las Ju-
ventudes Libertarias de Madrid, yo,
a nombre vuestro y aprovechando
función de intérprete que nos
puede prestar el camarada Souchy,
digo lo siguiente:

Queremos que la camarada Em-

ma, en su "tourné" por América
del Norte e Inglaterra, lleve al se-
no de toda la juventud el espíritu
revolucionario de nuestra lucha y
que les diga en nuestro nombre que
no se dejen engañar por las pala-
bras fáciles de la democracia inter-
nacional, principal responsable de
la honda tragedia que vive el pue-
blo español.

La juventud antifascista interna-
cional ha de confiar en nosotros,
que no abandonaremos ningún pue-
sto de lucha por muy peligroso que
sea."

Después, el camarada Agustín
Souchy hace uso de la palabra.

"Estamos orgullosos de ver có-
mo vosotros, que sois la resultante
de medio siglo de actividad clau-
destina, como os dijo la compañe-
ra Emma, os dedicáis, al propio
tiempo, en las dos lunciones capi-
tales de la Revolución: a combatir
con las armas en la man y a cul-
tivar vuestros conocimientos so-
ciales.

La dificultad de no poderme ex-
presar en un castellano claro me
impide que me pueda extender co-
mo sería mi deseo; no obstante,
cumpliré parte de mi cometido lo
más holgadamente posible.

Sois las Juventudes Libertarias
quienes habéis de luchar más acen-
tuadamente por que la Revolución
social que reclama vuestro pueblo
no se vea truncada por las mesiá-
nicas apetencias de la política ofi-
cial.

Acabo de hacer un extenso reco-
rrido por diversos países de Europa.
En todos ellos (me refiero a los tra-
bajadores), se siente una viva sim-
patía por nuestra guerra. No hace
mucho que estuve visitando a unos
camaradas anarquistas en Austria;
comoquiera que en ese país existe
el fascismo, los trabajadores no pue-
den manifestarse, pero, sin embar-
go, su amor a vuestra lucha es tan
grande, que en los lugares aparta-
dos de sus habitaciones privadas
tienen pequeños mapas de España,
donde cuidadosamente, con bande-
ritas, siguen los avances del Ejér-
cito popular.

Recomiendo a los militantes de
Madrid que cuiden la propaganda
en el Extranjero, pues el proleta-
riado internacional será el que en
último extremo decida los resulta-
dos de la sanguiaria invasión que
estáis sufriendo.

Yo soy alemán, huido del infer-
no de Hitler. Por ello, estoy con-
sagrado a la lucha revolucionaria
que vivís vosotros, porque está por
encima de todas las revoluciones
que se han realizado."

Termina diciendo que la juven-
tud ha de erigirse una recia perso-
nalidad que le independice de to-
das las injerencias extranjeras.

El Parlamento va a reunirse
a primeros de octubre. En
el se van a encontrar tipos tan
extraños a la causa antifascis-
ta como Guerra del Río, Mauri
y Portela Valladares.

Nuevamente los que tienen
que rendir estrechas cuentas
al pueblo van a permitirse el
lujo de discutir los problemas
que sólo a los antifascistas
atañen.

¿Puede consentirse esta
traición?

Ahora, como siempre, la
justicia revolucionaria del 19
de julio tiene que imponerse.



Las primeras lluvias otoñales han originado pequeños desperfectos
en la trinchera. Los muchachos proceden orgánicamente a su repa-
ración. "Por el las morras."

Problemas de retaguardia

HAGAMOS JUSTICIA

Una que una posibilidad fun-
damentada por múltiples casos con-
trarrevolucionarios cometidos por
este "ministro", es una necesidad
imperiosa que todos los sectores an-
tifascistas han reclamado para la
garantía de nuestro pueblo revolucio-
nario.

Hagamos una aclaración. No re-
sulta un caso insólito éste de Iru-
jo. En diferentes ocasiones se han
sucedido hechos parecidos, cuya
similitud, derivada de los preceden-
tes, hace que nuestra reflexión no
combata solamente esta situación
caótica en el orden de justicia, sino
que recuerde también todo lo que
nos ha sido arrebatado por elemen-
tos que, si antes estuvieron bajo la
protección de nuestras Organizaciones,
adulando nuestras normas
constructivas, han ido poco a poco
adentrándose en los puestos de res-
ponsabilidad que generosamente les
hemos tolerado, sin pensar nunca
que la reciprocidad a nuestra con-
ducta ejemplar había de ser tan cí-
nicamente correspondida por quie-
nes de amigos del pueblo tienen lo
mismo que nosotros de capitalistas.

Al ministro de Justicia, señor
Irujo, lo ha despedido al pueblo qua
lucha y trabaja para derrotar al
fascismo. Y lo ha despedido de su
puesto, públicamente, porque se ha
dado cuenta exacta, comprobada,
corregida y aumentada de que el
"amigo", si algo representa en la
España roja, es la salvación de los
muchos miles de emboscados y de
los qua se encuentran presos, con
pruebas inequívocas de desafectos
al régimen republicano, y son por
consiguiente, fascistas de pura ce-
pa. Cuando un elemento se consi-
dera que no tiene aptitudes para
desempeñar dignamente al puesto
que ocupa y hay que desplazarlo
para un inmediato reemplazamiento,
la primera y única consideración

que merece es la de inservible, la
de indeseable. Pero lo inútil, lo in-
servible, lo indeseable también tie-
ne acomodo, si hacemos memoria
de qua García Oliver tuvo el acierto
de crear campos de concentración,
donde, resuelto el problema de la
falta de libertad, hallamos la buena
consecuencia de vencer el estanca-
miento de la podredumbre humana
—lo inmóvil se muere podrido— y
en su movilización sacar el poco
provecho que pueda dar de sí.

Los jóvenes libertarios no podo-
mos esperar más tiempo contem-
plando tanta obra destructora, tan-
to favoritismo, tanto salir fascistas
a la calle, tanto emboscado en las
Embajadas, tanta detención y en-
carcelamiento de nuestros hermanos
trabajadores. Y como ya nos resulta
imposible aguantar, tenemos que
determinar nuestra posición antes
de que las cosas puedan empeorar,
antes de que se repitan hechos tan
repugnantes para el marco antifas-
cista, cual lo sucedido recientemente
en Santander.

Hagamos justicia, habide cuenta
que los que tienen que suministrar-
la no la hacen. Y hagámosla, sin ti-
tubos, porque ya hemos esperado
bastante. La vanguardia deha co-
nocer lo que nosotros hagamos, si
es verdad que nuestras fuerzas com-
batientes han de seguir luchando y
matando hasta vencer, con la con-
fianza plena de que los sacrificios
suyos son dignos de nuestras orien-
taciones y de nuestros sacrificios.

La misión de la retaguardia es
la de sanear todo lo qua se denun-
cia y se comprueba que no favore-
ce a nuestra guerra. En las altas es-
feras gubernamentales está el prin-
cipio de lo que nos ocupa.

Y los anarquistas hemos de con-
venir que urge llegar a tal enca-
minamiento, de grado o por fuerza.

Olegario LUCEA.



EMMA GOLDMAN.

REPARACIÓN A LA "QUINTA COLUM- BIA ANIQUILADA, NADIE HECHO A LOS TRABAJADORES FASCISTAS

recogidas por el Gobierno
avalado a los fascistas del úl-
timo plot?

(redactor en Valencia de "CNT")

Los elementos de este partido de seño-
res Estévez tienen verdaderos arsenales
de armas. Hoy que buscarlos y re-
cogerlos. Proceder parcialmente en es-
tos menesteres de recogida es una in-
justicia y una provocación. Las dispo-
siciones del Gobierno tienen que obligar
por igual a todos los sectores antifas-
cistas. Otra cosa es contribuir al fo-
mento de los recelos entre todos, recel-
los harto justificados, aunque los be-
neficiarios de los parcialidades orribles

apuntables se llenen la boca con invoca-
ciones a la fraternidad y a la unidad
de todos los sectores antifascistas.

El problema del desarme en la re-
taguardia va directamente a enlazarse con
el que políticamente está planteado y
espera solución urgente. Se necesita un
Gobierno en el cual tengan puesta, por
su representación totalitaria del pueblo,
todas los sectores antifascistas su con-
fianza plena. Por su composición y por
su acción enérgica. Y porque sus hom-
bres representen las supremas garantías
para el pueblo en orden a la necesidad
de no ejercer acciones partidistas en be-
neficio de este o del otro sector. Y so-
bre todo porque sepa transformar los
órganos del Poder público en instru-
mentos inexorables de la defensa del
pueblo frente a las maniobras de los
emboscados y traidores, enseñen el cam-
net que enseñen y amparen quien les
ampare.

Ningún antifascista, entonces, tendrá
interés alguna en guardarse ni un alfiler
para la defensa de su persona y sus
ideales. Se sentirá plenamente defen-
dida por los órganos al mando del Go-
bierno, sin recelos ni suspicacias.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Emma Goldman, veterana del anarquismo, nos visita [Emma Goldman, veteran of anarchism, visits us. In Spanish] / Emma Goldman. — p. 3 ; 36 cm. In Umbral [Madrid?]. — (Oct. 9, 1937).

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Emma Goldman, veterana del anarquismo, nos visita.

S Eoye en la Redacción una vos extranjera, que no nos suena extraña. Es una vos amiga: la de Emma Goldman, veterana del movimiento anarquista internacional. La "Abuela de la Revolución" nos visita. Setenta años ágiles, vigorosos, en los que parece haberse detenido una madura juventud. A la edad en que la inmensa mayoría de las mujeres, en viaje de vuelta cuentan consejos a sus nietos, Emma Goldman torna otra vez a España, a interesarse por nuestra lucha y a continuar la suya, tras cuarenta y ocho años de combatir por la emancipación del proletariado. Toda una vida de fidelidad a las ideas, que no han conseguido desviar ni las persecuciones ni los destierros; toda una vida de estar en su sitio a la hora de los peligros: en 1887 junto a los anarquistas de Chicago; en el 1892, al lado de Berkman y de los presos sociales; en Rusia, su país natal, cuando la Revolución. Y ahora, aquí, por segunda vez. Y entre estas efemérides, la lucha continuada en la tribuna, en el libro, en el periódico, ya en Inglaterra, ya en el Canadá, ya en los Estados Unidos. Vida intensa de trabajo ininterrumpido, que no la ha dejado tiempo para envejecer.

Viene a continuar el estudio de nuestra lucha, informándose directamente, yendo, infatigable, de un lado para otro, presentándose como un testigo de calidad allí donde la mano del proletario realiza una obra de guerra o de paz. Quiere informarse, penetrar en el sentido de nuestro movimiento, para que cuando regrese a Inglaterra y a los Estados Unidos pueda decir a los obreros de estas dos democracias la palabra verdadera de lo que ocurre entre nosotros y reclamarles su ayuda. Ella sabe, tan bien como nosotros, que el alcance de nuestro movimiento y el espíritu de una lucha que no hemos provocado rebasa las fronteras y saca los mares y puede señalar en la historia de la humanidad el hito de una nueva era.

Emma Goldman ha expresado sus impresiones en la prensa diaria. El pueblo español conoce su pensamiento y su juicio. Y, no obstante, no renunciamos a exhibir unas palabras para los lectores de UMBRAL.

—¿Qué opina de la unidad antifascista? —le preguntamos.

—Será decisiva si realmente se consigue formar el frente antifascista con lealtad. Pero me llevo la impresión de que hay gentes que no son leales en su pronunciado deseo de fusión, de unidad.

—El proletariado español, ¿ha realizado realmente una obra?

—Sí. Especialmente la obra constructiva es lo más admirable de la Revolución española. He podido constatar, en Cataluña antes y ahora en Castellón, que los campesinos, no sólo los jornaleros, sino hasta los pequeños propietarios, han mejorado notablemente por el hecho de haber ingresado en las colectividades. Y más hubieran hecho de no haberse producido una reacción más o menos pronunciada en el campo político, que impide el desenvolvimiento de las conquistas de la Revolución.

—¿Qué es lo que más fuertemente te ha impresionado de nuestro movimiento?

—El gran entusiasmo de las masas del proletariado español; entusiasmo que es una garantía de que, en el peor de los casos, no se perdería absolutamente la nueva vida que la Revolución ha conseguido. Es admirable que en Madrid, por ejemplo, la vida del trabajo constructivo empiece al pie de las trincheras.

—¿Crees que el obrero español está capacitado para llevar adelante su Revolución?

—El que la prosiga o no depende de que la C. N. T. y la F. A. I. mantengan o abandonen sus postulados. No estaba nada bien preparado el "mujich" en Rusia y se hizo la Revolución. En España no se puede pasar sin transición de la política de tipo feudal que aquí imperaba al anarquismo; pero se puede dar un gran paso en el camino de la libertad.

—¿Qué opinas de nuestro movimiento cultural?

—Es importantísimo el renacimiento de la vida cultural española. Los soldados no son carne de cañón, sino seres que luchan también por la cultura. Esto es esencial. Ahí reside la principal diferencia que separa



Emma Goldman, en la actualidad

a nuestros luchadores de los soldados del otro campo. Un combatiente con cultura sabrá, comprenderá, que no es esta una guerra más, sino el principio de una Revolución social mundial que consiga la emancipación de la Humanidad. La Revolución rusa, al degenerar en una dictadura, fue la gran desilusión del proletariado. La Revolución española es la nueva gran esperanza del proletariado mundial.

—¿Conoce el proletariado mundial nuestro esfuerzo?

—Empieza a conocerlo. Y no sólo los obreros, sino los intelectuales y los hombres de profesiones liberales están a favor de la causa española. Los líderes del movimiento obrero extranjero tienen una orientación de tendencia conservadora y han podido continuar su táctica de soslayar la verdad del problema español porque el proletariado ignoraba el motivo fundamental de la guerra: la Revolución, y tampoco conocía bien la influencia de la C. N. T. en España. Ello hay que achacar al influjo de Blum y de los líderes políticos ingleses que no han querido que se supiera la verdad de lo que sucedía en España.

—En cuanto a la mujer española...

—No quisiera que la ofendiesen mis palabras; pero si la comparamos con las mujeres de otros países se notará que se halla rezagada, un poco a remolque, no obstante casos excepcionales. Por eso aprovecho la ocasión para felicitar a las compañeras de Mujeres Libres, que han iniciado con entusiasmo una gran obra. La mujer española no conseguirá verdaderamente su liberación si no se entrega, en el hogar y fuera de él, a la gran obra de la Revolución española. Pero hay que convenir que su lucha por la emancipación es tanto más difícil cuanto que ellas han de luchar aun contra la idiosincrasia y el credo del hombre español, que todavía ve más en la mujer la esclava de antes que la compañera que debe ser.

No la interrogamos más. Dejamos que Emma Goldman interrogue a las cosas, con sus claros ojos penetrantes y su inteligencia en plena función, mientras recorre las dependencias de la instalación de UMBRAL. Más importante que lo que pueda decirnos es que se lleve de nosotros en la retina, en el corazón y en el cerebro la impresión amplia y penetradora que después traducirá al proletariado inglés y norteamericano. ¡Salud, Emma Goldman, "abuela de la Revolución", a quien no elean las travesuras ni las ingenuidades de lo nuevo que se desarrolla, de la nieta que quiere ser! ¡Salud, Emma Goldman, y lleva a los proletarios del mundo, con nuestra fe, el saludo de los que aquí luchamos por todos!

A. FERNÁNDEZ ESCOBES

Fotos Kati.



HOMENAJE A UNA BRIGADA

En Alicante, con motivo de la entrega de una bandera, el pueblo y en primer lugar al anarquismo español rindieron homenaje a la 70 Brigada, una de las unidades del glorioso Ejército Popular Integrado por fuerzas confederales, que ha sabido elevar a la altura que la corresponde nuestro desinteresado fervor antifascista.

En el acto de entrega tomaron parte dos mujeres cuyos nombres son mirados con respeto y admiración por todos los revolucionarios sinceros: Emma Goldman y Federico Montseny, y un camarada bien conocido: Ceno Carrillo.



Federico Montseny, como siempre, pone la nota apasionada que hace delirar de entusiasmo revolucionario a las multitudes.



He aquí a Emma Goldman, por cuyos labios habló el anarquismo internacional a los héroes de Brichago.

Foto "Prensa"

Umbral 5

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THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY WORK OF THE CHEKA IN SPAIN.

In October last, the CHEKA caused the well-known Austrian Labour leader - KURT LANDAU - to disappear. Despite official enquiries his whereabouts have remained unknown to this day. The P.O.U.M., of which Landau was a leading member, since the beginning of the Spanish Revolution, addressed a letter to the Minister of the Interior, of which the following is a translation:-

Barcelona, Oct. 9th, 1937.

To the Fellow Citizen, the
Prime Minister of the Republic,
Valencia.

Dear Fellow Citizen,

We hand you herewith a copy of the evidence given this day before the Police Court, although after the sad experience in connection with other evidence submitted, we cherish little hope that justice will be done.

The disappearance of such a personality as Kurt Landau, - the Marxist author and orator, former member of the Executive Committee of the Austrian Communist Party, ~~who is a leading member of the Socialist Youth International~~, is likely to cause a great stir in all Anti-Fascist circles throughout Europe, particularly among the working classes, for it is known that he, like Mark Reiss and Andres Nin, had become a victim of some mysterious outrage, right in the midst of Anti-Fascist Spain, which may even result in his "final disappearance". Against such crimes of Stalinism the Spanish State had hitherto guarded itself.

A copy of this evidence is also being sent abroad as well as to the Public Prosecutor and the Minister of Justice of the Republic.

On behalf of the Executive Committee

(signed)

The Political Sec.

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 2.

CARLOTA DURANT VIVES, an adult, resident at Montserar Casanova 24, appeared before the Court and declared that the well-known Marxist author KURT LANDAU, of Austrian nationality, had lodged with her.

On September 23rd, at about 7 o'clock in the evening, two agents of the Investigation and Surveillance Services ~~(one in a suit and the other in a dark suit)~~ accompanied by a member of the Police in uniform (Guardia de Asalto) called at her domicile and arrested ~~comrade~~ ^{Kurt} Landau.

The officers did not make any search but hurriedly led away the man they arrested. Upon ~~the~~ enquiries made it was ascertained that Kurt Landau was not to be found either at the headquarters of the Commissariat for Public Order or at any of its Branches or in any Public Prison. Notwithstanding the long time that has ~~passed~~ ^{elapsed} since, it was equally impossible to obtain the least clue as to ~~where~~ ^{where he was taken} Kurt Landau had been taken, nor where he is kept at the present moment. Even the Commissioner for Public Order - Paulino Gomez - informed those who are concerned about Kurt Landau's fate that he had not received any reply from Valencia to his enquiry into this matter.

All that has been mentioned above leads to the conclusion that our Comrade was arrested under the eyes of the responsible officials without having informed the Chief Commissioner for Public Order of the fact. Is it possible that the officers who effected the arrest worked on their own bat?... Did they act thus in accordance with the instructions given them by one of the officers of the Chief of the Police, as for instance, Mr. Burillo?... Whither was Kurt Landau taken by the men who arrested him? What have they done

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with him?...

As the facts given above bring to light the following points:
illegal arrest, deprivation of liberty, presumable murder, the
witness begs to submit these facts to the authority of the Court.

She begs the Court to take note of the document submitted, and
on the strength of the points raised, to take the necessary steps
with a view to investigating the matter so as to ascertain what has
become of Kurt Landau, and to punish those guilty of this outrage.

BARCELONA, October 9th., 1937.

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All comrades now confined in the Carcel Modelo prison had their identity papers taken away from them by the police.

In the prisons of the Cheka there are confined among others, the following:-

HORST LICHTENSTEIN -- 21 years of age, was arrested on June 24 without any charge being preferred against her, as in the case of the comrades mentioned above. In Germany he had been a member of the Communist Youth. He and his parents emigrated to Denmark, where his parents are still living. He came to Spain in March and at once proceeded, together with the POUM militia to the Front. Shortly before his arrest he had been sent back from the Front on account of ill-health.

PAULINE DOBLER came to Spain in January of this year to act as translator for the JUVENTUD COMUNISTA (Communist Youth). She was engaged as secretary to Walter Schwarz. Arrested on June 15th, on the pretext of her having been guilty of espionage. She is of Swiss nationality.

EVA SITTIG -- Was arrested on Aug. 16th, without any charge being preferred against her. She had worked as nurse for several months in close proximity to the firing line. Her husband, after having been kept in prison for several months, was deported. She had been living as an emigrant in Holland -- has been for a considerable time a member of the KPO.

In the women's prisons there are confined:-

KATJA JULIA LANDAU -- Wife of the comrade KURT LANDAU, kidnapped by the Cheka. Was arrested on June 16th. Has not been brought before the Court to this day. She is of Austrian nationality.

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ELSA HOMBERGER HENSCHKE -- Arrested on June 17th. Worked as translator for the P.O.U.M. Has not yet been charged to this day. Has been living in Spain since 1932.

ELLA KOENIG -- Arrested in June, together with her husband who has in the meantime been deported. Our comrade, who is in ill-health, has ~~never~~ not had any charge preferred against her all the time.

CHARLOTTE MARGULIN -- Arrested towards the end of July - was after being subjected to interrogation, ordered to be released, but was retained. She is doctor of medicine and acted in that capacity at the Front.

^K
ERIEA GIESEN -- Arrested in August - likewise ordered to be released, but retained.

In the LOS PINOS sanatorium are being detained:-

PETER BLACHSTEIN -- Arrested in June. He came to Spain in the autumn of 1936 from Norway, where he was living as an emigrant. He represented the Youth Committee of London. He developed tuberculosis in Spain, for which reason he is detained at the Sanatorium. Has worked in the German Labour Movement since ~~1918~~ ~~1919~~ he was 15 years of age. Was member of the SAP in Germany. Reason for his arrest unknown.

Two French comrades:-

NICOLAS ZUNDELEVITCH -- Arrested on June 28th. He is 35 years of age. His arrest was effected by officers of the Special Service who came to the Hotel Continental where he was staying. Charge

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6.

against him is Trotskyism and terrorism, also/with having supplied information.

During the interrogations (12) the following charges were preferred against him:-

1. That he was one of the trusted members of the Executive Committee of the POUM.
2. That he acted as intermediary between the CNT and the POUM.
3. That he was ~~was~~ entrusted with a mission by the French Government the nature of which he did not wish to ~~it~~ disclose.
4. That he was one of the leading members of the Left Opposition - the SFIO - which is in the opinion of the Cheka a Fascist section.
5. That he had illegally left Russia in 1922, and had been in communication with the Mensheviks.

This comrade is a member of the SFIO and has been in Spain since September 1936. He came together with a group of workers from Paris with a view to joining up for the Front. On the suggestion remained behind and formed of the Regional Committee of the CNT he/~~formed~~, ~~in agreement with his Party~~, in agreement with his Party, a Syndicate of Foreign Engineers of the Regional Committee. He himself worked, up to the time of his arrest, as engineer of the War Industry.

PAUL GASTON LADIRAL -- Is 26 years of age. He arrived in Spain on August 14th, 1936 as representative of the Jeunesses Socialistes de la Seine. After ~~amalgamation~~ discussing with the Juventud Socialista Unificada (United Socialist Youth) the question of ~~an~~ amalgamation he remained in the country and went with the PSUC militia to the Front. In December he returned to France but in the following February he came back to Spain as representative of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Youth of the Seine. He and his com-

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7.

rades found themselves in disagreement ~~in~~ with the JSU in Valencia and Madrid over the question of the repressive measures against ^{issued} the POUM and against organs of the CNT, and they ~~made~~ an open declaration to this effect in Madrid. When ~~in~~ the Delegation returned to France, he remained behind to work with the Frente Juventud Revolucionaria POUM-Youth and the Anarchist Youth, whose foundation the JS de la Seine had helped to inaugurate.

He was arrested in the first instance on April 28th by police officers who were serving under a PSUC Commissar, without authorization of the Chief of the Police. Upon his arrest he was beaten up and insulting epithets of "Trotzkist" and "Provocateur" were hurled at him. At the same time, his room at the hotel was searched and all books, writings and other documents confiscated.

However, the kidnapping of this comrade was frustrated by the intervention of the Chief of the Police. Owing to the events in May his release was delayed and was ~~not~~ not carried out till May 28th. His belongings "could not be traced".

His arrest for the second time took place on June 17th at the Rambla, opposite the offices of the POUM Executive Committee. During his interrogation, three months after his arrest, it was revealed that the Cheka was in possession of ~~the~~ his documents confiscated at the previous arrest.

The charge made against him by the Cheka was: Espionage, provocation and incitement to ~~riot~~ revolt against the legitimate Government. As proofs were advanced: the declaration made in Madrid against the repressive measures against the POUM and CNT - the draft of which was found among his papers, and various testimon-

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8.

ials given to him by the PSUC Militia Chiefs on his departure.

Since 1928 this comrade had taken an active part in the work of the International Movement in Germany, Austria and France, right up to this year, and since May he has worked with the Federation Autonome des Jeunes Socialistes (Independent Socialist Youth).

RICHARD WINKLER -- Is 43 years of age. Was arrested together with Kille and under the same circumstances. Since 1912 he was a member of the various Trade Unions of the ADGB. Politically he adhered first to the Spartacus-Bund and to the KPD. (Communist Party of Germany). In 1933 he emigrated to the Saar territory and later to France. There he joined the COT. and in the following winter he became a member of the German Group of Anarcho-Syndicalists. In February, 1936 he was expelled from France and went to Spain, where he was at once arrested, and it was only ^{due to} ~~at~~ the intervention on his behalf of the "SOLIDARIDAD" that he was released in June and again deported to France. In October he returned and at once proceeded to the Front. His subsequent fate is the same as that of KILLE.

WALTER HIRSCH -- is 29 years of age. He was arrested while on leave on September 2nd by police officers of the Special Service who came to the place where he stayed. No reasons for his arrest were given. In Germany he belonged to the Metal-Workers' Union and to the SPD. From 1926 to 1931 he was in Argentina. In March to August 1933 he was in the Concentration Camp at Heuberg. In the following autumn he emigrated to Switzerland, and subsequently to

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9.

Spain. Since July 1935 he is a member of the CNT.

For a time he served in the Transport Group DAS as driver. Later he joined the ~~SECURITY~~ ^{IN} ~~INTERIOR~~ Brigade, which he served till May. From May up to the time of his arrest he acted as chauffeur with 23rd. Company.

ALBERT WETTLAEUFER -- Is 35 years of age. Was arrested on May 4th by PSUC officers while he was taking part in a patrol march. He was carrying a ~~gun~~ rifle. On September 15th he was released by the Special Judge. But, according to information published in the "Vanguardia" and the "Catalunya" he is still in confinement. In Germany he belonged, since 1919, to the Metal Workers' Union, and also to the ANTIFA, from 1928 to 1933. In August 1933 he emigrated to France. Was expelled in February and went to Spain, where he was at once arrested and again expelled. In the following September he returned to Spain and immediately joined the DURRUTI Column, which he was obliged to leave for reasons of health in December. He became a member of the CNT and was working right up to the time of his arrest in a munitions factory. He was also a member of the ASYK, a German Anarcho-Syndicalist Group controlled by the DAS.

HELMUT KLOSE -- Is 33 years of age. Was arrested on July 2nd. No charge was made up to this date, as in the case of all the other comrades mentioned above, neither was he brought before a Judge. Was a member of the FUD in Germany (German Anarcho-Syndicalist Organisation). After having been arrested ~~on~~ several times, he emigrated to Yugoslavia in the summer of 1933. Expelled from there in February 1937 because of propaganda on behalf of Anti-Fascist

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10.

Spain. He came to Spain in March, representing his Group of the D.A.S. Entered the frontier service of the FAI, in the "De la COSTA" Battalion. After dissolution of this Battalion, in June, he takes his discharge, and enters the service of the Agricultural Collective of SAN ANDRES. In compliance with the request of his Group, he later undertook the reorganisation of the Tailors' Collective of the Emigrants' Committee. The charge made by the Cheka of his having ^{disarmed officers} deprived-officers of the Frontier Service at Figueras ~~their~~ is entirely without foundation.

In the various prisons of Anti-Fascist Spain there are, ^{confined} apart from thousands of Spanish comrades many foreign anti-fascists.

Here is a list of German comrades:

In the "Carcel Modelo" prison there are the following members of the POUM (Organisation for Marxist Unity) {-

WALTER SCHWARZ - - Is 30 years of age, and has been an active ~~member~~ ^{worker in} the Labour movement for many years. Was arrested on Aug. 14th at his home, ostensibly for espionage. He was now called before the Special Court at Valencia.

In Germany he belonged to the Free Trade Union Organisation, of which he was a member from 1924 to 1933. Politically, he adhered first to the SAJ, the KJV, the KJO and finally to the KPO. As early as 1932 he emigrated to Spain. In October 1934 he took part in the struggle going on, and in 1935 he was expelled for being a Communist. He subsequently came back again and at once proceeded on July 19th to the Front., where he acted as trusted representative for the foreigner, ~~especially~~ that is, he was Political Commissar of a POUM Battalion up to the time of its

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11.

dissolution.

KARL BAEDLING -- Is 51 years of age, an old fighter in the ranks of the German Marxist Labour Movement. He was arrested in the first instance on March 23rd last at Sabadell, where he was working in the Naval Aviation workshops. He was taken to Valencia at the disposal of the "Special" Court (for Espionage). After a hunger strike, the Minister of the Interior ordered his release ~~for~~ on the ground of there being no evidence of guilt. This was on August 10th. On September 3rd he was again arrested in Barcelona, after he had applied for a permit to leave the country. No reason ~~was~~ whatever was given for this arrest.

In Germany he was a member of the German Metal-Workers' Union (ADOL), from 1902 right up to the time of the suppression of this Union. Politically he belonged, from 1905 to 1917, to the SPD (Socialist Party of Germany); later he joined the USPD, and finally became a member of the SPARTAKUS Organisation, up to 1920, and after this ^{he joined} the KPD. In 1928, he along with the other members of the Opposition, was expelled. In 1933 he left for France where he lived among the refugees. In ^{April} 1934 he returned to Germany and resumed (illegally) his political activities up to August 1935. Then he was obliged once again to flee the country. On Nov. 15th 1936 he came to Spain, with a view to work in the above-mentioned Aviation industry.

PAUL MAYER -- Is 32 years of age. Was arrested on Aug. 16th, at the Francia Station, just as he was on the point of leaving for France. He had the necessary permit for it. Up till this day

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 He was not informed on what ground he was arrested. He has now been placed at the disposal of the Special Court for Espionage in Valencia.

In Germany he belonged from 1920 to 1933 to the German Metal Workers' Union. At the same time he was a member of the SAJ up to 1925; then he joined the SPD, and continued as a member of this organisation up to the time of the split, when he went over to the KAP. In 1933 he was arrested because of his illegal political activities, and was kept for four months, till August, in the Concentration Camp at Dachau. Until October he was still kept in under arrest, but had to be released (for want of evidence?). In August 1936 he came to Paris, in with a view to proceed to Spain with the help of the Communist Party. Owing to his revolutionary attitude the Communists refused to intercede on his behalf, until he succeeded with the aid of the CNT to get to Spain in December. He at once joined the POUM Militia, and was at the Front up to the time of its suppression.

MAX GLASE -- Is 34 years of age. Was arrested an hour after his arrival from the Front, in the street. He, too, has not been given the ground on which he was arrested.

In Germany he belonged first to the USPD, then to the SPD and finally to the SAP. Towards the end of 1933 he was obliged to leave for France. He came to Spain in Dec. 1936, and at once proceeded to the Front. He was a member of the POUM Militia up to the time of its suppression.

FRANZ GERSTER -- Is 25 years old. Was arrested on June 26th under

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circumstances identical with those under which Glaze was arrested.

He belonged, in Germany, to the Builders Labourers Union since 1928, and besides this he was also a member of the I.F. since 1930. In 1933 he was arrested and sentenced to a year's imprisonment for being in possession of a weapon. After his release, he once emigrated to France, where he became a member of the CGT, and he also joined the SAP. He came to Spain in December 1936, where he at once proceeded to the Front, and joined the POUM Militia right up to the time of its suppression.

GUSTAV WEITKUS -- Is 28 years of age, married. Was arrested on August 16th at his home. The ground for his arrest he has not been told up to this day. He, too, is now at the disposal of the Special Court for Espionage.

In Germany he belonged to the Metal-Workers Union (ADGB), and was also a member of the SAJ; later he joined the SPD, and finally the SAP. In 1934 he emigrated to Chekho-Slovakia. He came to Spain in Dec. 1936. He left at once for the Front, where he joined the POUM Militia up till the time of its suppression.

This comrade has a wife and child, who were left behind in Chekho-Slovakia. He has all contact with them for some time, but he learnt that his wife had returned to Germany, and had been kept in a concentration Camp on his account.

RICHARD DUBBAN -- Is 24 years old. Was arrested on Aug. 16th under circumstances identical with those under which Weitkus was arrested. Like the latter, he too has been called before the Special Court at Valencia. From 1932 up to its dissolution in 1934 he was a member of

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14. 20. 29

the KJV, and of the Metal-Workers Union since 1931. In 1934 he emigrated to Switzerland, thence to France. He was expelled and left for the Basque territory. After the Plebiscite he again was expelled from France and went to Belgium. On Aug. 19th 1936 he came to Spain and at once went to the Front, where he joined the POUM Militia up to April. He was then taken seriously ill and had to be removed for treatment to Barcelona, and upon the dissolution of the POUM Militia he was given his discharge.

RICHARD TIETZ -- Is 32 years of age. Was arrested on July 9th at the house of the Argentine Consul. He went to ask for the latter's intervention on behalf of his wife who had been previously arrested. When he enquired for the ground on which he was being arrested, the Commissar declared: "I consider it right."

In Germany this comrade belonged since 1923 to the Stage Workers Association (ADGB) and successively to the KPD and the Lenin Society. In April 1933 he emigrated to Spain. After October 1934 he was expelled from Spain as an Anti-Fascist. In France he joined the Parti Socialiste (SFIO). His wife was arrested and after having been kept in confinement for a fortnight was expelled in July, and is now living in France with her two children.

GEORG GERNSPEDER -- Is 32 years of age. Was arrested on June 24th in the street. To this day he has not been told on what ground he was arrested. In Germany he belonged to the Red Youth Front. In the autumn of 1933 he emigrated to France and later to Belgium. He came to Spain in September, and placed himself at the disposal of the PSUC. He was with the Centuria THAELMANN until the beginning of January, 1937, when he transferred to the DEHNERT Column, from

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which he later ~~passed~~ over to the POUM Militia, of which he was a member up to June 31st.

HANS WIELAND -- Is 25 years of age. Was arrested on June 24th under circumstances identical with those under which Glass, Gernsheimer, etc. were arrested. Neither has he been informed up till now (middle of October) of the reason for his arrest.

In Germany he belonged to the SAJ, and since 1932 he was a member of the Textile Workers' Union (ADGB). In Nov. 1934 he emigrated to Switzerland. He came to Spain in Dec. 1936, and at once proceeded to the Front. Up till March 1937 he belonged to the DURRUTI Column; then he together with Gernsheimer joined the POUM Militia, but owing to ill-health he had to take his discharge in June.

KARL HEIDENREICH -- Is 35 years old. He was arrested on June 15 without any ground being given for his arrest.

He belonged since 1930 to the KPO. In Nov. 1933 he emigrated to Spain, and in 1935 he was expelled after the October events. In Sept. 1936 he came back to Spain from France, and at once joined the POUM Militia. On March 17th he was wounded and sent to Barcelona, and it was here while ~~recovering~~ convalescent that he was arrested. His wife and child are in Germany.

HEINZ BACK -- Is 35 years of age. Was arrested on Sept. 13th, and subsequently expelled. - In Germany he was a member of the Committee for Proletarian Unity. In Aug. 1933 he emigrated to Switzerland. Was expelled in 1932 (?) he was expelled and went to Spain Barcelona. Here he joined in 1934 the committee.

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18.

Against War and Fascism. In July he joined the SP, Militia.

In Sept. he joined the POUM, and in Nov. the POUM.

This man is a very good man.

Of the CNT members:

KURT STROHM -- Is 38 years of age, married, was arrested on Sept. 13th and was expelled. He has been living in Spain since 1930. Has a Spanish wife and a very young child. Has been a member of the CNT since July 1st, 1936. Previously, he was a member of the UGT, since 1934.

ALBERT KILLE -- Is 41 years of age. Was arrested on Sept. 7th.

No reason was given.

In Germany he belonged since 1919 to the Productive Supply Union (ADGE). Besides this he was a member of the KPD. In 1933 he emigrated to Austria. After the February events he fled to Prague, but later returned to Austria, whence he was expelled and left for France. Here he joined in the autumn the ^{German} Anarcho-Syndicalist Group. In August 1936 he went to Spain, where he at once proceeded to the Front. He was wounded once. He belonged to the DURRUTI Column up to the time of the militarisation of the militia. Then he joined the De la Costa Battalion. In June he took his discharge. He was kept waiting for a Nansen Passport for two months. He is a very sick man, and has been confined since his discharge at the ^{prison (Krankenstation?)} hospital, where practically nothing is being done for his recovery. One must at this opportunity also mention the miserable rations that are doled out to the prisoners, and which have lately even led to riots in nearly all the prisons.

These are not very few. Be they and of C.N.T. at present.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

Emma Goldman in Spain: "Madrid Is the Wonder of Centuries" / Emma Goldman. — p. 2 ; 29 cm. *In Spain and the World* [London]. — (Oct. 13, 1937).
Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

R FRONT REGIME

iken to Franco's mercenaries, it
this equipment has been coming

ome from a factory in Levallois,
e-et-Loire, and helmets are also
e.

g marks are new — and show
the munitions have been manu-
been shipped in carton packing.

supplied machine guns and the
The cannons are of the French
have even come from the French

m, Belgian and Czechoslovakian

the part of the Syndicalist or-
cannot help asking how it comes
high controls production, allows
ng equipment that will be used
These words are addressed to

"Estampas De La Revolucion"

A collection, comprising 30 re-
productions of paintings by Sim,
attractively bound, vividly portray-
ing the struggle being waged in
Spain. Apart from the artistic
value, this album is of interest in
that the printing has been executed
at a collectivised printing works.

As there are still a considerable
number of these albums to be dis-
posed of, we are making an offer
to those comrades who could not
buy them at the original price, by
fixing the price of the album at
4/- each or 4/6 post free.

Prison Memoirs Of An Anarchist

by Alexander Berkman

Emma Goldman has kindly pre-
sented us with 12 copies of this
book, the money from the sale of
which will go to Solidarity Fund.
Published at 10/6, the price for
readers is 4/6 or 5/- post free.

Write for your copy now to:

"SPAIN and the WORLD."

town Council and the Collective.

The reactionary bourgeoisie are
congratulating themselves in this
town.

ARNES—Upon arriving at this
town, the armed forces proceeded
immediately to the dissolution of
the Town Council elected in a duly
constitutional manner, replacing it
with hostile elements. The next
step was the dissolution of the
Collective and they even forbade
the workers to proceed with the
threshing of the wheat. All work

compelling the workers to surren-
der their arms, the Guards gave
those same weapons to the friends
of the present mayor, ex-member
of the Patriotic Union, a man who
tried unsuccessfully, after the 19th
of July, 1936, to join the FAI.
This person declared null and void
the acts of requisition made by the
CNT and previously endorsed by
the Government. The headquar-
ters of the CNT was turned over
to the Left Republicans and the
Association of Petty Proprietors.

Emma Goldman In Spain

"Madrid Is The Wonder Of Centuries"

Madrid, Sept. 23rd, 1937.

You will be impatient with me
that I have written so little since
I got to Spain. The events are too
overwhelming for letters. The days
are filled to overflowing with im-
pressions, especially is this the case
here. Madrid is the wonder of
centuries for there is nothing like
it in fortitude and epic grandeur.
One had to see it to realise its tre-
mendous courage and spirit regard-
less of the danger surrounding it,
regardless of what the city and the
people have already endured at the
hands of fascism. Greater still is
the faith of our people who go on
building, creating and labouring
not for the hour but for all times.
One can not help but set aside all
doubts and all superficial criticism
in the face of such wonderful mani-
festations of human endurance and
determination to win come what
may. I am so full of it all I cannot
concentrate on any one impression
or say what is more inspiring than
the other. More than even last
year I wish I could remain with
our people right here in this heroic
city and share in their struggle
and their aspirations. But again
I will have to leave much sooner
than I want. We are going back
to Valencia tomorrow, from there
Sunday or Monday to Barcelona.
Perhaps I can write more coherent-
ly from there. I only wish all our
comrades so ready to judge could
come to Spain to see for them-
selves that whatever the mistakes

made they are as nothing compared
with the gigantic work already
achieved. Whatever happens this
will remain a lasting monument to
the valor and the constructive
genius of our comrades.

I am thinking of you and the
others to-day and our meeting. I
hope it will be a success. I saw
several films yesterday, part of
which we will get so Frank can
complete them for our purpose. We
will then carry them from one end
of England to another.

EMMA.

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the anti-Fascist struggle
and the Social Revolu-
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The Emma Goldman Papers

[The enemy within. In Chinese] Nei Di / Emma Goldman. — pp. 19-20 ; 22 cm. In Jing Zhe. — Vol. 1, no. 6 (Oct. 20, 1937).

Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

「共產黨對於此種結合 (National combination) 之構成實與有力。此所謂革命的黨，究其實，乃是反革命的黨。」

「牠恣肆地將西班牙的勞動者犧牲於牠底惡毒的國際政策與第三國際的策略底祭壇之上。因為西班牙的洪濤和社會主義在國內的經驗，將使官僚的共產黨失却其地位，而被排除於革命勢力之外。共產黨的政策便在妨礙此種局勢之發展。」

「這是民衆所應知道的，而民衆是知道了的。」

「那末於此事件(即巴塞羅那)，只有待民衆之最後的判斷了。」

(三)

桑第那 D.A. Santillan 答記者問

(桑氏爲國際著名之無政府黨人，曾爲加泰隆尼亞自治政府之經濟部長。在巴城事變發生後，當地的「工人休戚」(Solidaridad Obrera) 日報記者往訪。其答記者問即載于五月十三日該報。譯者

問：足下對於此次事變有何感想？

答：這回事變，無疑的是一個預先計劃停妥的陰謀的爆發，在社會運動史上實屬空前。由事實的證明，在事情發生之前十五天，歐洲列強方面的外交當局，已得到了通知了。他們說目下，C.N.T. 和 F.A.I. 在瓦倫西亞和馬德里的領導勢力，已被排除，不久即將給予加泰隆尼亞的無政府黨一個致命的襲擊。和加泰隆政府有密切關係的巴黎某某，也有過同樣的斷定。

問：在這次武裝衝突發生前，僅僅幾小時，便有外國巡洋艦駛入港內，足下于此事有何解說？

答：這又是這回事變是早定的陰謀的一個證據。法國和英國的巡洋艦，在巴城第一聲砲響之前許久，已經開足馬力駛入我們的港內來了。好像將來之事，有一種先知的預識一樣。

由這些情形看來，則：在那求外援來和革命的勞動者對立的政黨之中，還有好多反法西斯的勝利信念餘存呢？

——轉譯自紐約「西班牙革命」一卷十九期本年六月四日出版——

(四)

內敵 (Enemy Within)

——Emma Goldman著

的確，法西斯主義是太壞了，但最壞的，還是……內敵。說這話的話，已經好久不可能了，但現在，妨害 (Sabotage)——案此係指對於無政府黨的前線軍事上之軍需以及糧食供給，以及後方之安全等等的妨害——譯者：無大到了使我們不能不以「叛變」爲法端，不僅此，而且還是犯罪的了。……而今，任何裂縫，都只覺得，是於法西斯有利的。可是，作更進一步的，外交術上的 (diplomatic) 考察，從各方面來的危險，是太大了。

在這個可怕的屠殺裏，有許多不可解的事，應該拿來考慮。最先的問題是：同志們爲什麼要始終加入「統一」的戰線 (United Front)？因爲，牠把他們引入，而且不可避免地要把他們引入最矛盾的階段 (Steps)。而且，天天都證實了牠的危險，比法西斯主義更爲嚴重。敵人的奸惡之內部的增長，是因爲 C.N.T. 和 F.A.I. 爲了要表示無政府主義除了壓迫武裝的或專制的法西斯黨而外，不壓迫任何人——而來的過大的容忍。因此他們給與社會主義者和共產黨以多大的，過多的自由行動，而產生了如下的結果：這兩個長年的 (age-long) 左右的仇敵，妨害了 (are sabotaging) 革命。同志們，這對於 C.N.T. 和 F.A.I. 乃是最大的危險。做了守信義的人，我們的同志不能停止他們的同盟者的，惡毒的反革命活動，但不管這個最使人懷疑的局勢如何，以大敵法西斯黨在馬德里的門口，我們的同志仍然貫徹着他們的建設工作，一若他們戰線的內部和外而沒有出賣革命的「猶大」(Judas) 和武裝的敵人那樣。法西斯黨的最大希望，與其從他們得到幫助，反不如從「統一戰線」的內部裏面的封建的

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The enemy within. In Chinese] Nei Di / Emma Goldman. — pp. 19-20 ; 22 cm. In Jing Zhe. — Vol. 1, no. 6 (Oct. 20, 1937).

Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

發展 (the development of feud within the ranks of United Front)。此外，可怕的是，今世界的有組織的職工組合運動都全然組織成了一個堡壘，和 C. N. T. F. A. I. 主張的作對。在他們所籌集的幾千磅中，我們的人，一無所得；在由巴黎寄往齊特林 (Citrine) 的八萬六千元中，C. N. T. F. A. I. 沒有得到一個柏塞打 (Peseta)——西幣名，價值不及我國一元——譯者)……

——譯自紐約五卷一期的 Maud (本年一月號)——

幾種態度

安娜

一、

在西班牙內戰中，有個叫做 J. R. 布洛克的法國普羅作家，他曾去拜訪過一位西班牙的安那其主義者 (他是一個工人)。他們的對話是很有趣的。茲照譯如下：

問：「你是社會主義者嗎？」

答：「不，我乃是一個安那其主義者。」

問：「你對於此等事件有何感想？」(註)

答：「實在是應該如此。」

問：「但是，你們與其黨的朋友及左翼共黨人之關係，今後又當如何呢？」

於是，這個工人捧出諷刺的微笑說：「作為

我的老師的，是巴枯寧，脫爾斯泰，和克魯泡特金。這是我也很知道的。但是，在現今的場合上，法西斯橫行一切，故我們不能不聯合進步的資產階級諸黨，及社會黨，共和黨等而結成共同的戰線。因為這是我們的生死存亡的問題。」

問：「照你來說，共同戰線到了此地還能繼續下去嗎？」

答：「是呀。如果這次事件之後，法西斯能夠崩潰，到此後，我們對於共產主義者及社會主義者當然要澈底的加以清算的。」

(註)係指所謂「加泰隆安那其黨暴動」事件。

這是處在西班牙那個特殊環境中的安那其主義者的態度。其實遠在一九一七年以來的俄國革命史上，安那其主義者，也曾表示過同樣的態

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Emma Goldman, en Acracia [Emma Goldman to Acracia. In Spanish] / Emma Goldman. — p. 1 ; 29 cm. In Acracia [Lerida]. — (Oct. 21, 1937).
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Emma Goldman, en ACRACIA

«Las colectivizaciones son el aspecto que mejor caracteriza nuestro movimiento»

La veterana militante del anarquismo, Emma Goldman, nos ha honrado con su visita.

Acompañada por el compañero Martin Gredell, secretario de la Oficina de Propaganda Exterior de CNT - FAI, se personó anoche en nuestra casa, enhiesta a pesar de los años, sirviendo de vivo estímulo para todos.

Hemos escuchado a su innegable experiencia de luchadora, teniendo en cuenta el excepcional valor de sus opiniones, ya que alterna como observadora directa de nuestra lucha y lo contrasta con el criterio que la misma merece en el extranjero.

Hace un año, tuvimos ya el gusto de verla en la Redacción de ACRACIA, y recordándole, preguntamos qué diferencia nota en nuestra militancia a través de este lapso de tiempo.

Acaso, dice, ha constatado en Barcelona un poco de desorientación respecto de igual fecha del año anterior, pero comprende que los acontecimientos y las persecuciones han hecho por su parte lo que nunca podía lograrse de otro modo.

En cambio, Madrid, acusa en los compañeros un enraizamiento que hace concebir las más halagüñas esperanzas.

—¿Qué aspecto de nuestra revolución merece tus preferencias?

—Indiscutiblemente, las colectivizaciones. Es uno de los aspectos constructivos que mejor caracterizan a nuestro movimiento, y son tanto más de apreciar sus esfuerzos, cuanto que se realizan con un elevado número de obstáculos, entre los cuales no hay que desdeñar las penalidades inherentes a la guerra que vivía.

Nuestra compañera está realizando esta gira informativa de la



los gobiernos no sienten la solidaridad con el de España. La tolerante complicidad de la "no" intervención, es la mejor prueba de ello. Tomen al triunfo de la República, por sí ello supone el de la clase trabajadora encuadrada en las dos centrales sindicales, tan poco semejantes en su esencia a las organizaciones reformistas de aquellos países.

Los obreros ingleses, simpatizan altamente con nuestra causa, pero la actuación de sus líderes transforman insensiblemente con simpatía en el carácter platónico que hoy la caracterizan.

Como están influenciado por los directivos de las Trade Unions, su identificación no se traduce en hechos tangibles para España, porque finalmente todo queda reducido a una incondicional adhesión al gobierno de su país.

Cuando Bilbao y Santander fue-

ron tomadas por los invasores de nuestro país — dice Emma —, que el proletariado inglés, vibró de indignación y fué convocado un mitin monstruo al cual, concurrieron más de 100.000 trabajadores, que pidieron enérgicamente ayuda para España, y atacaron al Comité de Londres que tal cosa permitía. Fué el mitin más concurrido que se ha celebrado en la plaza pública, pero se hizo lo posible porque las conclusiones no pasan de ahí. Se dan largas al asunto y se hace lo posible porque su adhesión hacia España languidece entre las formalidades y dilaciones a que los líderes son tan aficionados cuando de robustecer al gobierno inglés se trata.

Unicamente, el "Partido Independiente Obrero" constituye una honrosa excepción, y sólo a esta posición francamente favorable a la causa de los trabajadores españoles, debe su rápido crecimiento numérico. De día, en día, es más potente, y acaso constituya en aquel país nuestra única esperanza, ya que es altamente susceptible de influir en posteriores decisiones.

Constata con satisfacción la coordinación que se observa en nuestra prensa, pues si bien — dice — dicha medida pudiera determinar volidades dictatoriales, ello no es posible mientras se mantenga, como base, este respeto incontestable hacia las características de cada región, para que, sobre ellas se desenvuelvan autónomamente. Fundamentalmente — añade —, nuestras organizaciones son federalistas.

Luego nos habla de sus trabajos. Del afán con que dá a con-

A nuestros lectores

En otro lugar de este mismo número, comenzamos hoy la publicación de una serie de reportajes locales. En estos trabajos periodísticos, ya sea oficiales o populares, ACRACIA se limitará a recoger el sentir de aquellos dirigentes políticos o sindicales, que, hoy día, por circunstancias especiales, empuñan las riendas de la dirección en nuestra capital. Asimismo, la voz de aquellos hombres, militantes de organizaciones obreras o partidos políticos, que sin ostentar cargos públicos realizan en la retaguardia una labor de organización y encauce de la nueva vida española, encontrarán cabida adecuada en las columnas de ACRACIA, puestas siempre al servicio de todo aquello que redunde en beneficio de la causa sublime que se defiende en las trincheras de la Libertad.

ACRACIA, que desde que inició su publicación no ha hecho otra cosa que poner a contribución todo su valer para satisfacer la curiosidad de sus numerosos lectores, espera que esta nueva sección del periódico sea del agrado de quienes nos lean y nos ayuden.

cor en Inglaterra a la medida de sus posibilidades, la verdad de nuestra causa. Afirmamos, pues, a nuestros lectores, comprometidos sobre este particular, y en su propio domicilio ha dedicado una sala como sala de documentación para quienes deseen comprobar por sí mismos lo ocurrido en nuestro país.

Como representante en Inglaterra de nuestras organizaciones CNT - FAI, recibe numerosas publicaciones de distinto carácter. Ha podido comprobar la bondad de estas medidas, y nos invita a que le mandemos cuantas publicaciones sean convenientes para el fin propuesto.

Respectivamente, gracias a sus activas gestiones, se pudo evitar que fuera practicada la extradición con

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son, cuanto que se realizan con un elevado número de obstáculos, entre los cuales no hay que desdeñar las penalidades inherentes a la guerra que vivía.

Nuestra compañera está realizando esta gira informativa de la labor modesta, pero auténticamente positiva, que nuestros luchadores de la retaguardia realizan en el seno de las colectividades.

En relación con la participación de la C. N. T. en las tareas de gobierno, y su posterior desplazamiento, hay que reconocer que se han perdido posiciones de carácter político, pero hemos conquistado las de carácter moral, que no hay que dudar, han salido sumamente robustecidas de la prueba a que se se ha sometido. Es tanto más digno de tenerse en cuenta, si se considera que la C. N. T. no actuó hasta ahora en política, y carece por lo tanto, de debiles para plegarse a las convenciones de este carácter. De continuar colaborando y haciendo las necesarias concesiones, no dudo que había llegado el momento de estancarse, o peor de volverse atrás.

Referente a una posible entente entre la UGT y la CNT, dice nuestra compañera, que fuera de desear que se realizase, por constituir ello un gran paso en el camino de la unidad, que, solamente de esta manera, cree tendría robustez, pues, si bien juzga que este pacto habría de realizarse en el terreno estrictamente sindical.

Nos informa seguidamente de los reflejos de nuestro movimiento en el orden internacional.

Hay que reconocer - afirma - que

que finalmente todo queda reducido a una incondicional adhesión al gobierno de su país.

Cuando Bilbao y Santander fue-

de -, nuestras organizaciones son federalistas.

Luego nos habla de sus trabajos. Del afán con que él a conse-

SUGERENCIAS

No esperemos que nadie venga de fuera a dar solución a nuestros problemas. Yo recuerdo de estudiante un dicho de un profesor que yo tenía, que con frecuencia, y ante los libros abiertos sobre la mesa de estudio, nos decía: "Amiguitos míos, no esperéis que otro ha de examinarse por vosotros". Y así era. Nosotros teníamos que pasar allá en mayo por las Horcas Caudinas. Lo mismo digo a mis hermanos los trabajadores. Nadie dará solución a nuestros problemas mismos, nada más que nosotros.

El capitalismo, en su estado agónico, y viendo próxima su muerte, y por lo tanto su desaparición, adoptó como sistema gubernamental el totalitarismo, es decir, todo al Estado y para el Estado. Los capitalistas, unos administradores de su robada riqueza, y los trabajadores, los creadores de estas riquezas, pero sin que pudieran disponer, no de ellas, sino, ni de sus mismos esfuerzos físicos o mentales. Todo su trabajo habría de ser controlado por los totalitarios que aquí, en este caso habrían de ser los que gobiernan y mandasen a los demás, y por lo tanto, viviesen de esa granjería que es el parasitismo estatal.

Al trabajador, lo mismo le da que nos den un botellón en un carril que en otro, y que sea uno u otro el que nos lo propina. Igual da que el que le explote sea un burgués determinado y que este parasito viva del producto de nuestro trabajo, como que el burgués sea un estado totalitario y sean sus burócratas los que vivan de nuestro esfuerzo. Pero, pero que mucho peor, porque en todo Estado hay mucho sangano que vive como la sanguijuela chupando la sangre a los demás.

Por eso somos los trabajadores, nosotros mismos, los que tenemos que dar solución, a nuestros innumerables problemas; sin esperar que charistanes de la política andante y sonante o escribitos de dos al cuarto, quieran meter baza y después pasarnos la cuenta de sus honorarios.

de estas medidas, y nos gusta que lo mandemos, cuando publicaciones sean convenientes para el fin propuesto.

Recientemente, gracias a sus activas gestiones, se pudo evitar que fuera practicada la extradición de destino al terreno. fascista, unos marines que se sublevaron contra el capitán, fascista éste, e intentaba pasarse a un puerto francés con buque y tripulación. No lo pudo lograr, y por esto mandó detener a la tripulación que con esta medida, sería peligro ser entregada a Franco. Afortunadamente, sus gestiones tuvieron como resultado el ponerlos en libertad, si el de evitar que fueran entregados a los traidores que e sangrientan, a España.

Large rate departió con los maradas presentes, haciendo cortar con bondad y satisfacción que ha hecho evidentes progresos en el conocimiento de nuestro idioma, y que, si bien no se aira aún a conversar en él, entiendo lo escrito con bastante facilidad.

Las actividades de nuestra ariana compañera, aún le parecen el grato inicio de una vida que guardaremos, durante tiempo, grato recuerdo, queriendo observar su bondad, sencillez e inteligencia ejemplares.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Conversando con Emma Goldman [Talking with Emma Goldman. In Italian] / Emma Goldman. — p. 1 ; 36 cm. In Il Risveglio Anarchico [Geneva]. — no. 984 (Oct. 23, 1937).

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IL RISVEGLIO ANARCHICO

Chi in tempo di rivoluzione
comanda una posizione
decisiva e l'abbandona,
invece di costringere il
nemico a darne l'assalto,
merita, senza eccezione,
d'esser trattato da traditore.

KARL MARX.

Anno XXXV.

N° 984

REDAZIONE ED AMMINISTRAZIONE

Rue des Savoies, 8, Ginevra (Svizzera)

ABBONAMENTI

Anno Fr. 5.—

Semestre Fr. 2.50

CONTO CHEQUES POSTALI

"Il Risveglio", N° 1.402, Ginevra

Conversando con Emma Goldman

E' già la seconda volta che Emma Goldman, la ben nota propagandista anarchica, viene in Spagna. Accorso subito l'anno scorso, dopo le giornate di luglio, offrendo la sua solidarietà, intelligenza ed esperienza, a vantaggio della causa per cui lotta da cinquant'anni con fede, passione e sacrificio. E' pure la seconda volta che m'incontro con lei per scambiare qualche impressione in breve conversazione. E le ho chiesto:

— Potrei rivederti, Emma, non per una lunga intervista, ma per ben precisare il tuo pensiero nei letteri del *Risveglio anarchico* di Ginevra.

Senza esitare un secondo mi rispose:
— Volentieri. Prepara le tue domande, e possiamo incontrarci domani.

Infatti, all'ora fissata, ci trovammo in una cameretta della Reginaldo che le serve di studio nel suo soggiorno qui o la conversazione incominciò.

— Prima di tutto dimmi come ritrovi la Spagna, o meglio la Catalogna, da equanti mesi che manchi?

— Evidentemente chi non vede che tutto è cambiato? Chi non vede che i compagni della CNT FAI, già dominanti in situazioni od ai posti di maggiore responsabilità, ora hanno tutto perduto, pur avendo forse più di prima la massa fedele ai due organismi? Chi non sa e non vede che i comunisti, per il momento alla direzione della cosa pubblica, non hanno nessun seguito? Il popolo li detesta e finiti i ricatti dovuti alle forniture russe d'armi, ben pagati del resto ma assolutamente necessari, in terra di Spagna le attitudini non attecchiranno mai. Conviene quindi aspettare o tutto lascia sperare che, liquidata la guerra, la ripresa dell'azione diretta, ci riporterà alle posizioni perdute, sempre, ben inteso, se non si rinnovano questi errori.

— Credi tu che la CNT FAI, malgrado gli errori a cui allude, abbia guadagnato terreno in tutta la Spagna?

— Certamente, assolutamente in tutte le provincie, principalmente di Madrid o Valencia, lo nostro idee si affermano o si sviluppano in maniera straordinaria. Ti ho già detto che in quest'ultimo giro che ho fatto con Federica Montseny e Souhey, dovunque abbiamo parlato a folle immense, vibranti di grande entusiasmo, attente soprattutto alle nostre affermazioni più ardite e più anarchiche.

— Credi tu che la CNT FAI, vincitrice incontrastata nelle giornate di luglio, potesse spingere più a fondo la rivoluzione?

— Sono profondamente persuasa, sincerissima, che se la CNT FAI, avendo tutto in mano e alle loro dipendenze, avessero bloccato le banche, adottato ed eliminato guardie d'assetto e guardie civili, messo i castelli alla Generalità in vaco d'entrarci dentro per collaborare, dopo un colpo mortale a tutta la vecchia burocrazia, appazito via gli avversari vicini o lontani, oggi, era sicuro, non avremmo la situazione che ci umilia ed offende, perché la rivoluzione avrebbe avuto per consolidarsi i suoi logici sviluppi. Detto ciò, non intendo affermare che i compagni avrebbero potuto realizzare l'anarchia, ma ci si avviava, ci si avvicinava il più possibile a quel comunismo libertario, di cui si parla qui. Per essere però obiettiva, bisogna che dica, a tutto onore dei compagni spagnoli, che per i primi hanno fatto un esperimento di realizzazioni collettive nei campi e nelle officine, esempio unico nella storia, in tempo di guerra e rivoluzione.

— Non credi che fu grave errore la partecipazione degli anarchici al governo?

— Naturalmente, o come potrei pensarla diversamente dopo mezzo secolo di propaganda fatta contro lo Stato o l'autorità, come potrei approvare e sanzionare la contraddizione e l'incoerenza in merito alle idee che mi sono care? Intendiamoci. I compagni spagnoli hanno creduto non poter agire diversamente nell'interesse della rivoluzione, quindi se critico o non approvo non mi sento di condannarli. Non compreso che da una compromissione con raffinati politicanti, dovevamo risultare inevitabilmente, fatalmente un inganno, soprattutto se innestato sulla politica ambigua, tortuosa o falsa di Francia, Inghilterra o Russia. I risultati non potevano essere che quelli che furono.

— Emma, non ti venivano combattuto il bol-

sevelismo non è solo per la sua diffamazione, bensì e soprattutto per negare ogni compromesso, i compromessi col bolscevichi od altri, spingendo a negare l'anarchismo e ad operare contro l'anarchia. Alla prova, la partecipazione dei nostri al governo ha dato i risultati più disastrosi. Anche non volendo essere assolute nel giudizio, auguro che non si ripetano simili sbagli, e a cui tutto si sacrifica, fede, dignità, indipendenza, per ottenere nulla di nulla dagli improvvisati amici, per essere prima ricompensati con insulti e calunnie e poi, come ora, imprigionati, puniti, fucilati per di più.

— Vedi anche tu che adesso la CNT, malgrado il malumore che soffia tra i suoi affiliati, pratica troppo la consegna della non resistenza a tutte le provocazioni della reazione, o che è giunto il momento di difendersi, per non morire, come dicono i francesi, *à petit feu*?

— Vedo io pure, o seno del tuo parere, che la CNT fa delle concessioni esagerate senza necessità, ma tutti i compagni che ascolto e interrogo sono ossessionati dalla necessità di guadagnare la guerra ed annientare il fascismo, ragione per cui si dicono forzati di piegare, lecero o ambiguo rassegnati all'arbitrio del caro fratello in antifascismo. A mio parere giudicano male la situazione, e capisco, ho un bel rispondere che se è ben vero che bisogna combattere il fascismo fino agli estremi, non posso assolutamente ammettere che si abbia da subire un altro fascismo più pericoloso o nefasto, mascherato da popolare, o che si debba concedere e sempre concedere al punto da far della CNT, la più forte delle frazioni antifasciste, una minoranza, una serva trascurabile. Aggiungo poi che lasciar fare, lasciar prendere ai governi, l'appetito vien loro mangiando ed hanno per caratteristica totalitaria di tagliare e togliere sempre quel che cosa al popolo, per finire col privarlo di tutto la sua conquistata o plombarlo così nella miseria e nella schiavitù. I fatti ce lo dicono tutti i giorni o, come dicono, di concessioni in concessioni si perderà ogni diritto, si perderà il peso, la libertà o la vita, col perdersi anche la guerra e la rivoluzione.

— Non vedi allora che la teoria della non resistenza fa della CNT un organismo che praticamente finirà nel macchinismo riformista conservatore o conformista, che deploriamo sempre o doppiamente, come una palla al piede, una paralisi di ogni movimento?

— Esatto, ma non credo ancora che i nostri abbiano perduto fede nell'azione rivoluzionaria. Anche su questo punto sono nell'arredo, che chiamerò di valutazione, non accorgendoci che col peraltare nelle rinunce e nelle concessioni al nemico, già deplorate, in buone fede o senza volerlo, trascurano il proletariato spagnolo alla disfatta, come hanno fatto e faranno sempre le Cortes andalusi, mancanti di dinamismo rivoluzionario. Ma, compagno, non c'è da diparare; conosco troppo i compagni spagnoli e conosco troppo la storia del loro movimento sindacale, provato a mille e mille battaglie, provato a tutte le bufera della reazione, e, d'altronde, non dimenticare che qui il sindacalismo è metodo d'azione o d'attacco, che non conosce o non conoscerà mai la rinuncia ed il compromesso, perché, in una parola, è anarchico e rivivrà nei suoi uomini e nelle sue lotte come anarchismo, anche se per caso qualche suo esponente dirigente dovesse per deformazione professionale avere vezzosità di condurre la sua truppa a per cattiva via.

Per finire ti dirò che ho visto e parlato nelle trincee e giovani compagni, pieni d'ardente fede, che assicurano di non lasciare l'arma che a rivoluzione compiuta, come ho avvicinato altri nelle retrovie che rubano al riposo ed allo svago il tempo per la loro ininterrotta attività di militanti, che parlano, scrivono ed agiscono, convinti tutti che la battaglia non è perduta ma continua, che l'anarchismo non ha detto l'ultima parola, essendo aspirazione di popolo ed atteggiamento del popolo le forze indistruttibili dell'immane avvento. Partiti da Londra quasi convinti anch'io, ad era opinione generale dei compagni, che la rivoluzione spagnola era perduta, sconfitta o con essa il nostro movimento. Ritornero a Londra o percorrerò tutta l'Inghilterra per

Staliniani diffamatori

La grande stampa francese ha trovato il diversivo per nascondere la difficile situazione interna e i colpi che una politica estera, fatta di paura e di compromesso, valgono alla Francia. Si è lanciata a capofitto contro i terroristi «anarchici». E il popolo sembra abbia abboccato. Gli anarchici, tante volte diffamati e perseguitati, non si stupiscono oltre misura di trovare fra i più accaniti nella diffamazione gli staliniani, paladini dell'unità coi fratelli fascisti, ceffoisti, poliolotti, ecc. L'ottundimento della loro stampa supera tutto quel che si potrebbe pensare ad aspettare. Nel loro rabbioso nazionalismo sono paggiori di Daudet e Maurras dell'*Action française*.

Sull'*Humanité* del 6 corrente si può leggere che a un terrorista italiano è attribuito a Marcella. Sul numero del 7 un gran titolo: «Liberiamo la Francia dagli stranieri».

L'organo di Cachin non può ignorare che gli attentati sono stati commessi dal fascismo internazionale, francese compreso. Non ignora neppure che la polizia ne conosce molto bene gli autori, come non può ignorare che Aldo Fiambarti è un militante anarchico, redatto dallo Irineo della Spagna repubblicana, tornato in Francia a rivedere la sua compagna, dopo più di un anno d'assenza. A parte ora materialmente impossibile fosse sul posto all'ora dell'attentato, l'assunto fatto dal periti ha concluso che la stessa erano a base di «tolito», cioè della stessa materia a composizione della bomba della galleria di Cernèra, non accoppiata e riconosciuta di fabbricazione tedesca, delle bombe messe sul piroscafo spagnolo a Maraglia. Si sa altresì che Fiambarti non fu riconosciuto dal portinale degli stabilimenti, ma soltanto dal chauffeur dell'automobile che a vuole restare anonimo. Si tratta dunque d'un indicatore di polizia.

Per quanto riguarda Vincenzo Mazzone, il detto giornale, nel suo numero del 6, afferma che sarebbe venuto a Maraglia per compiere una missione speciale, affidatagli da un gruppo di terroristi di Parigi. Ora, nemmeno i rapporti polizieschi parlano di ciò. E' noto che Mazzone fu consegnato alla polizia francese da quella del governo borbonico-atlantico di Negri. Entrò in Francia andando a finire nella carceri di Perpignan. Fu messo in libertà il sabato 2 ottobre. La domenica 3 ora già a Maraglia e vi fu arrestato nella serata del 4. Dunque, impossibilità assoluta d'essere stato a Parigi. Ma c'è di più. Nel suo numero del 7 l'*Humanité* dice che «il popolo di Francia esige di finire con tutte queste organizzazioni terroristiche, che non indietreggiano davanti ad alcun sacrificio, come lo prova l'arresto del Mazzone che, nullo dalle prigioni di Perpignan il 2 ottobre povero come Giobbe, si trovava così ricco tre giorni dopo a Maraglia». Bisogna sapere che a Mazzone sono stati trovati 200 franchi francesi (29 svizzeri), datigli da compagni che lavorano, perché potesse proseguire il viaggio per ritrovare la propria famiglia. Da non dimenticare neppure che il compagno Mazzone è un mutilato della guerra antifascista spagnola. Ferito gravemente all'attacco d'Almudavar il 21 novembre dell'anno scorso, non poté più ritornare al fronte.

Ecco i terroristi al servizio dei fascisti denunciati dall'*Humanité* ed ecco i suoi metodi d'informazione.

Con questo si può una volta di più constatare che è necessario di condurre la nostra lotta contro i comunisti staliniani parallela a quella contro il fascismo. Lo esige la verità, la difesa dell'anarchismo ed il trionfo della Rivoluzione.

affermare in scritti a di corsa che la rivoluzione spagnola restata a tutto lo coalizioni del capitalismo internazionale, peruviana più che mai che l'anarchismo è la sola salvezza della classe operaia. E' impossibile ucciderlo, è troppo sentito ad amato, ha radici profonde in tutto o dappertutto, dimostrandosi l'interprete disinteressato a sincero della rigenerazione spagnola, la sola forza di movimento che ostessa a tutto il mondo possa additare al proletariato la strada sicura della sua emancipazione integrale.

Qui Emma Goldman ha finito, o come i lettori vedono le sue conclusioni non hanno bisogno di chiarificazioni.

Barcellona, 6-10-37.

D. L.

Ancora sul Congresso

C'è da augurarsi che i suoi promotori, vista la lunga sequela di persecuzioni che si è abbattuta in questi ultimi tempi sugli anarchici italiani reclusi in Francia, prendano le debite misure per evitare che il congresso sia pretesto o scusa a far cadere nelle grinfie della polizia i pochi compagni che hanno ancora la possibilità di vivere legalmente nel paese dei diritti dell'uomo. Non vi sarebbe da stupirsi se relazioni o comunicati di gruppi già apparati nella nostra stampa, come pure le polemiche fra compagni sul metodo di organizzazione, iniziate da un po' di tempo nella nostra stampa, ci avessero già denunciati alla vigilanza della polizia. Non dimentichiamo che, in questo momento, in Francia ogni anarchico è un terrorista e gli si dà la caccia. Così si arrestano Fiambarti, Mazzone, Pasotti e si lasciano liberi di commettere nuovi attentati gli agenti noti dei governi fascisti.

In ogni modo è un fatto assai grave la situazione tragica in cui si trova il nostro movimento, perseguitato e colpito in Spagna e in tutto il mondo, abbattuto, a vuol lavorare, a farlo in un'illecezza, nella quale non ha ancora imparato a vivere. Di questa necessità sarà utile parlare al congresso, perché è più che mai il momento di adattarvi. E di adattarsi anche ad una forma concreta d'organizzazione, perché i fatti e la realtà in Spagna han dimostrato che, senza di essa, la possibilità di lavoro ed azione diventano nulle.

Alla luce degli ultimi avvenimenti, mi permetto di far notare ai compagni tutti che la nuova specie di revisionismo, trasparante della relazione dei Gruppi libertari d'azione sociale non è fatto sicuramente per chiarificare o rafforzare il nostro movimento.

Un organismo anarchico vive!

E' la Federazione Anarchica Italiana che ha sede, almeno per il momento, a Maraglia.

E' quella forma di organizzazione che gli anarchici italiani, con Fabrice Melatesta, si sono sempre liberamente data in Italia.

In seguito alla reazione fascista, i compagni emigrati in Francia crearono la Federazione comunista anarchica dei profughi italiani. Questa vive e lavora discretamente, fino a quando una disgraziata polemica con compagni d'altra tendenza e le brigue personali la riducono all'impotenza.

I compagni del mezzogiorno di Francia, visto che non dava più segno di vita, si riuniscono a Maraglia, nell'aprile del 1936, e decidono di far rivivere l'organismo col nome di Federazione Anarchica Italiana.

La relazione che la commissione provvisoria di corrispondenza può presentare dice l'enorme lavoro compiuto da alcuni volontari coi pochi mezzi a loro disposizione, e sorprenderà veramente. La loro «linea» politica non può aver offesa nessuna suscettibilità. I loro atti nelle Spagna, i loro comunicati denuncianti a tempo la situazione che andava creandosi laggiù, le decine di migliaia di manifestanti fatti per scuotere il proletariato francese lo provano.

I compagni della Federazione, stimando anch'essi che si ha da far di più, vogliono presentare il loro bilancio a tutti gli anarchici. Non si tratta per loro di farsi approvare, ma semplicemente di sottoporre il genio di lavoro fatto. Se dalla discussione emergono metodi e possibilità maggiori, è tanto di guadagnato per il movimento. Lacereranno gli incarichi ad uomini più capaci di loro, se ve ne sono disposti a prenderli.

Però, niente revisionismo! E' la Federazione, che deve essere rinforzata e deve vivere. E' impossibile vedere in casa una struttura gerarchica. Del resto, il suo funzionamento sta a dimostrare il contrario. Il programma, in stesso che uscì dal congresso di Bologna nel 1920, è abbastanza largo e lascia ai compagni ampia libertà.

Imbracciamo l'arma che è buona e ti bersaglio, come ha scritto il compagno Gossoli, lo conosciamo ed è comune!

T.

N. d. R. Not crediamo all'utilità di congressi, edunate o convegni. Il si chiama come studio, a patto non se ne facciano dell'inutilissime glosso oratorie. Così, per esempio, discutere lungamente sugli insegnamenti della rivoluzione spagnola, ci pare tempo perso. A nostro modo di vedere quel che si avrebbe da esaminare è cosa si può fare per i nostri compagni spagnoli, per la loro rivoluzione e le loro guerre. I più tra i nostri volontari hanno accettato di gettare il menico dietro la scena, o chi non fu e non resta egli stesso tra i combattenti non ha diritto di farli rimprovero a chicchessia. Col numero dei combattenti è diminuito anche l'importo delle sottoscrizioni pro Spagna ed è prevedibile, per ragioni ovvie, che diminuirà ancor più con le veniente cattiva stagione. Quindi l'essenziale è di vincere un certo scoraggiamento, che si è manifestato in mezzo a noi. Fummo i primi all'azione e dobbiamo essere gli ultimi a cedere. Anche se non siamo d'accordo con la CNT e la FAI per l'unione ad ogni costo con uomini e partiti che le odiano più di Franco, non possiamo negare ad essi il nostro aiuto, mentre si dibattono in tragiche difficoltà. E in questo aiuto sta il maggior compito da risolvere.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Nuestra Compañera: Emma Goldman [Our companion Emma Goldman. In Spanish] / Emma Goldman. — p. 2 ; 28 cm. In Tierra y Libertad [Barcelona]. — (Oct. 30, 1937).

Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

b) Atender a los necesitados que en cualquier forma sean luchadores antifascistas o víctimas del fascio, proporcionándoles toda clase de ayuda eco-

Art. 2.º Para realizar los mencionados objetivos, esta Agrupación desarrollará su actividad en el más puro terreno de la solidaridad humana, des-

NUESTRA
COMPAÑERA

**Emma
GOLD
MAN**

PONE DE MANIFIESTO LAS SIMPATIAS DE LOS TRABAJADORES INGLESES POR NUESTRA CAUSA; PERO TAMBIEN SU FALTA DE ENERGIA PARA TRADUCIRLAS EN HECHOS TANGIBLES



Con motivo de su estancia en Lérida, nuestra compañera Emma Goldman ha hecho interesantes manifestaciones al diario confederal de la ex provincia, de las cuales entresacamos las siguientes:

«En relación con la participación de la C. N. T. en las tareas de gobierno y su posterior fracaso, hay que reconocer que se han perdido posiciones de carácter político; pero hemos conquistado, en cambio, las de carácter moral, que, no hay que dudar, han salido sumamente robustecidas de la prueba a que se nos ha sometido. Es tanto más digno de tenerse en cuenta, si se considera que la Confederación Nacional del Trabajo no actuó, hasta ahora, en política y carece, por tanto, de doblez para plegarse a las conveniencias de este carácter.»

Referente a una posible unión entre la U. G. T. y la C. N. T., dice nuestra compañera: «Esta unión debería realizarse por constituir ella un gran paso en el camino de la unidad, si bien juzga que este pacto habrá de realizarse en el terreno estrictamente sindical».

Por lo que respecta a nuestro movimiento en el orden internacional, dice: «Hay que reconocer que los Gobiernos no sienten la solidaridad con el de España. La tolerante complicidad de la No Intervención, es la mejor prueba de ello; temen al triunfo de la República por si ello supone el de la clase trabajadora encuadrada en las dos grandes Centrales sindicales, tan poco semejantes, en su esencia, a las organizaciones reformistas de aquellos países.»

«Los obreros ingleses simpatizan con nuestra causa, pero la actuación de sus «leaders» tradeunionistas, la simpatía en el carácter platónico que hoy la caracteriza, como están influenciadas por los directivos de la Trade Unions, su identificación no se traduce en hechos tangibles para España, porque finalmente todo queda reducido a una incondicional adhesión al Gobierno de su país.»

«Cuando Bilbao y Santander fueron tomados por los invasores de nuestro país —dice Emma—, el proletariado inglés vibró de indignación y fué convocado un mitin monstruo en el que concurrieron más de cien mil trabajadores

armado un carnet en que figurara la fotografía y filiación del interesado, la fecha de ingreso y la hoja de cotización.

Art. 5.º Toda persona que ingrese en la Agrupación, se verá obligada a pagar la cuota de.....a cambio de la cual recibirá un sello que obligatoriamente deberá fijar en el carnet de actividades.

Art. 6.º La Agrupación Local, remitirá a su vez, de acuerdo al número de miembros, una cuota fija equivalente al tanto por ciento de cada cotización que perciba, al Consejo Nacional directamente o por conducto de la Agrupación Regional si existiera. La cuantía de dicha cotización será de conformidad con el acuerdo tomado en el último Congreso de S. I. A.

Art. 7.º Los medios económicos de que dispondrá esta Agrupación para desarrollar su cometido, serán los que se formen con las cotizaciones de sus asociados y los donativos que lleguen de diversas procedencias: subvenciones, entregas particulares, festivales, etc.

Art. 8.º La Agrupación Local viene obligada a publicar mensualmente el estado de cuentas que pondrá a disposición de los afiliados, bien por impresos oficiales o por medio de la Prensa.

TITULO TERCERO DIRECCION Y ADMINISTRACION

Art. 9.º La dirección y administración de la Agrupación será ejercida por un Consejo Local, nombrado en Asamblea General de afiliados.

Art. 10.º El Consejo Local estará formado por un secretario, un tesorero, un contador y cinco vocales.

Art. 11. Las facultades encomendadas a los cargos citados en el artículo anterior, serán las siguientes:

1.º El Secretario será el Responsable del cumplimiento de los acuerdos tomados por las Asambleas y Plenos de (Continúa en la pág. 3.)

NUESTRA

Cuando ban no ado mantenido. apolítica, e: sultado ele triunfaban tas y sus ill

A cons pero, cinco el pueblo t facción alz y el pueblo libertades:

Siendo más dispue convencido con más r todos los l de los dem situación.

Una v do de resp realizacion media Esp. esfuerzo d Bloque An

Fuero: Castilla, A tientes, sa y reconqu.

Poster tarlas en la interve mia. Desp fulmos a miento po

apartó de con la m guerra, si ron siend Si hu

egoistas; zaron, las

Pudo lo ha he contra el bajando meros er

La C trellaron de la Re el despre todas las la C. N. por ench Repr

[illegible][illegible]

Los presos han vuelto a ser un problema para las organizaciones y partidos revolucionarios.
No es nuestro papel de organismo de pura solidaridad estudiar las causas, sino registrar el hecho, de buscarle cuando podamos un remedio, un lenitivo. La nuestra deber ante todo preocuparnos de estos camaradas, que con dolor nuestro en pleno período revolucionario, otra vez en el ámbito odiado de la prisión, y mientras concebimos una acción de justicia rápida procuramos hacerles más llevaderas las horas de angustiosa espera.
A este objeto, "Solidaridad Internacional Antifascista" está organizando rápidamente una Biblioteca del Preso Antifascista, y pide a cuantos compañeros y organizaciones puedan hacernos envío de libros, nos los remitán con urgencia a los siguientes puntos de organización y distribución:
Barcelona, Consejo Regional de S.I.A., calle Nueva de la Rambla 7 y 3; Valencia, calle de la Paz 29; Madrid, Agrupación Local S.I.A., Fernando el Santo 27.

PELLI DAVEN ha sido trasladado al Hospital Marítimo - Infecciosos -
Avenida Icaria, tranv. 36. - Horas de visita los domingos de 10 a 11 de
la mañana y de 4 a 5 de la tarde y los demás días de 4 a 5 solamente.

rablos en la pastación y, de una a dos
hojas. Por estas mismas razones, no
sino porque el procedimiento
Pero, la experiencia demuestra
tratamientos es inviable, más eficaz
un trabajo de las plantas vegetales
cumplir el propósito prepararse. Por este
de caldo bordado. 2 % de sulfato de
mo, aunque una parte de las hojas, que
al cabo, llegas a caer, el mal no es
taje que se obtiene de un tratamiento
tores profesionales, se dan cuenta de
dos, haciendo un tratamiento al caldo,
que las hojas caigan.

Se comprende que esto no impedi-
tratamente durante el invierno, en di-
ta de sulfato de cobre. Aun si nos en-
han sufrido algunas series de los para-
tuación, o por la naturaleza del terro-
tratamiento, a fin de marzo por ejemplo
valdremos, en fin, que en muy re-
sas presentales solubles (arsenito de
invierno, había fines de diciembre.

Estos productos son muy puros y
permiten destruir los huevos y las
larvas en la corteza durante el invierno.
Los tipos de estos productos arsenicales
bastante delicados de preparar en la
compra soluciones ya preparadas.

Para proteger el trigo contra el
ataque, en particular contra la carie,
tos y fórmulas ya citados en números an-
teriores de las semillas con una solución
saliente.

38. Para la cebada y la avena, comercial, a 40% de almidón (férrico) granos en imersiones durante cinco minutos se les debe esmontrar y remover con mediamente se les acorta.

2a Para los trigas, es prudente
cuarto de litro por 100 litros de agua
de tres minutos. El trigo es extendido
inmediatamente después de ser removido
una sanara suficiente.

La insersión de los granos de tróbores a la fórmula, tiene el inconveniente de que los granos de una cierta cantidad se aglomeran rápidamente en gran masa. Los granos "vitrificados", a la inserción de los átomos de las células en edad con polímeros, obtienen muy buenos resultados.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[A letter from Emma Goldman: "Madrid is the wonder of centuries"... In Spanish]
 Una lletra d'Emma Goldman: "Madrid es el miracle dels segles..." / Emma Goldman. —
 p. 3 ; 33 cm. In Catalunya. — (Nov. 2, 1937).

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da pel sufragi universal de tots
 els ciutadans de tots dos sexes. El
 poble es reser: arà la iniciativa del
 referendium d'ambdós.

3. — Abolició del Senat. Abolició
 de la policia política. Magistratura
 escollida independent del Poder
 Executiu.

ducció sobre una base cooperativa
 i participació directa dels treballa-
 dors en els guanys.

13. — Abolició de la diplomàcia
 secreta.

14. — Una política internacional
 basada sobre la solidaritat dels po-
 bles i sobre la seva independència,
 en el si d'una Federació d'Estats.»

l'advertim q
 rò les ràtzies
 Centenars d
 boradors i a
 estat detingu
 pugui passar
 nit hi haurà
 tacions false
 potser morts.

Una lletra d'Emma Goldman

**«MADRID ES EL MIRACLE DELS SEGLES.
 TOT EL MON HAURIA DE VENID PER
 ADONAR-SE DEL QUE PASSA A LA CA-
 PITAL DE L'ESPANYA LLEIAL»**

«Estic tan lliurada als successos
 de Madrid, que no puc fixar el meu
 estimat Madrid és el miracle dels
 segles. Representa l'època més
 esperit en cap altra cosa. El meu
 gran en valor, en resistència, de
 totes les que n'hàgim pogut llegir
 el relat en les llegendes. Ningú no
 ha pogut esperar trobar-se davant
 una tal grandesa. Més que mai
 l'esperit del poble és meravellós.
 Els nostres camarades creen, cons-
 trueixen i es eren enmig de les
 runes i de la mort. Això oprimeix
 el cor. T'ho dic; tot el món hauria
 de poder venir aquí a adonar-se

del que passa a Madrid. No jutja-
 ria tan fàcilment i no condemna-
 ria amb tanta desimboltura alguns
 petits errors. Altrament, no hi ha
 cap grandesa sense errors. La pos-
 teritat jutja, no pels errors come-
 sos, sinó pels francs actes. Crec
 fermament que els esforços dels
 nostres camarades seran jutjats en
 el seu exacte valor. Perquè, ¿no és
 meravellós veure un poble crear i
 anar endavant en el seu treball
 gegantí i construir sota el ferro i
 el foc? I això és exactament el que
 els nostres camarades fan.»

EL SUB

«Si Mos
 hom no
 seus va

LA

Londres, 2.
 ciar que la re
 de no interve
 tenir lloc a la
 ha estat ajorn
 tre de la tard
 que l'ajornam
 per objecte de
 delegació sovi
 tunces instrucc
 Cosmos.

VOLEN

LA U

Londres, 2. —

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

[Madrid, wonder of centuries. In Spanish] Madrid, milagro de los siglos / Emma Goldman. — p. 8 ; 28 cm. In Solidaridad Obrera [Barcelona]. — no. 1724 (Nov. 5, 1937).
Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

Nov. 5 37 p. 8

SOLIDARIDAD OBRERA



PORTAVOZ DE LA CONFEDERACIÓN NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO DE ESPAÑA

SUSCRIPCION
Barcelona, en mes 1.40
Oviedo, en mes 1.40
América y Filipinas, trimestre 3.60
Los demás países, trimestre 3.60
NUMERO SUBLTO: 15 CENTIMOS

Año VIII - Época IV - Número 1724

se debe al fascismo, pone enientes para consolidar s militares con Inglaterra

DE MI SILENCIO

Por Gonzalo de Reparaz

ra comisión destinada a
archar a Portugal.
Y advertimos que al régimen
"No intervención" sigue el
las comisiones interventoras.
Se acabó un acto de la
rsa y comienza otro. Ahora,
menos, el nombre a la cosa
corre, el telón y la interven-
ción comienza.

II

Día 28. —Ya se sabe que las
Comisiones vendrán a ave-
nir cuántos voluntarios ex-
tranjeros hay en España y a

en para todo,
sobre ellas»

DE LA RETA- CCIOSA

ias, contra el
esto

un centenar de personas,
en pequeñas embarcacio-
nos llegan noticias de
o rascoso. Son hombres
ar la incógnita de viajes
a vivir bajo la férula de
afel nunca se doblegará.
Algeciras, hay un detalle
ucos de los evadidos han
La Línea, ochenta guar-
trata de trabajadores, un
su pasado y su ideología

determinar la manera de ex-
traerlos. Para este viaje no ne-
cesitan alforjas. Si no fuesen
tan ignorantes, se la ahorra-
rían.

En España no hay más vo-
luntarios que los que pelean
por España. Han venido indi-
vidualmente, por propia vo-
luntad, venida lícita. Nadie
tiene derecho a sacarlos sino
quien los mandó; es decir,
ellos mismos. Los Gobiernos
extranjeros no están legalmen-
te capacitados para intervenir
en este asunto.

Los soldados del otro campo
constituyen un ejército inva-
sor enviado por sus Gobiernos
respectivos con objeto de con-
quistar a España, en plena
paz. Contra esta vulneración
del derecho de gentes, atropo-
llo sin precedentes, las poten-
cias del Comité de no inter-
vención tenían la obligación
de intervenir. Pero no inter-
vienen sino para encubrir, as-
gurar y facilitar la invasión.

La Comisión militar inglesa
a Portugal nos la explican los
periódicos portugueses con la
mentira de que es una confli-
mación del tratado de alian-
za hecho con Inglaterra por
Don Juan a fines del siglo XIV.
Ríete, lector, de la explica-
ción. Su existencia es una pa-
traña lusitana. No ha impe-
dido a Inglaterra aliviar a su
allado del peso de diversos

(Pasa a la pág. 4)

MADRID, MILAGRO DE LOS SIGLOS



"Estoy tan engregada
a los sucesos de Madrid,
que no puedo fijar mi es-
píritu en otra cosa. Mi
querido Madrid es el mi-
lagro de los siglos. Re-
presenta la época más
grande en valor; en re-
sistencia, de todas cuan-
tas hayamos podido leer
el relato en las leyendas.
Nadie ha podido esperar
encontrarse frente a una
tal grandeza. Más que
nunca el espíritu del
pueblo es maravilloso.
Nuestros camaradas
crean, construyen y es-
peran, en medio de las
ruinas y de la muerte.
Esto oprime el corazón.
Te lo digo; todo el mun-
do debería poder venir
aquí a darse cuenta de lo
que pasa en Madrid. No
juzgaría tan fácilmente y
no condenaría con tanta
desenvoltura algunos pe-
queños errores. Por lo
demás, no hay grandeza

alguna sin errores. La posteridad juzga, no por los errores
cometidos, sino por los grandes actos. Creo firmemente que
los esfuerzos de nuestros camaradas serán juzgados en su
exacto valor. Porque, ¿no es milagroso ver un pueblo crear e
ir hacia delante, en su trabajo gigantesco y construir, bajo
el hierro y en el fuego? Y esto es exactamente lo que nuestros
camaradas hacen."

(Fragmento de una carta de Emma Goldman.)

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Emma Goldman in Madrid. In Spanish] Emma Goldman en Madrid / Emma Goldman. — p. 1 ; 28 cm. In Cultura Proletaria [New York]. — (Nov. 6, 1937).
Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

total de la causa antifascista, que es la causa de la libertad y de la paz en el mundo entero.

Emma Goldman en Madrid

Las debilidades y errores de nuestros compañeros de España —dice— no significan nada al lado de su fuerza y del desinterés con que se entregan a la causa que defienden.

Abundan tanto aquí los acontecimientos que uno no puede escribir con relación a éstos mientras está en medio de ellos. Os debéis de acordar de "Los Cuarenta Días de Musa Da," de Werfel, del heroísmo de aquel pueblo y de su líder. Bien, pues aquello es insignificante comparado con la lucha sobre-humana del pueblo de esta ciudad.

De hecho, Madrid representa la grandeza y la resistencia épica del siglo. No es sólo el espíritu ardiente del pueblo en lucha por su justa causa, sino más bien el genio de los nuestros, que siguen construyendo, creando y laborando bajo tantos obstáculos y dificultades.

Todo el que pueda debe venir aquí para ver con sus propios ojos el trabajo verdaderamente extraordinario que se ha realizado y el que se intenta hacer. Se convencerán de que, ante tanta grandeza, los errores y hasta algunas debilidades aparecen realmente insignificantes. Confieso que ante tal humana prueba, ante tal determinación y desinterés, mi corazón no encierra el menor espíritu de crítica. Más que el año pasado desearía quedarme aquí para participar de las esperanzas y de la inspiración de los nuestros y dar todo cuanto pueda en esta lucha heroica que sostienen. Pero tendré que salir de aquí porque creo que puedo servir mejor a nuestros compañeros en el extranjero, aunque no sea más que para corregir las opiniones equivocadas que acerca de España mantienen nuestros camaradas del exterior.

Mañana saldré de Madrid para Valencia. De allí, para Barcelona. Quiero volver a visitar los lugares que vi el año pasado, para ver lo que se ha ganado o perdido durante este tiempo. Todavía no sé cuándo abandonaré este país maravilloso y su pueblo más maravilloso aún. Quizá no salga hasta mediados del mes próximo...

Mi mente y mi corazón rebosan de impresiones emocionantes de la ciudad heroica y su pueblo que por tanto tiempo se bate contra las criminales fuerzas combinadas de todas las Potencias Unidas contra ellos.

A mi regreso a Inglaterra pienso escribir sobre cuanto he visto. Temo que mi pluma es incapaz de describir ni una pequeña parte de esta lucha épica y grandiosa para ganar la guerra y librar a Madrid y a España de los horrores del Fascismo. Pero, logre o no hacer justicia al pueblo español, y especialmente a nuestros valientes compañeros, nunca podré condenar cualquiera debilidad o falta les encuentre. Sus debilidades nada significan al lado de su fuerza, de su fe ardiente y del desinterés con que se entregan íntegros a la causa que defienden.

Madrid, 23 de Septiembre de 1937.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

Cultura Prolet
6 Nov 1937

P1

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Conversando con Emma Goldman [Talking with Emma Goldman. In Italian] / Emma Goldman. — p. 8 ; 40 cm. In L'Adunata Dei Refrattari [New York]. — Vol. 16, no. 45 (Nov. 13, 1937).

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CONVERSANDO CON EMMA GOLDMAN.

E' già la seconda volta che Emma Goldman, la ben nota propagandista anarchica, viene in Spagna. Accorse subito l'anno scorso, dopo le giornate di luglio, offrendo la sua solidarietà, intelligenza ed esperienza, a vantaggio della causa per cui lotta da cinquant'anni con fede, passione e sacrifici...

... All'ora fissata, ci troviamo in una cameretta della Regionale che le serve di studio nel suo soggiorno qui e la conversazione incomincia.

— Prima di tutto dimmi come ritrovi la Spagna, e specio la Catalogna, da alquanti mesi che manchi?

— Edivamente chi non vede che tutto è cambiato? chi non vede che i compagni della C. N. T. - F. A. I., già dominanti la situazione ed ai posti di maggiore responsabilità, ora hanno tutto perduto, pur avendo forse più di prima la massa fedele ai due organismi? Chi non sa e non vede che i comunisti, per il momento alla direzione della cosa pubblica, non hanno nessun seguito? Il popolo li detesta e fialti i ricatti dovuti alle forniture russo d'armi, ben pagate del resto ma assolutamente necessarie, in terra di Spagna lo stalinismo non attaccherà mai. Convien quindi aspettare e tutto lascia sperare che, liquidata la guerra, la ripresa dell'azione diretta, ci riporterà alle posizioni perdute, sempre, ben inteso, se non si rinnoveranno funesti orrori.

— Credi lo stesso che la C. N. T. - F. A. I., malgrado gli errori a cui alludi, abbia guadagnato terreno in tutta la Spagna?

— Certamente, assolutamente in tutte le provincie, principalmente di Madrid e Valenza, le nostre idee si affermano e si sviluppano in maniera straordinaria. Ti basti sapere che in quest'ultimo giro che ho fatto con Federica Montseny e Souhy, dovunque abbiamo parlato a folle immense, vibranti di grande entusiasmo, attento soprattutto alle nostre affermazioni più arditamente anarchiche.

— Credi tu che la C. N. T. - F. A. I., vincitrice incontestata nelle giornate di luglio, potesse spingere più a fondo la rivoluzione?

— Sono profondamente persuasa, sicurissima, che se la C. N. T. - F. A. I., avendo tutto in mano e alle loro dipendenze, avessero bloccate le banche, sciolte ed eliminato guardie d'assalto e guardie civili, messo i catenacci alla Generalità invece di entrarci dentro per collaborare, dato un colpo mortale a tutta la vecchia burocrazia, spazzato via gli avversari vicini e lontani, oggi, sta sicuro, non subiremmo la situazione che ci unifica e ci ferisce, perchè la rivoluzione avrebbe avuto per consolidarsi i suoi logici sviluppi. Detto ciò, non intendo affermare che i compagni avrebbero potuto realizzare l'anarchia, ma ci si avviava, ci si avvicinava il più possibile a quel comunismo libertario, di cui si parla qui. Per essere però obiettiva, bisogna che dica, a tutto onore dei compagni spagnoli, che per i primi hanno fatto un esperimento di realizzazioni collettiviste nei campi e nelle officine, esempio unico nella storia, in tempo di guerra o rivoluzione.

— Non credi che fu grave errore la partecipazione degli anarchici al governo?

— Naturalmente, e come potrei pensarla diversamente dopo mezzo secolo di propaganda fatta contro lo Stato e l'autorità, come potrei approvare e sanzionare la contraddizione e l'incoerenza in merito alle idee che mi son care? Intendiamoci. I compagni spagnoli han creduto non poter agire diversamente nell'interesse della rivoluzione, quindi se critico e non approvo, non mi sento di condannarli. Non compresi che da una compromissione con raffinati politicanti, dovova risultarne inevitabile, fatale un inganno, soprattutto se innestata sulla politica ambigua, tortuosa o falsa di Francia, Inghilterra o Russia. I risultati non potevano essere che quelli che furono e sono. E se io da vent'anni combatto il bolscevismo non è solo per la sua dittatura, bensì e soprattutto per negare ogni compromesso, i compromessi coi bolscevichi od altri, spingendo a negare l'anarchismo o ad opprime contro l'anarchia. Alla prova, la partecipazione dei nostri al governo ha dato i risultati più disastrosi. Anche non volendo essere assoluta nel giudizio, auguro che non si ripeteranno simili sbagli, a cui tutto si sacrifica, fede, dirittura, indipendenza, per ottenere nulla di nulla dagli improvvisati amici, per essere prima ricompensati con insulti e calunnie e poi, come ora, imprigionati, puniti, fucilati per di più.

— Vedi anche tu che adesso la C. N. T., malgrado la sua partecipazione alla guerra, pratica troppo la consegna della non resistenza a tutte le provocazioni della reazione, e ch'è giunto il momento di difendersi, per non morire, come dicono i francesi, à petit feu?

— Vedo lo puro, o sono del tuo parere, che la C. N. T. fa delle concessioni esagerate senza ne-

cessità, ma tutti i compagni che accosto è interrogato sono ossessionati dalla necessità di guadagnare la guerra ed annientare il fascismo, ragione per cui si dicono forzati di piegare, tacere e subire rassegnati l'arbitrio del caro fratello in antifascismo! A mio parere giudicano male la situazione, e capirai, ho un bel rispondere che se è ben vero che bisogna combattere il fascismo fino agli estremi, non posso assolutamente ammettere che si abbia da subire un altro fascismo più pericoloso e nefasto, mascherato da popolare, e che si debba concedere e sempre concedere al punto da fare della C. N. T., la più forte delle frazioni antifasciste, una minorenne, una serva trascurabile. Aggiungipoi che lasciar fare, lasciar prendere ai governi, l'appetito vien loro mangiando ed hanno per caratteristica totalitaria di tagliare e togliere sempre qualche cosa al popolo, per finire col privarlo di tutte le sue conquiste e ripiombarlo così nella miseria e nella schiavitù, i fatti ce lo dicono tutti i giorni e, come dicevo, di concessioni in concessioni si perderà ogni diritto, si perderà il pane, la libertà e la vita, col perdere anche la guerra e la rivoluzione.

— Non vedi allora che la teoria della non resistenza fa della C. N. T. un organismo che praticamente finirà nel meschino riformismo conservatore o conformista, che deplora sempre e deploriamo, come una palla al piede, una paralisi di ogni movimento?

— Esatto, ma non credo ancora che i nostri abbiano perduto fede nell'azione rivoluzionaria. Anche su questo punto sono nell'errore, che chiamerò di valutazione, non accorgendosi che col persistere nelle rinunce e nelle concessioni al nemico, già deperate, in buona fede e senza volerlo, trascinano il proletariato spagnolo alla disfatta, come hanno fatto o faranno sempre le Centrali sindacali, mancanti di dinamismo rivoluzionario. Ma, compagno, non c'è da disperare; conosco troppo i compagni spagnoli e conosco troppo la storia del loro movimento sindacale, provato a mille e mille battaglie, provato a tutte le bufere della reazione, e, d'altronde, non dimenticare che qui il sindacalismo è metodo d'azione e d'attacco, che non conosce o non conoscerà mai la rinuncia ed il compromesso, perchè, in una parola, è anarchico e rivivrà nei suoi uomini e nelle sue lotte come anarchismo, anche se per caso qualche suo cosiddetto dirigente dovesse per deformazione professionale avere velleità di condurre le sue "truppe" per cattiva via.

Per finire ti dirò che ho visto o parlato nelle trincee a giovani compagni, pieni d'ardente fede, che assicurano di non lasciare l'arma che a rivoluzione compiuta, come ho avvicinato altri nelle retrovie che rubano al riposo ed allo svago il tempo per la loro ininterrotta attività di militanti, che parlano, scrivono ed agiscono, convinti tutti che la battaglia non è perduta ma continua, che l'anarchismo non ha detto l'ultima parola, essendo aspirazione di popolo ed attingendo dal popolo le forze indistruttibili dell'umanancabile avvenire. Partiti da Londra quasi convinti anch'io, ed era opinione generale dei compagni, che la rivoluzione spagnola ora perduta, sconfitta o con essa il nostro movimento. Ritornerei a Londra e percorrerei tutta l'Inghilterra per affermare in scritti e discorsi che la rivoluzione spagnola resiste a tutte le coalizioni del capitalismo internazionale, persuasa più che mai che l'anarchismo è la sola salvezza della classe operaia. E' impossibile ucciderlo, è troppo sentito ed amato, ha radici profonde in tutto e dappertutto, dimostrandosi l'interprete disinteressato e sincero della rigenerazione spagnola, la sola forza di movimento che estesa a tutto il mondo possa additare al proletariato la strada sicura della sua emancipazione integrale.

Qui Emma Goldman ha finito, e come i lettori vedono le sue conclusioni non hanno bisogno di chiarificazioni.

Barcellona, 6-10-37.

D. L.

(Dal Risveglio, 23-X-37)

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Notes of Emma Goldman. In Spanish] Unas Cuartillas de Edmma Goldman / Emma Goldman. — p. 3 ; 30 cm. In Nosotros [Valencia]. — no. 205 (Nov. 20, 1937).

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Valencia

Página 3

Unas cuartillas de Edmma Goldman



El primer conocimiento de este gran luchador anarquista y del movimiento revolucionario en España, fue por lo que acerca de él había leído. Cuando llegué a Barcelona, oí muchas anécdotas referentes a Durruti y a su columna. Estas hicieron que yo sintiera gran ansiedad por ir al frente de Aragón, donde él era espíritu dirigente de las valientes Milicias que luchaban contra el fascismo.

Llegué al Estado Mayor de Durruti al anochecer, completamente agotada del largo viaje, en coche, por un camino accidentado. Unos pocos minutos con Durruti fueron como un gran bálsamo para mí, refrescantes y de vigor. Hombre fornido, como cincuenta años en piedra a gol-

pe, de oración, Durruti representaba fácilmente la más dominante figura entre los anarquistas que yo había encontrado desde que llegué a España. Su enorme energía me impresionó, como parecía producir el mismo efecto sobre todo aquel que estaba cerca de Durruti.

Encontré a Durruti en una verdadera actividad de colmena. Hombres iban y venían, el teléfono estaba continuamente llamando a Durruti, y al mismo tiempo no cesaba un estruendoso martilleo de los obreros que estaban construyendo un cobertizo de madera para el Estado Mayor de Durruti. A través de esta continua y bulliciosa actividad, Durruti permanecía sereno y paciente. Me recibió como si toda su vida me hubiese conocido. La cordial y cálida acogida de este hombre empeñado en una lucha a vida o muerte contra el fascismo, era algo para mí inesperado.

Mucho había oído respecto a la fuerte personalidad y prestigio de Durruti en la columna que llevaba su nombre. Tenía curiosidad por saber qué hombre era que no habían sido los militares, había llegado a concentrar a 10.000 voluntarios, sin previa experiencia ni entrenamiento. Durruti pareció sorprenderse de que yo, veterana militante anarquista, hiciera tal pregunta.

He sido toda mi vida un anarquista, me contestó, y espero continuar siéndolo. Es por esto que consideraría muy desagradable, si tuviese que convertirme en un general y mandar a mis hombres bajo la estúpida disciplina del criterio militar. Han venido a mí por su voluntad, dispuestos a jugar la vida en nuestra lucha antifascista. Creo, como siempre lo he hecho, en la Libertad. La Libertad que descansa en el sentido de la responsabilidad. Considero indispensable la disciplina; pero debe ser autodisciplina, motivada por un ideal común y un fuerte sentimiento de camaradería.

Llegué la víspera de un ataque que Durruti había preparado para la mañana siguiente. A la hora señalada, Durruti, como el jefe de sus Milicias, con el máuser colgado del hombro, abrió la marcha. Juntamente con ellos hizo retroceder cuatro kilómetros al enemigo. También consiguió coger un número considerable de armamento, que el enemigo dejó abandonado en su huida.

El ejemplo de simple igualdad moral era, sin duda alguna, la única explicación de la influencia de Durruti. Había otra: su gran capacidad para hacer comprender a los milicianos el profundo significado de la guerra antifascista. El significado que había dominado su propia vida y que él había enseñado a articular a los más pobres y más incultos.

Durruti me habló de los difíciles problemas que le planteaban sus hombres al solicitar de él permiso para ausentarse en los momentos que más necesarios eran en el frente. Es evidente que conocían a su dirigente; conocían su decisión, su férrea voluntad. Pero también hablaban la simpatía y gentileza que encerraba su austero exterior. ¿Cómo resistirse cuando los hombres le hablaban de enfermedades en sus casas, padres, esposas e hijos?

Durruti fue perseguido como una fiera salvaje en todos los países, antes de los gloriosos días de julio de 1936. Era continuamente encarcelado como un criminal, incluso condenado a muerte. El odio anarquista, odiado por la sinistra trinidad: la Burguesía, el Estado y la Iglesia. Este varón de hierro, era incapaz de albergar los sentimientos que le achacaba el odioso capitalismo, dando pruebas de lo poco que conocían a Durruti. ¿Cuán poco comprendían su corazón, siempre rebosante de amor! Jamás supo estar indiferente a las necesidades de sus compañeros. Ahora estaba ocupado en una lucha desesperada contra el fascismo en defensa de la Revolución y era preciso que cada uno ocupara su puesto. Verdaderamente, una difícil ocupación, a mi entender. Oía potentemente las historias de dolor, diagnosticaba sus causas, aconsejaba los remedios en todos los casos en que un mal moral físico se adueñaba del desvalído. Excepción de trabajo, nutrición insuficiente, falta de aire puro y la no alegría de vivir.

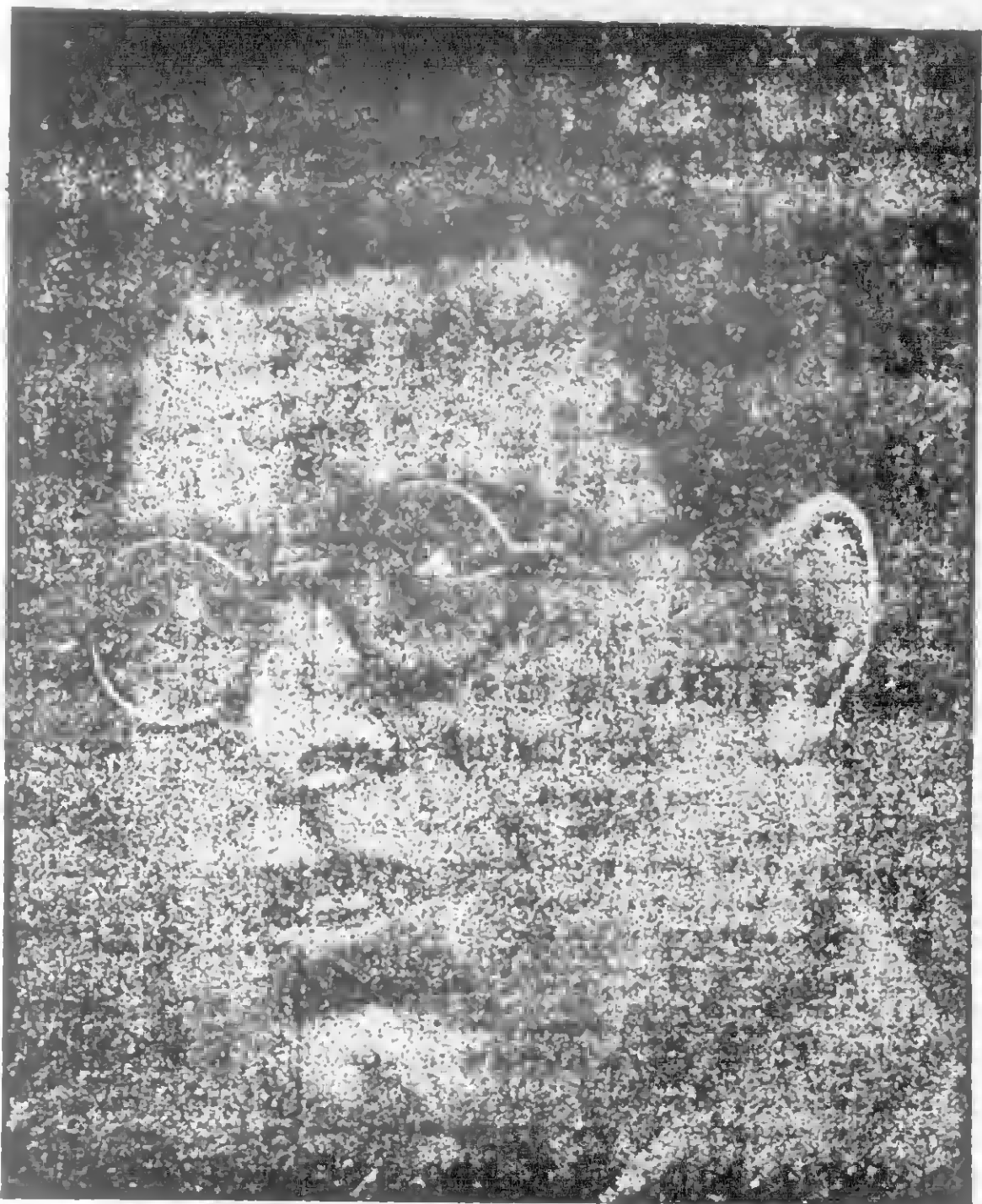
¿No ves camarada, que la guerra que tú, yo y todos nosotros estamos sosteniendo, es para salvaguardar la Revolución, y que la Revolución es para que terminen las miserias y sufrimientos de los hombres? Debemos derrotar a nuestro enemigo fascista. Debemos ganar la guerra. Tú eres una parte esencial de ella. ¿No lo ves, camarada? Los camaradas de Durruti al que lo veían. Generalmente, se quedaban.

Algunas veces un camarada se resistía a atender estas razones, invitado a dejar el frente. "Muy bien —le decía Durruti—; pero irás a pie, y cuando llegues a tu pueblo, todo el mundo sabrá que te has faltado el valor, que has desertado del cumplimiento del deber que te impone." Estas palabras producían magníficos resultados. El hombre rogaba para quedarse. Ninguna seriedad militar, ninguna coacción, ningún castigo disciplinario para sostener la columna de Durruti en el frente. Solamente la gran energía del hombre los atraía y les hace sentir y pensar al unísono con él.

Un gran hombre, este anarquista Durruti. Un predestinado para dirigir y enseñar. Un atento y cariñoso camarada; todo en uno. Y ahora Durruti está muerto. Su corazón ya no late. Su cuerpo poderoso cayó como un árbol gigante. Y así y todo, Durruti no ha muerto. Los centenares de miles que el domingo 23 de noviembre de 1936 pagaron su último tributo a Durruti lo testifican.

No, Durruti no está muerto. El fuego de su ardiente espíritu iluminó a todos los que le conocieron y le amaron. Jamás se extinguirá. Ya las masas levantaron la antorcha que cayó de la mano de Durruti. Triunfalmente la están llevando sobre el sendero que Durruti alumbró por muchos años. El sendero que conduce a la cumbre del ideal de Durruti. Este ideal era el Anarquismo —la gran pasión de la vida de Durruti—, al cual sirvió en su totalidad. Permaneció así hasta su último aliento. ¡No! Durruti no ha muerto!

Revista



BUENAVENTURA DURRUTI murió por la consecución del triunfo de la Revolución social, en el frente de la Libertad

"El Mercantil" y "El Pueblo" no quieren ser amigos de los trabajadores

Todos los periódicos de la mañana, a excepción de "El Mercantil Valenciano" y "El Pueblo", publican sendos artículos con motivo del aniversario de la muerte de Durruti.

Hasta los que por su ideología siempre vivieron apartados de la finalidad que en vida persiguió nuestro llorado compañero, no han podido sustraerse, si no lo hacen faltando a los más elementales deberes de lealtad y de unidad antifascista, al acto de justicia de dedicar unas líneas en memoria del hombre que todo lo dio en defensa de la Causa que a todos nos es común. Todos los periódicos, menos dos, que desde ahora quedan unidos en nuestro haber de los que no quisieron ser amigos de los trabajadores. ¡Allá ellos con la responsabilidad de su extraña conducta! Ya era hora que todos nos mostrásemos con la faz que tenemos y no con la que queríamos pasar. Desde hoy los que no quisieron dedicar unas líneas a quien en un impulso generoso y haciéndose cargo de su responsabilidad, marchó a Madrid, y dio su vida en defensa de aquella ciudad, no pueden seguir llamándose amigos de los trabajadores.

Quedan "El Mercantil" y "El Pueblo" en la soledad a que con su mesquinidad y mala fe les ha llevado.

Para los otros, que honrando a Durruti se honran, nuestro agradecimiento. Nada más.

FRAGUA SOCIAL

Por ser un hombre

El noviembre que murió el héroe —"Ayer" para la Historia, "Hoy" para nosotros— era de plomo en el ambiente, de plomo en la mente de los hombres que vivían para la Libertad y de plomo en el corazón del gran compañero anarquista. ¡Durruti ha muerto! Y en el amanecer de la Revolución, la sangre del gran caldo oscureció momentáneamente el horizonte de los que vibraban al conjuro de humanidad liberada del encadenamiento capitalista.

Fue un momento; las bordas avanzaban, amenazaban tomar la capital del antifascismo, pero Durruti, con el cuajaron de sangre que una bala de la traición tiñó su cuerpo, dio el ejemplo, había que morir defendiendo Madrid, que era como defender las conquistas heroicamente logradas por los trabajadores.

Madrid no cayó y el fascismo derrochó víctimas inocentes en los alrededores de la ciudad madre. Otra vez los horizontes de la Libertad cantaron alegres la visión de sus caminos de lucha cara a la Vida.

Durruti, con los compañeros de la C. N. T. y de la F. A. I., fue digno de victoria en tierras de Aragón. En aquellos campos anchos como el vientre de una recién parida, la obra de la C. N. T. y la F. A. I. se exalta con la realidad de lo fructífero.

El frente del Este —el más potente de nuestros escenarios de guerra— ha sido preparado, heroicamente dirigido por Durruti y los hombres de Durruti. Allí en Bujaraloz, en aquel pueblo en que el héroe instaló su cuartel general, el recuerdo queda envuelto en el halo de la emoción. Cuando los campesinos de Aragón penetran en aquella estancia, silenciosamente se descubren; nadie les impide, con ellos, los hermanos del gran Durruti, del hombre que por ser demasiado hombre no quiso volar como los ídolos.

CAMILO CAMPOS

La Prensa ante el aniversario de la muerte de Durruti

"Castilla Libre" publica un número extraordinario dedicado al gran luchador Buenaventura Durruti con motivo de cumplirse el aniversario de su muerte en el frente de la Universitaria. Dice el periódico que el único homenaje es seguir su trayectoria. Imitar su vida es prometerse a nosotros mismos, prometer al mundo entero que, pase lo que pase, ocurra lo que ocurra, el triunfo será nuestro.

Durruti estará entonces, solamente entonces, completamente vengado y habremos empezado a vibrar esa sociedad humana de mañana con la que él soñó durante toda la vida a la que él consagró toda su existencia.

"El Socialista" titula su fondo "El ejemplo de los que murieron" y escribe:

"Que los muertos nos den enseñanza. Durruti es uno de ellos y con él los muertos innumerables —¿qué importa el patronazgo ni la filiación?— que la guerra dio co- mienzo. Todos murieron por el mismo y de igual manera. Que aprendamos en la retaguardia que- nes no trabajan, ni combaten, ni mueren, ni nos dejan vivir."

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The Emma Goldman Papers

851025074

[Interview] Emma Goldman Speaks of the Spanish Workers Struggle / Emma Goldman. — p. 3 ; 30 cm. In Spain and the World [London]. — Vol. 1, no. 24 (Nov. 24, 1937).

Obtained from the private collection of Stuart Christie, Refract Publications, London, England.

SPAIN AND THE WORLD, 24th NOVEMBER, 1937

3

Where Is The Spanish Proletariat Bound?

"In truth it will be most dangerous politics for us to try to close our eyes to the deplorable dissensions between republicans, socialists, communists, and libertarians which, according to all witnesses, are exercising a demoralising influence not only on the life of the civil population, but also on that of the army." Vandervelde, in the "Dépêche de Toulouse" October 4th, 1937, says, we have seen these "deplorable dissensions" begin and develop in the course of three successive sojourns in Spain since July 1936. Comrades everywhere have the tendency to dismiss these events as irritations and quarrels arising out of conflicts between personalities or organisations. That is unfortunately not true. The fall of the Caballero government, the ousting of the syndicalist organisations from power and the attacks directed against the P.O.U.M. and the C.N.T.-F.A.I., the return of M. Portela Valladores are all signs of a grave social war in the heart of the republic.

By what extraordinary course of events has Largo Caballero, the old warrior, general secretary of the U.G.T., leader of the left wing of the Socialist party, become a suspect who is forbidden to speak in public and whom they even tried to expel forcibly, with the aid of assault guards, from the chairmanship of the U.G.T.? Raised to the head of the government in the beginning of September 1936, by an irresistible pressure from the working class at a time when the republican parties were in total disorder, and at the moment when the workers waited for no decree, to socialise the means of production and exchange. At that moment Caballero represented the twofold will of the Spanish people, to crush the fascist rebellion and to raise a federalist socialist Spain.

Caballero, anxious to keep his government on the lines on which it had begun, was not long before he came into conflict with the Communist party. The Spanish Communist Party had redoubled its efforts against the bourgeois party and had made every use of the material support received from the U.S.S.R., to make their concepts

also to note the disastrous international consequences of the political technique of the C.P. in Spain. Certain people have believed that to do away with the responsibilities and powers of the syndicalist organisations and of the socialist left wing, using as excuse the crisis in May, would stimulate the sympathy of the republican democracies of Europe and America toward the republican course. The contrary situation has been produced. The international situation has never been less favorable to us." The document concludes "victory belongs to all the anti-fascist forces or it belongs to none. To contribute to the separation or weakening of one part of those forces (the C.N.T. and the P.O.U.M.) is to collaborate, whether consciously or not with the enemy."

Vandervelde declared, on the subject of this resolution, that it does not seem possible to doubt that this manifesto expressed the feelings strongly and widely held, not only in anarchist but also in socialist Syndicalist organisations. At the same time as the campaign against Caballero is being pursued the prisons are filled with militant revolutionaries. Priests are re-appearing in the churches, according to Clara Candianni in the "Dépêche de Toulouse" 25/10/37. Portela Valladores, who in October, 1936, wrote a letter of homage to Franco and whose fortune was confiscated by the Catalan Government, is received now with honour by the Valencia Government, and by a decree of the new Catalan Government, has had his possessions restored to him.

An observer, who has no sympathy for the proletarian cause, M. Chaves Nogales, a friend of Alcalá Zamora, former director of the newspaper "Ahorá," was able to write in the "Dépêche de Toulouse" of October 1st, 1937, the following lines which epitomise the tragic contradiction in the midst of which our Spanish brothers are fighting: "The Negrin Government which replaced that of Largo Caballero has definitely renounced all revolutionary aspirations. It is fighting to defend the democratic parliamentary bourgeois republic—supported weakly by the democracies of the whole world and

Interview

Emma Goldman Speaks OF THE Spanish Workers Struggle

Our comrade Emma Goldman is once more with us. After an absence of some three months during which time she has travelled all over Anti-fascist Spain, she has returned to England to continue the work for the C.N.T.-F.A.I., only on a larger and wider scale.

We ask her to tell us which part of Spain struck her most of all.

—Without a doubt it is Madrid! I visited the trenches held by our comrades; we have 56,000 members of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. on this front, which in some places is about 100 metres from the Fascist lines. I talked to our brave militias and officers. I was amazed at the spirit. It was one of optimism as to the outcome of the struggle. One idea prevailed amongst these men: the destruction of Fascism. To give you an idea of this spontaneous enthusiasm, I met a 15 year old boy of the C.N.T. in the front line. "Are you a recruit?" I asked. He replied with pride in his voice "No, soy voluntario."

Did you find that the C.N.T.-F.A.I. had gained ground in Madrid?

—Yes, and the test for it is the tremendous increase in the circulation of the Madrid C.N.T. and

sands of refugees pouring into Catalonia, Hospitalet has to feed 40,000 refugees of its own and continue to send supplies to Barcelona. It is most important to make known to the English workers the criminal libel in the charge that Catalonia is sabotaging Madrid.

Are the collectives still functioning, or are they being attacked and plundered by the Communists?

—The attacks on the Collectives have greatly decreased since the collectives were legalized by the Negrin Government. This was found necessary not through any sympathy for the C.N.T., but simply because the government realizes that the collectives produce much more than they previously did under the old system. When the communists had a free hand they virtually destroyed whole villages and murdered or arrested the active comrades.

We suppose you visited some collectivized villages which you had visited during your first visit.

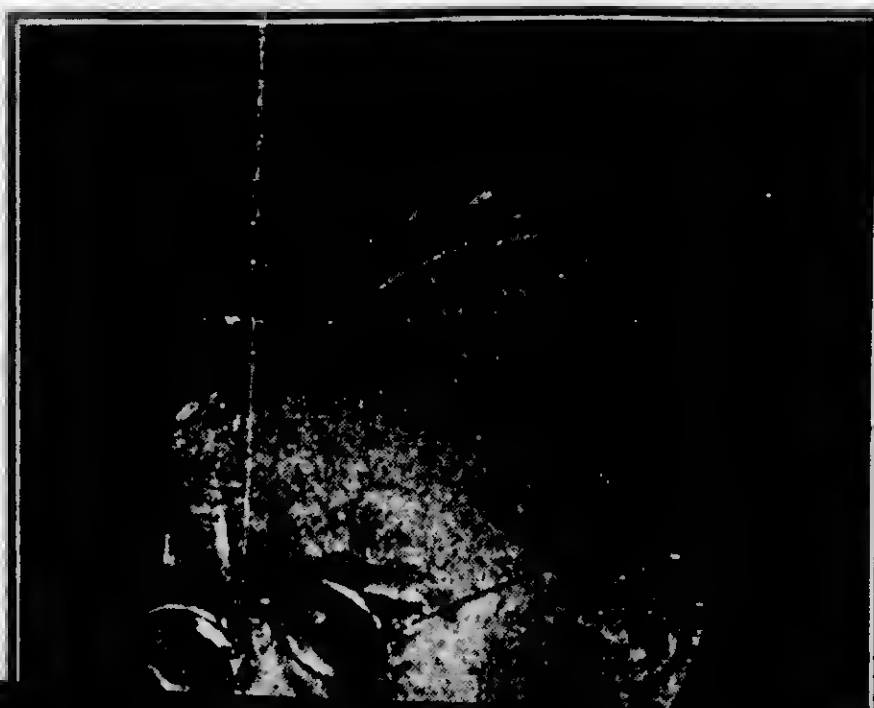
—Yes, I visited a number of them. I found them in a better condition than when I saw them last year. In many villages money has been definitely abolished. In one collective we were invited to eat with

rades because they are so obsessed with the idea that they were the first people in the world to repulse fascism, and that they will remain the last in the fight against Franco. I have no fear however of the final outcome. Our comrades have a really revolutionary spirit and they will return to their fundamentals once Fascism has been conquered. I have complete faith in them and in their ultimate victory. Neither do I doubt the final defeat of the Communists who have been playing such a treacherous part in the struggle. You must understand that Communism has no roots in Spain; it is an artificial creation prompted by the dependence of the anti-fascist war on Russian arms. Whatever numbers the Communists gained was due to their trick of swelling their ranks by the small middle class.

As regards the opposition to the C.N.T., there is opposition. I attended plenums of the Youth Movement and the F.A.I., and heard strong and bitter criticism of the national Committee. Yet the young comrades are as one with the C.N.T. in their determination to fight Franco and his hordes to the last man.

Can you give us some idea of the scientific and cultural progress being made in Revolutionary Spain?

—These are among the features of the Revolution that impressed me most. I saw, for instance, a large laboratory in Barcelona brought into existence by the comrades of the C.N.T. It embraces 12 departments of science. The chief research work is Agriculture and experiments are carried out on large estates. I have visited laboratories all over the world and can assure you that this laboratory can well be compared, on a smaller scale of course, with many such institutions outside of war ridden Spain. The laboratory in Barcelona is run by 12 comrades of the C.N.T. In Madrid also, despite



The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Emma Goldman Speaks of the Spanish Workers Struggle / Emma Goldman.— p. 3 ; 30 cm. In Spain and the World [London]. — Vol. 1, no. 24 (Nov. 24, 1937).

Obtained from the private collection of Stuart Christie, Refract Publications, London, England.

to socialise the means of production and exchange. At that moment Caballero represented the twofold will of the Spanish people, to crush the fascist rebellion and to raise a federalist socialist Spain.

Caballero, anxious to keep his government on the lines on which it had begun, was not long before he came into conflict with the Communist party. The Spanish Communist Party had redoubled its efforts against the bourgeois party and had made every use of the material support received from the U.S.S.R., to make their concepts prevail. It was the Communist Party that instigated the ministerial crisis of June 1937, which led to the foundation of the Negrin government. Since then it is these "dissensions" which are accused of having occasioned this. The Valencia correspondent of the "Depeche de Toulouse" M. Rieu Vernet, wrote on the eve of the meeting of the Cortes; "At bottom two groups are resolutely opposed to each other. The first is turned toward the democratic government and hopes to obtain their aid. The second is in harmony with the proletarian masses and demands their solidarity. On the one hand Caballero, supported by the majority of the U.G.T., in accord with the C.N.T., with whom they have concluded a pact for unity of action, also approved by the P.O.U.M., which sees in the deepening and consolidation of the achievements of the revolution the hope of victory. On the other hand the bourgeois parties and the Communist Party (which according to the words of Irujo that we heard personally from him at Valencia) is situated at the extreme right of the Spanish Popular Front. These organisations, supported by the U.S.S.R., were willing to sacrifice the victories of the proletariat in the hope of a highly hypothetical support from the democratic Capitalists of France and England. In an important document, dated September, 1937, the socialist section of Madrid sets forth certain of its grievances. "For three months there existed a true anti-fascist unity of action, all the political parties and all the organisations of syndicalist workers collaborated directly in the conduct of the war and shared in its responsibilities. To-day this anti-fascist unity of action is broken and each day finds it further threatened. Whose is the fault? First, that of the Communist Party. "After having set out a whole charge against the C.P. the Madrid group goes on; "We wish

pathy for the proletarian cause, M. Chaves Nogales, a friend of Alcala Zamora, former director of the newspaper "Ahorá," was able to write in the "Depeche de Toulouse" of October 1st, 1937, the following lines which epitomise the tragic contradiction in the midst of which our Spanish brothers are fighting: "The Negrin Government which replaced that of Largo Caballero has definitely renounced all revolutionary aspirations. It is fighting to defend the democratic parliamentary bourgeois republic—supported weakly by the democracies of the whole world and strongly—one must admit—by the Government of Moscow . . . And it is, oddly enough, just Moscow which has to-day the least interest in the establishment of a Communist regime in Spain. The intractable nuclei of the F.A.I. and of the P.O.U.M. remain—and these are being liquidated gradually by the Government of Valencia. The true revolutionary leaders have given place to Republican Socialist chiefs—who, a year ago, risked being shot for their opportunism and their lack of revolutionary warmth."

The embargo on the sale of arms, passed on August 8th, 1936, has not allowed the proletariat—that is to say, the only truly anti-fascist force—to arm themselves as they should. The policy of non-intervention has not only had as its consequence the military victories of Franco, but has allowed the U.S.S.R. and the Spanish Communist party to put into operation in the anti-fascist camp a conservative policy which has destroyed proletarian unity. We do not forget that arms from Russia helped to save Madrid—but we assert that the Soviet aid has been counter-balanced by a sinister influence in the anti-fascist movement, resulting in the present state of disorder and schism—with its serious consequences for the Republic. Let us remember this truth that a people who cannot arm themselves freely are not entirely free. It necessarily endures unbearable restrictions.

To vanquish Franco, arms are necessary—but also necessary are Faith and Revolutionary Fraternity. There is now only one means—the last perhaps—which can restore to the Spanish proletariat its activity and the self-determination, indispensable to victory!—it is the opening of the Pyrenees and the complete and real solidarity of the French proletariat.

(Le Populaire, 11/11/37).



EMMA GOLDMAN,

A photo taken during her recent visit to Spain

the F.A.I. newspapers. Whereas the Communist papers have only a circulation of 26,000, the C.N.T. in Madrid alone has a circulation of 30,000 and in Castille, 100,000. When the censor suspended the Madrid daily "C.N.T." our comrades immediately printed "Frente Libertario" which in a very short time distributed 100,000 copies.

What are the general conditions in Madrid? Is there a great food shortage in the trenches?

—I would say that they are better than in Barcelona. Still, Madrid is far from having all it needs.

As you know, the Communist and Capitalist Press have been continually stating that Catalonia has not been doing its duty towards the rest of loyal Spain.—

—Well, what I have just said proves how false these statements are. And this is not all. Take for example, Hospitalet, a town about 30 kilometres from Barcelona, which I visited. The town has a population of 35,000. It was one of the largest and most successful vegetable and fruit growing centres. With the hundreds of thou-

them. Everything served, including the wine we drank, had been produced by our comrades themselves.

Though you noticed progress in the villages, do you think the C.N.T.-F.A.I. as a movement has made the same progress?

—Well, our comrades have definitely lost ground politically as well as strategically. They have been replaced in most cases by the communists. But I found that they had gained morally. The Spanish people realize that our comrades of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. are the only people in Spain who are permitting nothing to stand in the way of winning the war against fascism. They have consequently made many compromises.

What is your opinion, about this policy? You know, no doubt, that there are opposition groups, such as the Amigos de Durruti and Libertarian Youth, who are not in full agreement with the official line of the C.N.T.

—I have always been opposed to compromise and still am. But I can understand the Spanish com-

of the Revolution that impressed me most. I saw, for instance, a large laboratory in Barcelona brought into existence by the comrades of the C.N.T. It embraces 12 departments of science. The chief research work is Agriculture and experiments are carried out on large estates. I have visited laboratories all over the world and can assure you that this laboratory can well be compared, on a smaller scale of course, with many such institutions outside of war ridden Spain. The laboratory in Barcelona is run by 12 comrades of the C.N.T. In Madrid also, despite ever present danger, I saw a tremendous amount of research work being carried on. It is of course impossible to do justice in an interview to the colossal constructive tasks undertaken by our comrades of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. I hope to do so eventually in a series of articles.

And this is not all our comrade told us. We spent nearly four hours listening to her recount of what she had seen and heard. And by the enthusiastic and resolute tone of her voice we could feel that she was heart and soul with the Spanish workers in their struggle against International Fascism.

V.R.

London, 22nd November.

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— DURRUTI.

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STEPS TOWARD —

"Socialisation of all the means of production and of exchange. A struggle to the death against Fascism and its upholders. The cleaning up of the rear-guard"

I FIND it impossible to write about our comrade Buenaventura Durruti in a few words or even in a long article. The wound his cruel death has struck the Spanish Revolution, the Anti-Fascist struggle and all who knew and loved Durruti is still too raw to be able to detach oneself sufficiently to give an objective appraisal of his importance to the great events of 19th July and the gigantic work until his untimely end. Not that Durruti was the only outstanding personality in the valiant battle that nipped Fascism in the bud in Barcelona, and all of Catalonia. The great heroes of the battle are the Spanish masses. Herein lies the grandeur of the Spanish Revolution. It rose from the very bowels of the Spanish earth. It was entirely imbued with the collective spirit of the Spanish masses. It is therefore difficult to treat individual figures as separate and distinct from the force that swept over Spain on the 19th July.

If then I nevertheless consider our comrade Durruti the very soul of the Spanish Revolution it is because he was Spain. He represented her strength, her gentleness as well as her rugged

DURRUTI



— VICTORY

. . . . The Army and Public Order to be controlled by the working-class. Continued activity of the "Patrullas de Control," defence committees and defence councils."

tura had the capacity to put himself in the place of another, and to meet everyone on his own ground, yet retaining his own personality. I believe it was this which helped to create the inner discipline so extraordinary among the brave militias who were the pioneers of the Anti-Fascist struggle. And not only discipline but confidence in the man and deep affection for him.

The last tribute paid Durruti by half a million people may not be an indication of the place he held in the minds and hearts of the masses. What proved more significant to me was to find the same admiration, the same love for our comrade a year after his death. One had but to mention the name to see faces transformed and people express the thought that the treacherous bullet that pierced Durruti's heart also struck the Revolution a frightful blow. Time on end I was assured that had Durruti lived the counter-revolutionary forces within Anti-Fascist Spain would not have raised their ugly head, nor would they have succeeded in destroying so much of the revolutionary gains of the CNT-FAI. Durruti would have swept Anti-Fascist Spain clean from all the reactionary and parasitic elements now restlessly trying to undermine the revolution.

I have already stated that in the stress and storm of Revolution the mass takes first importance. Yet we cannot get away from the fact that the individual too must play his part. And

The Emma Goldman Papers

Durruti / Emma Goldman. — p. 1 ; 30 cm. *In Spain and the World* [London]. — (Nov. 24, 1937).

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If then I nevertheless consider our comrade Durruti the very soul of the Spanish Revolution it is because he was Spain. He represented her strength, her gentleness as well as her rugged harshness so little understood by people outside of Spain. It was this in the make-up of our dead comrade which so impressed me when I met him at the Front he and his gallant comrades were defending with their bare hands but with a spirit that burned at red white heat. There I found Buenaventura Durruti on the eve of an offensive surrounded by scores of people coming to him with their problems and needs. To each one he gave sympathetic understanding, comradely direction and advice. Not once did he raise his voice or show impatience or chagrin. Buenaven-



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I have already stated that in the stress and storm of Revolution the mass takes first importance. Yet we cannot get away from the fact that the individual too must play his part. And nothing decides the importance and significance of that part as the greatness of the personality that paves the way and illumines the path the masses take. In this sense alone can one adequately appraise Buenaventura Durruti, his passionate love of freedom, the fiery revolutionist, the undaunted fighter who gave his all to the liberation of his people.

EMMA GOLDMAN.



"Why did half a million people turn out in the rain on this occasion, marching in silence twenty-five abreast, climbing up trees, crowding the windows to see this man's coffin carried on its six-hour journey by the pall-bearers? It seemed that if one could get the answer, penetrating the verbose eulogies, one would understand something of the Spanish revolution." (Cyril Connolly in "The New Statesman")

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Impressions from Spain. In Italian] Impressioni di Spagna / Emma Goldman. — p. 1 ; 42 cm. In L'Adunata Dei Refrattari [New York]. — Vol. 36, no. 47 (Nov. 27, 1937).
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Impressioni di Spagna

(Da una lettera di Emma Goldman)

Ritorno dalla povera Spagna insanguinata, più di prima convinta della vittoria finale dei nostri eroici compagni. Vero, le condizioni che vi ho trovato sono terribili. La CNT e la FAI hanno perduto in proporzioni molto considerevoli le loro posizioni strategiche; la banda sanguinaria degli stalinisti è in controllo e perpetra i suoi misfatti alla luce del sole e di sottomano. Ma — ed è qui la contraddizione più straordinaria negli operai e contadini spagnoli — mentre i banditi moscoviti sono politicamente al potere, accaniti a sterminare i propri avversari con ogni mezzo, non hanno alcuna radice nel popolo di Spagna. Dopo che hanno cercato di introdurre in Spagna i sistemi di Stalin, essi hanno invece perduto quel tanto di ascendente che avevano al principio della Rivoluzione. Senza alcun dubbio i Comunisti sono ora più intensamente odiati degli stessi fascisti.

E quando vi dico che i nostri compagni hanno fatto ogni sacrificio, tutte le concessioni possibili e molti compromessi deplorabili onde mantenere il morale anti-fascista, voi comprenderete quanto forte sia l'odio per questa gente. Voi dovete comprendere, i compagni di tutti i paesi devono comprendere che la lotta antifascista è diventata una vera ossessione per la CNT — una passione religiosa. Sono stati nel mondo i primi a respingere il fascismo, e intendono restare gli ultimi in campo, contro di esso. In altre parole, i nostri compagni combatteranno fino alla fine contro la malabestia che minaccia il mondo intero. Contemporaneamente, essi sono giunti alla conclusione che i satrapi di Mosca non rappresentano una minaccia minore. Come noi, essi sanno che il giorno della resa dei conti verrà, e vi sono preparati. Ciò che intendo imprimere nella vostra mente, e nella mente dei compagni d'ogni dove, è che mentre i banditi di Stalin sono al potere, politicamente parlando, e commettono delitti su delitti, senza essere chiamati a renderne conto, la forza morale della lotta rivoluzionaria non appartiene e non apparterrà mai a loro.

D'altra parte, la CNT e la FAI hanno guadagnato un prestigio morale infinitamente superiore a quel che avevano prima degli avvenimenti del Maggio. Dovunque sono stata — in questa visita ho viaggiato molto più esteticamente — e con quanti ho parlato, ho riscontrato che l'influenza della CNT e della FAI è in aumento. Ciò mi induce a credere che la forza dei Comunisti è artificialmente creata e, quindi, condannata a scomparire, mentre la posizione della CNT e della FAI nella considerazione dei contadini e degli operai è più forte che mai.

La dichiarazione di J. L. sulla non esistenza di patti con la Russia è esatta soltanto nel senso che non esistono accordi scritti. Ma che Stalin ha preteso la sua libbra di carne, e mille volte di più, non è più un segreto neanche per quelli dei nostri compagni che sono politicamente innocenti.

In quanto alle masse in generale, esse furono naturalmente trasportate dalla "solidarietà" del compagno Stalin. Ma anch'esse hanno ormai imparato che la sua "generosità" verso il popolo di Spagna è stata quella dell'usuraio, che fa capitale delle urgenti necessità dei suoi clienti, ed una volta che li

ha nelle grinfie ne sprema assai di più di quel che ha dato. E se la stretta staliniana continua, si deve interamente alla eriminosa alleanza dei paesi cosiddetti democratici col loro patto di non-intervento; giacché è certo che se le forze antifasciste avessero potuto liberamente compiere armi per la Spagna, Stalin non sarebbe mai riuscito a mettere la sua mano grifagna sulla Rivoluzione spagnola, né sarebbero mai riusciti i suoi satrapi ad infestare la vita politica del paese. Anche ora, il dominio staliniano sulla Spagna erolerebbe come un castello di carte, se l'aborto



di Blum fosse finalmente sepolto. Il non-intervento — ormai smascherato davanti al mondo come una farsa di menzogne e d'ipocrisia — non altro, costringe i nostri compagni a fare i compromessi che hanno fatti.

Noi, fuori dalla Spagna, possiamo non trovare d'accordo con questi compromessi, e possiamo deplorare le concessioni della CNT e della FAI. Io non mi trovo certamente d'accordo — ma dopo essere stata in Spagna per la seconda volta nel corso di quest'anno — sono pervenuta a comprendere che i nostri, spinti sull'orlo dell'abisso della completa estinzione, dall'avvento del fascismo, furono indotti ad accettare aiuto da una parte che non è meno pericolosa, ma è meno immediata delle orde di Franco, di Mussolini e di Hitler. Dopotutto, la comprensione ci permette di osservare gli errori e gli spropositi commessi dai nostri compagni con più tolleranza di alcuni critici della CNT e della FAI.

Negare i mali che ho trovato in questa mia seconda visita in Spagna, sarebbe per me tradire tutto il mio passato e mal servire gli stessi compagni spagnoli. Le loro perdite sono enormi, ma diventano trascurabili di fronte a quel che hanno guadagnato. Non parlo solo d'influenza morale. Parlo anche del lavoro costruttivo che hanno incominciato il 19 luglio, che è aumentato, migliorato e perfezionato assai nel confronto dell'anno scorso. Per me, almeno, v'è qualcosa di miracoloso in questo popolo che continua a costruire davanti alla guerra, alla insufficienza di generi alimentari e ad un regime politico opprimente che ha riempito le galere, distrutta una parte della collettività, e che dispone dei suoi avversari nelle tenebre della notte, mettendo in pericolo continuo la vita

di chiunque non giura nella combinazione Stalin-Negrin.

Spero di scrivere qualche cosa a proposito della marcia devastatrice delle brigate Lister e Marx, attraverso alcune delle collettività aragonesi, e delle rovine che hanno lasciato dietro di sé. Per ora, mi basti dir che neanche questo assedio feroce ha minato lo spirito dei nostri compagni. Il loro spirito è incandescente e dà loro la forza e la volontà risoluta di continuare nel loro processo di edificare una nuova Spagna. Bisogna vedere l'opera loro, conoscere la loro storia, per comprendere che la Rivoluzione è molto lontano dall'esser morta. Ciò basta per indurmi a ritornare all'estero col proposito di rimettermi al lavoro con rinnovata energia per la loro causa

EMMA GOLDMAN

Parigi, 11 Novembre 1937.

La guerra che viene

L'articolo di Gigi Damiani a proposito della "guerra che viene", ripone la questione di un nostro atteggiamento di fronte alla guerra, che ci permetta di "marciare senza dubbi, senza incertezze, senza sopprimerci e senza tradire".

Per definire un atteggiamento siffatto bisogna tener conto dei caratteri essenziali, dell'individualità dei nostri principii, e delle forze su cui questi possono contare per farsi valere.

Incominciando dai principii, è ovvio che il pacifismo, integrale o meno, non è compatibile con un atteggiamento veramente anarchico di fronte alla guerra. Il pacifismo ha un grande merito perché, rivendicando l'intangibilità della vita, dice agli uomini che non sono nati, che non dovrebbero essere nati, per scannarsi a vicenda; e che per evitare tutto il dolore evitabile, per raggiungere tutta la gioia possibile, gli uomini dovrebbero trovare un modo assennato e civile per comporre le loro differenze da esseri ragionevoli, anziché da fiere affamate e rabbiose. Ma il pacifismo ha un torto anche maggiore, che lo condanna ad essere una frode o un'utopia finché duri le attuali condizioni sociali, il torto fondamentale di rivendicare contemporaneamente la santità della vita del padrone e del tiranno — i quali sono in continuo stato di violenza felina — e di quella del diseredato che ne è continuamente la vittima. Il trionfo della ragione e della civiltà non può innestarsi con successo sulle basi arbitrarie e violente su cui è fondato l'attuale ordine sociale; deve incominciare col ricomporre su d'un piano equo e giusto quelle basi; altrimenti diventa a sua volta una frode sanzionante l'arbitrio violento degli uni e la sottomissione umiliante e sanguinante degli altri. Ogni essere umano deve avere il diritto di difendersi contro chi lo aggredisce nella persona, nella libertà e nei frutti del proprio lavoro; e siccome la forza è la suprema garanzia del diritto, deve, tra uomini ragionevoli, essere considerato morale e legittimo l'uso della forza per re-

The Emma Goldman Papers

A Capitalist Newspaper Sees the Light / [Emma Goldman]. — [1937 Dec.?, draft]. — 3 p. ; 20 × 17 cm.

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A CAPITALIST NEWSPAPER SEES THE LIGHT

A cutting from the TORONTO STAR, sent me by our Canadian comrades, proves that some Capitalist newspapers are beginning to "see the light" as regards the Anarchists in Spain.

Under date of December 8th, the Editor ~~shows~~ in an referring to the Bulletin of the C.N.T.-F.A.I., shows unusual fair-^{high}ness. He also pays/tribute to our heroic comrade Cipriano Mera. Among other things, the Editor has discovered about the Anarchists is that they "feel that governments interfere too much with the lives of the people" that these Anarchists "include many sincere idealists" and that they think "the common foe is Franco's fascism and until that menace has been removed they say all true friends of liberty should stand together".

The Editor quotes the Bulletin of the C.N.T.-A.I.T.-F.A.I. as saying, "they still refer to the disastrous policies followed by those in power, but they agree that to provoke internal conflict at the present time, whatever their motives, actually amounts to betrayal and serves the interests of the international fascism. But the libertarian movement is free from all such stain".

The comment of the Editor of the TORONTO STAR is that though it is difficult to judge all this from a distance, it is yet certain that "the Spanish masses are forgetting their differences and are uniting to oppose the forces that held them in bondage for centuries".

In other words, the man at the helm of the TORONTO STAR is beginning to see the light. He does not seem to realise, however,

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A Capitalist Editor Sees the Light--(contd.)

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that the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. are fighting Fascism not because they intend to exchange it for "democracy". For well they know that it is Capitalism under whatever disguise, which means the economic and political dependence of the masses. The Spanish Anarchists are, therefore, the only true ~~Anti~~ Anti-Fascists because they are not deceived by the sickening nonsense of their allies about "Democracy" and "Liberal Government".

The C.N.T.-F.A.I. have made many concessions for the time being. Whether one agrees with them or not, one cannot deny them their Revolutionary fibre and their consecration to the task of safeguarding their constructive revolutionary achievements. That, more than anything else, is the driving force of the C.N.T.-F.A.I.

The Spanish Revolution now in progress, regardless of all attempts to crush it, will help to realise the vision of a free society, for which the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. are fighting and dying.

The Editor also pays high tribute to the courage and valour of some of the Anarchists:

"Some militant Anarchists are gaining distinction at the battle front. One of these - Cipriano Mera - was a Madrid brickmaker in July of last year. When the Army revolted he forcibly resisted and soon demonstrated unusual courage and organising ability. He became a Battalion Commander, then Brigadier Leader and later a Commander of a Division. As head of a Division, he is credited with destroying two Italian Divisions at Brihuega. Subsequently he took a prominent part in the battle of Brunete in which the Government launched its first major offensive. As a reward for his achievements on that occasion he was given the command of an Army Corps. Thus

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"A Capitalist at Editor Sees the Light"--contd.

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one of the leading Generals of the Spanish people against the professional Spanish and Italian soldiers who command the Rebel Armies was an humble brickmaker only a year-and-a-half ago."

I fully appreciate these kind words, but I must add that most of the heroes of the Spanish Revolution and the Anti-Fascist struggle were simple workingmen only a year-and-a-half ago. Ascasio, Durruti, M. Garcia Vivancos who took ~~Bakhtin~~ Belchite and hundreds of others have shown the same gallantry as Mera. At this writing, the news comes that M. Garcia Vivancos and his 25th Division have taken ~~Teruel~~ the important strategic point - Teruel - after a Communist Division tried and failed. Not one of the men mentioned care for honours or rewards; they are inspired by their vision of a new social order based on freedom and well-being for all. To help the Spanish people to realize that vision is all the reward they ^{care about} ~~are dreaming about and hoping for~~ ~~are fighting~~

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ADDRESS TO THE DELEGATES AT THE EXTRAORDINARY CONGRESS IN PARIS OF THE I.W.B.A.

Life imposes strange situations on all of us. For 40 years I was considered an extremist in our ranks. One who refused to compromise our ideas or tactics for any purpose whatsoever — one who had always insisted that the anarchist aim and methods must harmonize, or the aim will never be achieved. Yet here I am trying to explain the action of our Spanish comrades to the European elements and the criticism of the latter to the comrades of the C.B.T.-P.A.I. In other words, after a lifetime of an extreme left position I find myself in the center, as it were.

I have seen from the moment of my first arrival in Spain September 1936 that our comrades in Spain are plunging head foremost into the abyss of compromise that will lead them far away from their revolutionary aim. Subsequent events have proven that those of us who saw the danger ahead were right. The participation of the C.B.T.-P.A.I. in the government and concessions to the insatiable monster in Moscow have certainly not benefitted the Spanish Revolution, or even the Anti-Fascist struggle. Yet on closer contact with reality in Spain — with the almost insurmountable odds against the aspirations of the C.B.T.-P.A.I. — we understand their tactics better, and helped me to see guard against any dogmatic judgment of our comrades.

I am inclined to believe that the critics in our ranks outside of Spain would also be less rigid in their appraisal if they too had come closer to the life and death struggle of the C.B.T.-P.A.I. — not that I do not agree with their criticism. I think them very right. However, I insist that independent thinking, and the right of critic-

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... have ever been our proudest anarchist boast. Indeed, the very backbone of anarchism. The trouble with our Spanish comrades is their marked sensitiveness to criticism, or even to advice from any comrade outside of Spain. But for that they would understand that their critics are moved not by villainy; but by their deepest concern in the fate of the C.B.T.-P. .i..

The Spanish Anarcho-sindicalist and anarchist movement until very recently have held out the most glorious fulfillment of all our dreams and aspirations. I cannot therefore blame those of our comrades who see in the compromises of the Spanish anarchists a reversal of all they had held high for wellnigh seventy years. Naturally some comrades have grown apprehensive and have begun to cry out as if the slippery road which the C.B.T.-P. .i. entered on. I have known these comrades for years. They are among my dearest friends. I know it is their revolutionary integrity which make them so critical and not any ulterior motive. If our Spanish comrades could only understand this, they would be less indignant, nor consider their critics their enemies.

Now I fear that the critics are also very much at fault. They are no less dogmatic than the Spanish comrades. They condemn every step made in Spain unreservedly. In their sectorian attitude they have overlooked the motive element recognized in our time even in Capitalist Courts. Yet it is a fact that one can never judge human action unless one has discovered the motive back of the action.

When I have pointed this out to our critical comrades they insisted that Lenin and his group also were moved by the best intentions and that they have made of the Revolution "a far more successful and more rapid realization of the Revolution" I fail to see even the remotest similarity. Lenin aimed at a complete state

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machine - a deadly dictatorship. From the very beginning this spelled the death of the Russian Revolution - whereas the C.A.T.-P.A.I. not only aimed at, but actually gave life ^{to} Libertarian economic reconstructions. From the very moment they had driven the Fascists and Militarists out of Catalonia this herculean task has never been lost sight of. This herculean task undertaken by our comrades must never be forgotten in the ~~suppression~~ ^{suppression} of the military side of our cause in Spain. ^{insert page 3/2} Unfortunately our critical comrades do not seem to see this all important side of the C.A.T.-P.A.I. Yet it is this which differentiates them from Lenin and his crowd, who far from even attempting to articulate the Russian Revolution, in terms of constructive effort, destroyed everything during the Civil War and even many years after.

Strangely enough the very comrades of the Civil War in Russia, who had explained every step of the dictatorship as "revolutionary necessity" now are the most unyielding opponents of the C.A.T.-P.A.I. "We have learned our lesson from the Russian Revolution" they say - but as no one learns anything from the experience of others, we must, whether we like it or not, give our Spanish comrades a chance to find their bearing through their own experience. Surely our own flesh and blood are entitled to our patient help, and solidarity some of us have given generously to our arch-enemies the Communists.

The C.A.T.-P.A.I. are not so wrong when they insist that the conditioning in Spain is quite different from that which we had the struggle in Russia. In point of fact the two social systems are separate and distinct from each other.

The Russian Revolution came on top of a war exhausted

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people, with all the social fabric in Russia disintegrated - the country far removed from outside influences. Whatever dangers it encountered during the Civil War came entirely from within the country itself. Even the help given to the interventionists by England, Poland and France were contributed sparingly. Not that these countries were not ready to crush the Revolution by means of well equipped armies; but Europe was too muddled. It had neither men or arms enough that might enable the Russian Counter-Revolutionists to destroy the Revolution and its people.

The Revolution in Spain was the result of a military and Fascist conspiracy. The first imperative need that presented itself to the C.B.T.-F. .i. was to drive out the conspiratory gang. The Fascist danger had to be met with almost bare hands. In this process the Spanish workers and peasants soon came to see that their enemies were not only Franco and his Moorish hordes. They soon found themselves besieged by formidable armies, and an army of modern arms furnished to Franco by Hitler and Mussolini, with all the Imperialist pack playing their sinister underhand game. In other words, while the Russian Revolution and the Civil War were being fought out on Russian soil and by Russians - the Spanish Revolution and Anti-Fascist war involves all the powers of Europe. It is no exaggeration to say that the Spanish Civil War has spread out far beyond its own confines.

As if that were not enough to force the C.B.T.-F. .i. to help themselves up by any means, rather than to see the Revolution and the masses drowned in the blood bath prepared for them by Franco and his allies. Our comrades had also to contend with the inertia of the International proletarians. Spain also lies the

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tragic difference between the Russian and Spanish Revolutions.

The Russian Revolution had met with almost instantaneous response and unstinted support from the workers in every land. This was soon followed by the Revolution in Germany, Austria and Hungary. The general strike of the British workers who refused to load arms intended for the counter-revolutionists and interventionists. It brought about the mutiny in the Black Sea, and raised the workers everywhere to the highest pitch of enthusiasm and sacrifice.

The Spanish Revolution on the other hand, just because its leaders are Anarchists immediately became a sore in the eyes, ~~of not only of the bourgeoisie,~~ not only of the bourgeoisie, and the democratic governments; but

also of the entire school of Marxists and liberals. In point of truth the Spanish Revolution was betrayed by the whole world.

It has been suggested here that our comrades in every country have contributed handsomely in men and money to the Spanish struggle, and they alone should have been appealed to.

All comrades, we are members of the same family and we are among ourselves. We therefore need not hedge around the bush. The deplorable fact is that there is no anarchist or anarcho-syndicalist movement of any great consequence outside of ^{Spain and in a smaller degree} Sweden France with the exception of Sweden. Whatever Anarchist movements there are in other countries consist of small groups. In all England for instance there is no organised movement. Only a few groups.

With the most fervent desire to aid the Revolution in Spain, our comrades outside of it were neither numerically nor materially strong enough to turn the tide — then finding themselves up against a stone wall, the I.W.B.A. transferred to

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descent descended from its lofty traditional heights to compromise
right and left, participation in the government - all sorts of
humiliating overtures to Stalin - eager human tolerance with his
henchmen, who were openly plotting and conniving against the Span-
ish Revolution.

Of all the unfortunate concessions our people have made,
their entry into Ministries, seemed to me the least of offensive.
No, I have not changed my attitude to Governments as an evil. As
all through my life, I still hold that the state is a cold monster,
and that it does not devour anyone within its reach. Did I not
know that the Spanish people use in government a mere make shift,
to be kicked overboard at will - that they had never been deluded
and corrupted by the parliamentary myth, I should perhaps be more
reluctant for the future of the C.N.T.-I.O.L. But with Franco at
the gate of Madrid, I could hardly blame the C.N.T.-I.O.L. for
choosing a lesser evil - participation in the Government rather
than Dictatorship, the most deadly evil.

Russia has more than proven the nature of this beast. After
twenty years it still thrives on the blood of its makers. Nor is
its crushing weight felt in Russia alone. Since Stalin has begun
his invasion
his conquest of Spain the march of his henchmen is also leaving
death and ruin behind them. Destruction of numerous collectives,
the introduction of the Cheka with its gentle methods of treating
political opponents - the arrest of thousands of revolutionaries,
and the murder in broad day light of others. All this and more,
Stalin's dictatorship has given Spain, when he sold arms to the
Spanish people in return for gold. Instead of the liberation

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With of "our beloved comrade" Stalin, the C.I.R.-P.A.I. could not
imagine in their wildest dream the unscrupulous designs hidden
behind the seeming solidarity in the offer of arms from Russia.

Their need to meet Franco's military equipment was a matter
of life and death. The Spanish people had not a moment to lose,
if they were not to be crushed. What wonder if they saw in Stalin
the saviour of the anti-Fascist war. They have since learned that
Stalin helped to make Spain safe against the fascists, so as to
make it safer for his own ends.

The critical comrades are not at all wrong when they say
that it does not seem worth while to sacrifice one ideal in the
struggle against Fascism, if it only means to make room for Commu-
nism. I am entirely of their view - that there is no difference
between them. My one consolation is that with all their concentra-
ted criminal efforts, Soviet Communism has not taken root in Spain.
I know whereof I speak. On my ^{recent} 666th visit to Spain I had ample
opportunity to convince myself that the Communists have failed
utterly to win the sympathy of the masses - quite the contrary.
They have never been sought by the workers and peasants there.

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If our comrades have erred in permitting the communist
invasion it were only because they alone were the invincible enemies
of Fascism. They were the first, not only in Spain, but in the whole
world to repulse Fascism, and they are determined to remain the last
on the battle field, until the beast will be slain. This supreme
determination sets the C.I.R.-P.A.I. apart in the history of indom-
itable champions and fighters for freedom the world has ever known.
Considered with
this with their consciences set in less glaring light.

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Rock

It is true that the Communists are in the Government and have political power - that they use their power to the detriment of the Revolution, the anti-fascist struggle and the prestige of the C.R.T.-P.A.I.; but strange as it may seem, it is nevertheless an exaggeration, when I say in a moral sense the C.R.T. has gained immeasurably. I give a few proofs.

Madrid

Since the May events the membership of the C.R.T. has almost doubled its circulation whilst the two communist papers in that city have only 15,000. The C.R.T. alone has 30,000 and 100,000 through a tiller. The same has been done with our other tiller Libre. In addition there is therente libertaire with a circulation of 100,000 copies.

More significant fact is when the communists called a meeting it is rarely poorly attended. When the C.R.T.-P.A.I. hold meetings in the hall are packed to overflowing. I had one occasion to convince myself of this truth. I went to lecture with comrade Frederick M. Bailey and although it was held in the forenoon, and rain came down in a deluge, the hall was nevertheless packed to capacity. It is the more surprising that the communist can lord over everybody; but it is one of the many contradictions of the situation in Spain.

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Spanish comrades was a violent break with their anarchist beliefs. But grave as this was it must also be considered in the light of their utter military inexperience. Not only there but everywhere we have talked rather glibly about anti-militarism. In our zeal and loathing of war we have lost sight of modern warfare, of the utter helplessness of untrained and unequipped men face to face with mechanized armies, and armed to the teeth for the battle on land, sea, and air. I still feel the same abhorrence of militarism, its dehumanization, its brutality and its power to turn men into automata. But my contact with our comrades at the various fronts during my first visit in 1936 convinced me that some training was certainly needed if our militias were not to be sacrificed like new born children on the altar of the war. Our comrades have a sublime ideal to inspire them, they have great courage and the iron will to conquer fascism. All that goes a long way to hold up their morale. Aeroplanes bombarding towns and villages and all the other monster mechanism cannot be stopped by spiritual values. The greater the pity that our side was not prepared, nor had it the physical means to match the inexhaustible supplies streaming into Franco's side.

insert *E.G.*
of miracles

It is a miracle that our people are still on deck more determined to win. I cannot but think that the training our comrades are getting in the military schools will make them fitter to strike, and with greater force. I have been strengthened in this belief by my talks with young comrades in the military schools - with some of them at the Madrid front and with E.G.P.

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While it is true that after July 1936 tens of thousands of old and young men volunteered to go to the front - they went with flying colors and the determination to conquer France in a short time. They had no previous military training or experience. I saw a great many of the militia when I visited the Durruti and Aragon fronts. They were all inspired by their ideal - by the hatred of fascism and passionate love of freedom. No doubt that would have carried them a long way if they had had only the Spanish fascists to face; but when Germany and Italy began pouring in hundreds of thousands of men and a mass of war material our militia proved very inadequate indeed. If it was incompetent on the part of the C.I.T.-P.O.L. to consent to militarization, it was also a great test for us to change our attitude to war, which none of us have held in our lives. We had always condemned war as serving capitalist and no other purpose; but when we realized that our heroic comrades in Barcelona had to continue

the anti-fascist struggle, we immediately rallied to their support, which was undoubtedly a departure from our previous stand on war. Once we realized that it will be impossible to meet the hordes of fascists come to the very teeth, we could not escape the next step, which was militarization. Like so many actions of the C.I.T.-P.O.L., undoubtedly contrary to our philosophy, was not of their making or choosing. They were imposed upon them by the development of the struggle, which if not brought to a successful end, will exterminate the C.I.T.-P.O.L., destroy their constructive achievements, and set back anarchist thought and ideas, not only in Spain, but in the rest of the world.

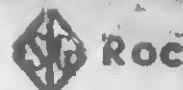
For ourselves it is not a question of justification of militarization. The C.I.T.-P.O.L. have been misled. It is surely their

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F.A.I. members occupying high military positions. They all assured me that they had gained much through the military training and that they feel more competent and surer of themselves to meet the enemy forces. I am not forgetting the danger of militarisation in a prolonged war. If such a calamity should happen, there will not be many of our gallant militias left to return as military alternatives. I fervently hope that Fascism will be conquered quickly, and that our comrades can return from the front in triumph to where they came - the collectives, land and industries. For the present there is no danger that they will become cogs in the military machine-wheel.

All these factors directing the course of the C.B.T.-F.A.I. should be taken in consideration by the comrades critics, who after all are far removed from the struggle - hence really not in a position to see the whole tragic drama through the eyes of those who are in the actual struggle.

I do not mean to say that I may not also reach the painful point of disagreement with the C.B.T.-F.A.I. But until Fascism is conquered I would not raise my hand against them. For the present my place is at the side of the Spanish comrades and their great struggle against a whole world.

Comrades, the C.B.T.-F.A.I. are in a burning house - the flames are shooting up through every crevice & coming nearer and nearer to scorch our comrades. At this critical moment and with but few people trying to help save our people from the consuming flames, it seems to me a breach of solidarity to pour the acid of your criticism on their burning flesh. As for myself, I cannot join

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you in this. I know the C.R.T.-P.A.I. have gone far ^{afield} ~~with~~ from their and our ideology. But that cannot make me forget their glorious revolutionary traditions of seventy years. Their gallant struggle - always haunted - always driven at bay - always in prison and exile. This makes me think that the C.R.T.-P.A.I. have remained fundamentally the same and that the time is not far off when they will again prove themselves the symbol - the inspirational force - what the Spanish Anarcho-Syndicalist and Anarchist have always been to the rest of the anarchists in the world.

Since I have been privileged to be in Spain twice - near the comrades - near their splendid constructive labour - since I was able to see their selflessness and determination to build a new life on their soil - my faith in our comrades has deepened into a firm conviction that whatever their inconsistencies, they will return to first principle. Tested by the fires of the Anti-Fascist war and the revolution, the C.R.T.-P.A.I. will emerge unscathed. Therefore I am with them regardless of everything. A thousand times would I have rather remained in Spain to risk my life in their struggle, than return to the so-called safety in England. But since that could not be I must to strain every muscle and every nerve to make known in as far as my pen and voice can reach, the great moral and organisational force of the C.R.T.-P.A.I. and the valor and heroism of our Spanish comrades.

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N.Y. December, 1937

ADDRESS TO THE DELEGATES AT THE EXTRAORDINARY CONGRESS IN PARIS OF THE I.W.B.A.

Life imposes strange situations on all of us. For 48 years I was considered an extremist in our ranks; one who refused to compromise our ideas or tactics for any purpose whatsoever — one who had always insisted that the aim and methods of Anarchism must harmonize, or the aim will never be achieved. Yet here I am trying to explain the actions of our Spanish comrades to the European opponents and the critics of the comrades of the C.N.T.-P.A.I. In other words, after a lifetime of an extreme left position, I find myself in the centre, as it were.

I have seen from the moment of my first arrival in Spain in September, 1936, that our comrades in Spain are plunging head-foremost into the abyss of compromise that will lead them far astray from their revolutionary aim. Subsequent events have proved that those of us who saw the danger ahead were right. The participation of the C.N.T.-P.A.I. in the government and concessions to the insatiable monster in Moscow have certainly not benefited the Spanish Revolution, or even the Anti-fascist struggle. Yet the closer contact with reality in Spain — with the almost insurmountable odds against the C.N.T.-P.A.I. — made me understand their tactics better, and helped me to guard against any dogmatic judgment of our comrades.

I am inclined to believe that the critics in our ranks outside of Spain would also be less rigid in their arraignment, if they too had come closer to the life and death struggle of the C.N.T.-P.A.I. But that I do not agree with their criticism, I think they are 95% right. Also I believe firmly in independent thinking, and the right of criticism, which have ever been our proudest anarchist boasts. Indeed the very bulwark of Anarchism. The trouble with our Spanish comrades is their sensitiveness to criticism, or even to advice from any comrade outside of Spain. But for that they would understand that their critics are moved not by villainy, but by their deepest concern in the fate of the C.N.T.-P.A.I.

The Spanish Anarcho-Syndicalist and Anarchist movements have been until very recently the most glaring fulfilment of all our dreams and aspirations. I cannot therefore blame those of our comrades who see

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to the compromises of the Spanish anarchists a revocable of all they hold high for well nigh seventy years. Naturally some comrades have grown apprehensive and have begun to cry out against the road taken by the C.I.R.-F.A.I. I have known these comrades for years. They are among my dearest friends. I know it is their revolutionary integrity which makes them so critical and not any ulterior motive. If our Spanish comrades could only understand this, they would be less indignant and not consider their critics their enemies.

On the other hand, the critics are also very much at fault. They are no less dogmatic than the Spanish comrades. They condemn every step taken in Spain, unreservedly. In their sectarian attitude they have overlooked the motive element recognized in our times even in Capitalist Courts. For it is a fact that one can never judge an action unless one has discovered the motive back of the action.

When I pointed this out to our critical comrades they insisted that Lenin and his group also were moved by the best intention - "and see what they have made of the Revolution". I fail to see the remotest similarity. Lenin used a formidable state machine - a deadly dictatorship. From the very beginning this spelled the death of the Russian Revolution - whereas the C.I.R.-F.A.I. not only aimed at, but actually gave life to, libertarian economic reconstruction. From the very moment they had driven the fascists and militarists out of Catalonia, this task has never been lost sight of. The work achieved considering the insurmountable obstacles, was extraordinary. Already on my first visit I was amazed to find so many collectives in the large cities and the villages.

I returned to Spain with apprehension because of all the rumours that had reached me after the events of the destruction of the collectives. It is true that the Dieter and Karl Marx Brigades went to the Aragon towns and places in Catalonia like a cyclone - devastating everything in their way; but it is nevertheless a fact that most of the collectives were keeping up as if no harm had come to them. In fact I found the collectives in September and October, 1937, in a better organized condition and in better working order.

Unfortunately our critical comrades do not seem to see this all important side of the C.I.R.-F.A.I. Yet it is this which differentiates them from Lenin and his crowd, who far from even attempting to articulate the Russian Revolution in terms of constructive effort, destroyed everything during the Civil War and even afterwards.

3

Strangely enough, the very comrades of the Civil War in Russia, who had explained every step of the Dictatorship as "revolutionary necessity" now are the most unyielding opponents of the C.I.R.-F.A.I. "We have learned our lesson from the Russian Revolution", they say. But as no one learns anything from the experience of others, we must, whether we like it or not, give our Spanish comrades a chance to find their bearings through their own experience. Surely our own flesh and blood are entitled to our patient help and solidarity - which some of us have given generously for four years to our arch-enemies, the Communists.

The C.I.R.-F.A.I. are not so wrong when they insist that the conditioning in Spain is quite different from that which actuated the struggle in Russia. In point of fact the two social upheavals are separate and distinct from each other.

The Russian Revolution came on top of an exhausting war which left the people exhausted, with all the social fabric in Russia disintegrated - and the country far removed from outside influences. Whatever damage it encountered, a civil war came entirely from within the country itself. Even the help given to the interventionists of England, Poland and France, were contributed sparingly. Yet that these countries were not ready to crush the Russian Revolution by means of well-equipped troops; but Europe was too apathetic. It had neither the spirit nor the will to help the Russian Revolution. Russia's situation was unique, the Revolution and its people.

The Revolution in Spain was the result of a military and fascist conspiracy. The first imperative need that presented itself to the revolutionaries was to drive out the conspirators. The Fascists did not leave the country without a fight. In this process the Spanish workers and peasants were forced to see that their enemies were not only Franco and his military forces, but also the modern arms furnished by a formidable British, force and an army of modern arms furnished to Franco by Hitler and Mussolini, with all the Imperialist back playing their sinister underground game. In other words, while the Russian Revolution and the Civil War were going on, fought out on Russian soil and by Russians - the Spanish Revolution and Anti-Fascist War took place all the Powers of Europe. It is hardly strange to see that the Spanish Civil War has spread far beyond its own borders.

As if that were not enough, to force the C.I.R.-F.A.I. to employ whatever arms were at hand rather than to see the Revolution and the masses grounded in the bloodbath prepared for them by Franco and his allies, our comrades had also to contend with the inertia of the International Proletariat. Merely also lies the tragic difference between the Russian and Spanish Revolutions.

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The Russian Revolution had met with almost instantaneous response and unstinted support from the workers in every land. This was soon followed by the Revolution in Germany, Austria and Hungary. The general strike of the British workers who refused to load arms intended for the counter-revolutionists and interventionists. It brought about the mutiny in the Black Sea, and raised the workers everywhere to the highest pitch of enthusiasm and sacrifice.

The Spanish Revolution, on the other hand, just because its leaders are Anarchists, immediately became a sore in the eyes not only of the bourgeoisie and the democratic governments, but also of the entire school of Marxists and liberals. In point of truth, the Spanish Revolution was betrayed by the whole world.

It has been suggested here that our comrades in every country had contributed handsomely in men and money to the Spanish struggle, and they alone should have been appealed to.

Well, comrades, we are members of the same family and we are among ourselves. We therefore need not hedge around the bush. The deplorable fact is that there is no Anarchist or Anarcho-Syndicalist movement of any great consequence outside of Spain and to a smaller degree in Sweden and France. Whatever Anarchist movements there are in other countries consist of small groups. In all England for instance there is no organized movement - only a few groups.

With the most fervent desire to aid the Revolution in Spain, our comrades outside of it were neither numerically nor materially strong enough to turn the tide. Thus finding themselves up against a stone wall, the C.N.T.-P.A.I. was forced to deviate from its lofty traditional beliefs. Participation in the government - all sorts of humiliating overtures to Stalin - super-human tolerance of his henchmen, who were openly plotting and conspiring against the Spanish Revolution.

Of all the unfortunate concessions our people have made, their entry into Ministries seemed to me the least offensive. No, I have not changed my attitude to Governments as an evil. I still hold that the state is a cold monster and that it does devour everyone within its reach. Did I not know that the Spanish people see in Government a mere makeshift, to be kicked overboard at will - that they had never been deluded and corrupted by the parliamentary myth - I should perhaps be more alarmed for the future of the C.N.T.-P.A.I. Met with Franco at the gate of Madrid, I could hardly blame the C.N.T.-P.A.I. for choosing a lesser evil - participation in the Government - rather than Dictatorship, the most deadly evil.

Russia has more than proven the nature of this beast. After twenty years it still thrives on the blood of its makers. Nor is its crushing weight felt in Russia alone. Since Stalin invaded Spain, the march of his henchmen is leaving death and ruin behind them. Destruction of numerous collectives, the introduction of the Cheka with its gentle methods of treating political opponents, the arrest of thousands of revolutionaries and the murder in broad daylight of others - all this and more Stalin's dictatorship has given Spain, when he sold arms to the Spanish people in return for good gold. Innocent of the Jesuitical trick of "our beloved comrades", Stalin, the C.N.T.-P.A.I. could not imagine in their wildest dream the unscrupulous designs hidden behind the seeming solidarity in the offer of arms by Russia.

Their need to get French military equipment was a matter of life and death. The Spanish people had not a moment to lose if they were not to be crushed. What wonder if they saw in Stalin the saviour of the Anti-Fascist war? They have since learned that Stalin felt to make Spain safe against the Fascists in order to make it safer for his own ends.

Theoretical comrades are not at all wrong when they say that it does not seem worth while to sacrifice one ideal in the struggle against Fascism. If it only were to save room for Communism. I am entirely of their view - that there is no difference between them. In one compilation is that with all their concentrated criminal efforts, Soviet Communism has not been able to gain in Spain. I know whereof I speak. I have seen first hand the Spanish people's opportunity to convince itself that the Communists have failed utterly to win the sympathies of the masses - quite the contrary. They have never been regarded by the workers and peasants as now.

It is true that the Communists are in the government and have political power - but they use their power to the detriment of the Revolution, the Anti-Fascist struggle and the prestige of the C.N.T.-P.A.I. - but strange as it may seem, it is no exaggeration when I say that in a moral sense the C.N.T. has gained immeasurably.

Since the Franco events, Madrid has increased the membership of the C.N.T. It has almost doubled the circulation of its publication. The two Communist papers in that city have only 26,000. The C.N.T. alone has 70,000, and 100,000 through Castile. The same has happened with our paper, Castillo Libre. In addition there is the Frente Libertario with a circulation of 100,000 copies.

A more significant fact is that when the Communists call a meeting, they are poorly attended. When the C.N.T.-P.A.I. hold meetings the halls are packed to overflowing. I had one occasion,

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and convinced myself of this truth. I went to Alicante with comrades
in the morning, and although it was cold in the forenoon and rain
fell in torrents, the hall was nevertheless packed to capacity.
It is the most surprising fact that the Communists can lead over everybody,
and it is one of the many contradictions of the situation in Spain.

Our comrades have erred in permitting the Communist invasion.
It is still because they alone are the true enemies of Fascism.
They were the first, not only in Spain, but in the whole world, to
take the initiative, and they are determined to remain the last on the
stage. Until the least shall be said. This supreme
moment will be the hour of the Communist's death, as the greatest
moment of the world has ever known.
The hour of the Communist's death is at hand.

The pitiful consent of the C.I.T.-F.A.I. to militarisation was
not only a mistake, but a betrayal of the revolution. But
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While it is true that after July 15th tens of thousands of old
and young men volunteered to go to the front - they went with flying
colours and the determination to conquer Franco in a short time.
But had no previous military training or experience. I saw a great
number of the militia when I visited the Durruti and Mica fronts.
They were all inspired by their ideal - by the hatred of Fascism
and the desire for freedom. No doubt that would have carried
them a long way if they had had only the Spanish Fascists to face;
but when Germany and Italy began pouring in hundreds of thousands

of men and masses of war material, our militia proved very inadequate
indeed. If it was inconsistent on the part of the C.I.T.-F.A.I. to
consent to militarisation, it was also inconsistent for us to change
our attitude to war. We had always condemned war as serving
capitalism and no other purpose; but when we realised that our
heroic comrades in Barcelona had to continue the Anti-Fascist
struggle, we immediately rallied to their support, which was
undoubtedly a departure from our previous stand on war. Once we
realised that it would be impossible to meet hordes of fascists
armed to the very teeth, we could not escape the next step, which
was militarisation. Like all other actions of the C.I.T.-F.A.I.,
undoubtedly contrary to our philosophy, militarisation was also not
of their making, or choosing. It was imposed upon them by the
development of the struggle which, if not brought to a successful
end, would exterminate the C.I.T.-F.A.I., destroy their constructive
achievements and set back Anarchist thought and ideas, not only in
Spain, but in the rest of the world.

Dear comrades, it is not a question of justification of every-
thing the C.I.T.-F.A.I. have been doing. It is merely trying to
understand the forces that drive them on - whether to triumph or
defeat will depend a great deal on how much we can awaken the
international proletariat to come to the rescue of the Spanish
people.

It is a miracle of miracles that our people are still so
more than ever determined to win. I cannot but think that the
training our comrades are getting in the military schools will make
them better able to strike and with greater force. I have seen
strong troops in this valley. I talk with you, comrades in the
military schools - with some of them at the Madrid front, and with
C.I.T.-F.A.I. others occupying high military positions. They all
assure me that they had lived and through the military training
and that they feel more competent and surer of themselves to meet
the enemy forces. I am not forgetting the danger of militarisation
in a prolonged war. If such a calamity should happen, there will
not be many of our militant militia left to return. I fervently
hope that Fascism will be conquered quickly, and that our comrades
can return from the front in triumph to where they had flocked to
the fronts - the collectives, land and industries. For the
present there is no danger that they will become cogs in the
military wheel.

All these factors directing the course of the C.I.T.-F.A.I.
should be taken into consideration by the comrades critics, who,
after all, are far removed from the struggle - hence really not in
a position to see the whole drama through the eyes of those who
are in the actual struggle.

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I do not mean to say that I may not also reach the point of disagreement with the C.T.-F.A.I. But until Fascism is conquered I would not raise my hand against them. For the present my place is at the side of the Spanish comrades and their great struggle against a whole world.

Comrades, the C.T.-F.A.I. are in a burning house - the flames are shooting up through every crevice - coming nearer and nearer to scorch our comrades. At this crucial moment and with but few people trying to help save our people from the consuming flame, it seems to me a breach of solidarity to pour the acid of your criticisms on their burned flesh. As for myself, I cannot join you in this. Their gallant struggle - always hunted, always driven at bay, always in prison and exile - should make us see their side. I am certain that the C.T.-F.A.I. have revealed fundamentally the same old but the time is not far off when they will again prove themselves the symbol, the inspirational force, that the Spanish Anarcho-Syndicalists and Anarchists have always been to the rest of the Anarchists in the world.

Since I have been privileged to be in Spain twice - near the comrades, near their splendid constructive labour - since I was able to see their confidence and determination to build a new life on their soil - my faith in our comrades has deepened into a firm conviction that whatever their inner dissensions, they will return to first principle. Tested by the fires of the Anti-Fascist war and the Revolution, the C.T.-F.A.I. will emerge unscathed. Therefore I am with them regardless of everything. A thousand times would I rather have remained in Spain to risk my life in their struggle, than return to the so-called safety in England. But since that could not be, I seek to strain every muscle and every nerve to make known as far as my pen and voice can reach the best moral and organizational force of the C.T.-F.A.I. and the valour and heroism of our Spanish comrades.

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ADDRESS TO THE DELEGATES AT THE EXTRAORDINARY CONGRESS IN PARIS OF THE I.W.B.A.

Life imposes strange situations on all of us. For 48 years I was considered an extremist in our ranks: one who had always insisted that the aim and methods of Anarchism must harmonise, or the aim will never be achieved. Yet here I am trying to explain the actions of our Spanish comrades to the European opponents and the critics of the comrades of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. In other words, after a lifetime of an extreme left position, I find myself in the centre, as it were.

I have seen from the moment of my first arrival in Spain in September, 1936, that our comrades in Spain are plunging head-foremost into the abyss of compromise that will lead them far astray from their revolutionary aim. Subsequent events have proved that those of us who saw the danger ahead were right. The participation of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. made me understand their tactics better, and helped me to guard against any dogmatic judgement of our comrades.

I am inclined to believe that the critics in our ranks outside of Spain would also be less rigid in their arraignment, if they too had come closer to the life and death struggle of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. Not that I do not agree with their criticism. I think they are 95% right. Also I believe firmly in independent thinking, and the right of criticism, which have ever been our proudest anarchist boast: Indeed the very bulwark of Anarchism. The trouble with our Spanish comrades is their sensitiveness to criticism, or even to advice from any comrade outside of Spain. But for that they would understand that their critics are moved not by villainy, but by their deepest concern in the fate of the C.N.T.-F.A.I.

The Spanish Anarcho-Syndicalist and Anarchist movements have been until very recently the most glaring fulfilment of all our dreams and aspirations. I cannot therefore blame those of our comrades who see in the compromises of the Spanish anarchists a reversal of all they had held high for well nigh seventy years. Naturally some comrades have grown apprehensive and have begun to cry out against the road taken by the C.N.T.-F.A.I. I have known these comrades for years. They are among my dearest friends. I know it is their revolutionary integrity which makes them so critical and not any ulterior motive. If our Spanish comrades could only understand this, they would be less indignant and not consider their critics their enemies.

On the other hand, the critics are also very much at fault. They are not less dogmatic than the Spanish comrades. They condemn every step taken in Spain unreservedly. In their sectarian attitude they have overlooked the motive element recognised in our time even in Capitalist Courts. Yet it is a fact that one can never judge human action unless one has discovered the motive back of the action.

When I pointed this out to our critical comrades they insisted that Lenin and his group also were moved by the best intention - "and see what they have made of the Revolution". I fail to see the remotest similarity. Lenin aimed at a formidable state machine - a deadly dictatorship. From the very beginning this spelled the death of the Russian Revolution - whereas the C.N.T.-F.A.I. not only aimed at, but actually gave life to, Libertarian economic reconstruction. From the very moment they had driven the Fascists and Militarists out of Catalonia, this Herculean task has never been lost sight of. The work achieved considering the insurmountable obstacles, was extraordinary. Already on my first visit I was amazed to find so many collectives in the large cities and the villages.

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2.

I returned to Spain with apprehension because of all the rumours that had reached me after the May events of the destruction of the collectives. It is true that the Lister and Karl Marx Brigades went through the Aragon towns and places in Catalonia like a cyclone devastating everything in their way; but it is nevertheless a fact that most of the collectives were keeping up as if no harm had come to them. In fact I found the collectives in September and October, 1937, in a better organised condition and in better working order.

Unfortunately our critical comrades do not seem to see this all important side of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. Yet it is this which differentiates them from Lenin and his crowd; who far from even attempting to articulate the Russian Revolution in terms of constructive effort, destroyed everything during the Civil War and even many years after.

Strangely enough, the very comrades of the Civil War in Russia, who had explained every step of the Dictatorship as "revolutionary necessity" now are the most unyielding opponents of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. "We have learned our lesson from the Russian Revolution", they say. But as no one learns anything from the experience of others, we must, whether we like it or not, give our Spanish comrades a chance to find their bearings through their own experience. Surely our own flesh and blood are entitled to our patient help and solidarity - which some of us have given generously for four years to our arch-enemies, the Communists.

The C.N.T.-F.A.I. are not so wrong when they insist that the conditioning in Spain is quite different from that which actuated the struggle in Russia. In point of fact the two social upheavals are separate and distinct from each other.

The Russian Revolution came on top of an exhausting war which left the people spent, with all the social fabric in Russia disintegrated - and the country far removed from outside influences. Whatever dangers it encountered during the Civil War came entirely from within the country itself. Even the help given to the interventionists by England, Poland and France, were contributed sparingly. Not that these countries were not ready to crush the Russian Revolution by means of well-equipped armies; but Europe was too sapped. It had neither men nor arms enough that might have enabled the Russian Counter-Revolutionists to destroy the Revolution and its people.

The Revolution in Spain was the result of a military and Fascist conspiracy. The first imperative need that presented itself to the C.N.T.-F.A.I. was to drive out the conspiratory gang. The Fascist danger had to be met with almost bare hands. In this process the Spanish workers and peasants soon came to see that their enemies were not only Franco and his Moorish hordes. They soon found themselves besieged by a formidable fighting force and an array of modern arms furnished to Franco by Hitler and Mussolini, with all the Imperialist pack playing their sinister underhand game. In other words, while the Russian Revolution and the Civil War were being fought out on Russian soil and by Russians - the Spanish Revolution and anti-Fascist War involves all the Powers of Europe. It is no exaggeration to say that the Spanish Civil War has spread far beyond its own confines.

As if that were not enough to force the C.N.T.-F.A.I. to employ whatever means were at hand rather than to see the Revolution and the masses drowned in the blood bath prepared for them by Franco and his allies, our comrades had also to contend with the inertia of the International Proletariat. Herein also lies the tragic difference between the Russian and Spanish Revolutions.

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It has been suggested here that our comrades in every country had contributed handsomely in men and money to the Spanish struggle and they alone should have been appealed to.

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With the most fervent desire to aid the Revolution in Spain our comrades outside of it were neither numerically nor materially strong enough to turn the tide. Thus finding themselves up against a stone wall, the C.N.T.-F.A.I. was forced to deviate from its lofty traditional heights: Participation in the government - all sorts of humiliating overtures to Stalin - a super-human tolerance of his henchmen who were openly plotting and conniving against the Spanish Revolution.

Of all the unfortunate concessions our people have made, their entry into Ministries seemed to me the least offensive! No, I have not changed my attitude to Governments as an evil. I still hold that the state is a cold monster and that it does devour everyone within its reach. Did I not know that the Spanish people see in government a mere makeshift, to be kicked overboard at will - that they had never been deluded and corrupted by the parliamentary myth - I should perhaps be more alarmed for the future of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. But with Franco at the gate of Madrid, I could hardly blame the C.N.T.-F.A.I. for choosing a lesser evil - participation in the Government - rather than Dictatorship, the most deadly evil.

Russia has more than proven the nature of this beast. After twenty years it still thrives on the blood of its makers. Nor is its crushing weight felt in Russia alone. Since Stalin invaded Spain, the march of his henchmen is leaving death and ruin behind them. Destruction of numerous collectives, the introduction of the Cheka with its gentle methods of treating political opponents, the arrest of thousands of revolutionaries and the murder in broad daylight of others - all this and more Stalin's dictatorship has given Spain, when he sold arms to the Spanish people in return for good gold. Innocent of the Jesuitical trick of "our beloved comrade", Stalin, the C.N.T.-F.A.I. could not imagine in their wildest dream the unscrupulous designs hidden behind the seeming soliarity in the offer of arms by Russia.

Their need to meet Franco's military equipment was a matter of life and death. The Spanish people had not a moment to lose if they were not to be crushed. What wonder if they saw in Stalin the saviour of the Anti-Fascist war! They have since learned that Stalin helped to make Spain safe against the Fascists in order to make it safer for his own ends.

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4.

The critical comrades are not at all wrong when they say that it does not seem worth while to sacrifice one ideal in the struggle against Fascism, if it only means to make room for Communism. I am entirely of their view - that there is no difference between them. My one consolation is that with all their concentrated criminal efforts, Soviet Communism has not taken root in Spain. I know whereof I speak. On my recent visit to Spain I had ample opportunity to convince myself that the Communists have failed utterly to win the sympathies of the masses - quite the contrary. They have never been so hated by the workers and the peasants as now.

It is true that the Communists are in the Government and have political power - that they use their power to the detriment of the Revolution, the Anti-Fascist struggle and the prestige of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. - but strange as it may seem, it is no exaggeration when I say that in a moral sense the C.N.T. has gained immeasurably.

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A more significant fact is that when the Communists call a meeting, they are poorly attended. When the C.N.T.-F.A.I. hold meetings the halls are packed to overflowing. I had one occasion to convince myself of this truth. I went to Alicante with comrade Federica Montseny, and although it was held in the forenoon and rain came down in torrents, the hall was nevertheless packed to capacity. It is the more surprising that the Communists can lord over everybody; but it is one of the many contradictions in Spain.

If our comrades have erred in permitting the Communist invasion, it was only because they alone are the true enemies of Fascism. They were the first, not only in Spain, but in the whole world, to repulse Fascism, and they are determined to remain the last on the battlefield, until the beast shall be slain. This supreme determination sets the C.N.T.-F.A.I. as the greatest _____ and fighters for freedom the world has ever known. Compared with this their compromises appear in less glaring light.

The placid consent of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. to militarisation was indeed a break with all our traditions against militarism. But here, too, reality was more compelling than theory. The utter helplessness of untrained and unequipped men face to face with modern men armed to their teeth for the battle on land, sea and air, spelt almost immediate disaster to anti-Fascism and the inevitable extermination of tens of thousands of our militia.

I still feel the same abhorrence of militarism, its dehumanisation, its power to turn men into automatons. But my contact with our comrades at the various fronts during my first visit in 1936 convinced me that some training was certainly needed if our militias were not to be sacrificed like new-born children on the altar of the war. Our comrades have a sublime ideal to inspire _____. They have great courage and the iron will to conquer Fascism. All that goes a long way to hold up their morale. Aeroplanes bombarding towns and villages, and all the other monster mechanisms cannot be stopped by spiritual values alone: the greater the pity that our side was not prepared, nor had it the physical means to match the inexhaustible supplies streaming into Franco's side.

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While it is true that after July 19th tens of thousands of old and young men volunteered to go to the front - they went with flying colors and the determination to conquer Franco in a short time. They had no previous military training or experience. I saw a great many of the militia when I visited the Darrati and Huesca fronts. They were all inspired by their ideal - by the hatred of Fascism and passionate love of freedom. No doubt that would have carried them a long way if they had only the Spanish Fascists to face: but when Germany and Italy began pouring in hundreds of thousands of men and masses of war material, our militias proved very inadequate indeed. If it was inconsistent on the part of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. to consent to militarisation, it was also inconsistent for us to change our attitude to war. We had always condemned war as serving capitalism and no other purpose, but when we realised that our heroic comrades in Barcelona had to continue the Anti-Fascist struggle, we immediately rallied to their support, which was undoubtedly a departure from our previous stand on war. Once we realised that it would be impossible to meet hordes of Fascists armed to the very teeth, we could not escape the next step, which was militarisation. Like so many actions of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. undoubtedly contrary to our philosophy, militarisation was also not to their making or choosing. It was imposed upon them by the development of the struggle which, if not brought to a successful end, would exterminate the C.N.T.-F.A.I., destroy their constructive achievements and set back Anarchist thought and ideas, not only in Spain, but in the rest of the world.

Dear comrades, it is not a question of justification of everything the C.N.T.-F.A.I. have been doing. It is merely trying to understand the forces that drive them on - whether to triumph or defeat will depend a great deal on how much we can awaken the international proletariat to come to the rescue of the struggle in Spain.

It is a miracle of miracles that our people are still on deck more than ever determined to win. I cannot but think that the training our comrades are getting in the military schools will make them fitter to strike and with greater force. I have been strengthened in this belief by my talks with young comrades in the military schools - with some of them at the Madrid front, and with C.N.T.-F.A.I. members occupying high military positions. They all assured me that they had gained much through the military training and that they feel more competent and surer of themselves to meet the enemy forces. I am not forgetting the danger of militarisation in a prolonged war. If such a calamity should happen, there will not be many of our gallant militia left to return. I fervently hope that Fascism will be conquered quickly, and that our comrades can return from the front in triumph to whence they had flocked to the fronts - the collectives, land and industries. For the present there is no danger that they will become cogs in the military wheel.

All these factors directing the course of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. should be taken into consideration by the comrade critics, who, after all, are far removed from the struggle - hence really not in a position to see the whole drama through the eyes of those who are in the actual struggle.

I do not mean to say that I may not also reach the point of disagreement with the C.N.T.-F.A.I. But until Fascism is conquered I would not raise my hand against them. For the present my place is at the side of the Spanish comrades and their great struggle against a whole world.

Comrades, the C.N.T.-F.A.I. are in a burning house - the flames are shooting up through every crevice - coming nearer and nearer to scorch our comrades. At this crucial moment and with but few people trying to help save our people from the consuming flame, it seems to me a breach of solidarity to pour the acid of your criticism on their burned flesh. As for myself, I cannot join you in this. Their gallant struggle - always hunted, always driven at bay, always in prison and exile - should

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Address to the Delegates at the Extraordinary Congress in Paris of the I.W.B.A.] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — [1937 Dec.]. — 11 p. ; 16 × 24 cm.

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6.

make us see their side. I am certain that the C.N.T.-F.A.I. have remained fundamentally the same and that the time is not far off when they will again prove themselves the symbol, the inspirational force, that the Spanish Anarcho-Syndicalists and Anarchists have always been to the rest of the Anarchists in the world.

Since I have been privileged to be in Spain twice - near the comrades, near their splendid constructive labour - since I was able to see their sacrifices and determination to build a new life on their soil - my faith in our comrades has deepened into a firm conviction that whatever their inconsistencies, they will return to first principle. Tested by the fires of the Anti-Fascist war and the Revolution, the C.N.T.-F.A.I. will emerge unscathed. Therefore I am with them regardless of everything. A thousand times would I rather have remained in Spain to risk my life in their struggle, than return to the so-called safety in England. But since that could not be, I mean to strain every muscle and every nerve to make known as far as my pen and voice can reach the great moral and organizational force of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. and the valour and heroism of our Spanish comrades.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Emma Goldman is convinced that the Spanish revolution will resist... In Spanish]
Emma Goldman está convencida que la revolución española resistirá... / Emma Goldman. — p. 3 ; 29 cm. In La Protesta [Buenos Aires]. — (Dec., 1937).
Obtained from the Biblioteca Popular "José Ingenieros," Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Buenos Aires, Diciembre de 1937

LA PRO

Emma Goldman está convencida: resistirá a toda coalición

A un redactor del "Il Risveglio Anarchico", que lo entrevistó en su segundo viaje a España, se lo afirmó, diciéndole, además, que "habla partido de Londres casi convencida —ero la opinión general de los compañeros— que la Revolución española estaba perdida, derrotada, y ahora regresó a Londres y recorrerá todo Inglaterra poro ofirmar en escritos y discursos que la Revolución social resistirá a toda la coalición del capitalismo internacional, convencida de que el anarquismo es el único movimiento que salvará o lo close obrero".

A los camaradas del "Fraie Arbeiter Schtime" les envió estas líneas que traducimos

Queridos camaradas:

Los acontecimientos de aquí lo embargan a uno, y lo dominan de tal fuerza, que es absolutamente imposible sentarse y escribir sobre ellos en el momento cuando uno no se encuentra en pleno seno de la lucha española. Ustedes recordarán los "Cuarenta días de Mussdy", de Franz Werfel, el heroísmo del pueblo y de sus dirigentes. Todo eso no puede ser comparado siquiera con la lucha sobrehumana en que vive Madrid. Madrid representa consigo una epopeya de capacidad humana para sobrellevar sufrimientos y de grandezas sobrehumanas. Aquí ve uno el espíritu ardiente de un pueblo que lucha por su causa justa, y el genio de nuestros camaradas que continúan su obra constructiva y creadora, a pesar de todas las dificultades que los rodean. ¡Ojalá viera aquí más compañeros nuestros!, así verían con sus propios ojos la obra extraordinaria que aquí se lleva a cabo, y se planear. Entonces, verían claro que frente a tales realizaciones los errores, y aún inclusive ciertas debilidades pierden su significado. Yo, al ver tal capacidad para sobrellevar sufrimientos, tal determinación y disposición al sacrificio no puedo pararme y criticar.

Mi corazón y mi alma están llenos

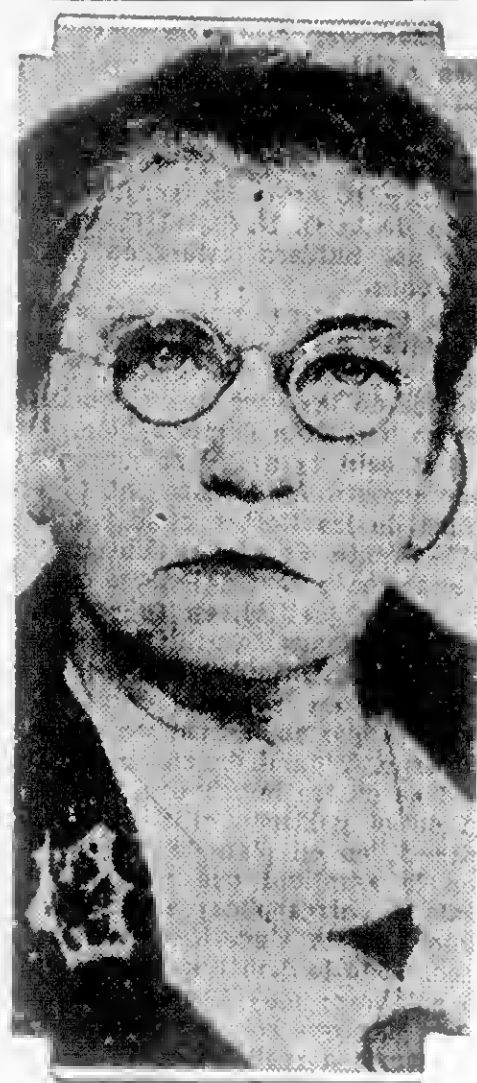
de impresiones perennes de una ciudad heroica, cuyos habitantes conducen una lucha contra las fuerzas unidas de todos los gobiernos criminales. Mi pluma es demasiado débil para comunicarles siquiera una parte de la epopeya heroica admirable que lucha para libertad Madrid y España entera de las garras fascistas, aún cuando pudiera hacerlo en la forma que lo merece el heroísmo decidido del pueblo español y muy especialmente el espíritu valiente de nuestros compañeros, estoy segura sin embargo, que en mi corazón jamás se despertaría deseo alguno de criticar sus fallas y sus debilidades. ¿Qué valor tienen todos esos errores y debilidades en comparación con su fuerza, su fe ardiente y su abnegación completa hacia su finalidad? Y ahora más que nunca arde en mí el deseo de permanecer aquí con nuestros compañeros para participar en sus luchas, sufrimientos y esperanzas, para lanzarme entera en su lucha heroica.

Debo ir al exterior, porque allí seré más útil; allí espero poder realizar más, aun cuando lograra solamente contar la verdad verdadera sobre nuestros camaradas españoles.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

Madrid, octubre de 1937.

UN VALOR DEL ANARQUISMO



EMMA GOLDMAN, la gran compañera del anarquismo militante, que recorrió el continente europeo junto al camarada Agustín Souchy representando a la F. A. I. y C. N. T. y pronunciando conferencias en favor de la Revolución española. Esta compañera no cree ni remotamente que pueda ser vencido el proletariado español.

A PUERTA LA CHECA LA CAP

La Checa comunista — trasplantada a España — halla enclavada en tres bloques de la U. R. S. S., en el Casar Carlos Marx. Tienen del cónsul ruso Arce protegida y funciona en policía, al frente de la Burillo, miembro del Partido.

Es jefe de esos verdugos munita un tal Alfred Ilie, conocido en ciertos ambientes sindicales de los Estados Unidos en Filadelfia. Collier tiene un individuo apodado como ayudante de verdu de Herz, tres hombres de agentes de policía de una miseria en la Puerta del número de chequistas asesinos de todos, para enseñar que en Rusia sirvieron encarcelar, difamar, y asesinar a millones de auténticos que estorbaban al Krenlin.

Esta Checa tiene otras relaciones, en la calle Junquera de la Guardia de Asalto, el fichero de revolucionarios el que tiene la Delegación hay también una lista negra señalan particularmente

DURRUTI, E TENDRA SU

El Ayuntamiento de guerra, en un lugar monumento a la muerte cuando la frase que te: "Los anarquistas toria".

El monumento

NUEVAS CADE

Las conquistas revolucionarias van siendo

El responsable por "Cultura Proletaria", envía una larga correspondencia sobre la actual situación ella tomamos un extracto "Nuevas cadenas están diés este escritor— los gtrarrrevolucionarios de



WALDO FRANK REAFIRMA SU OPTIMISMO

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Emma Goldman is convinced that the Spanish revolution will resist... In Spanish]
Emma Goldman está convencida que la revolución española resistirá... / Emma Goldman. — p. 3 ; 29 cm. In La Protesta [Buenos Aires]. — (Dec., 1937).
Obtained from the Biblioteca Popular "José Ingenieros," Buenos Aires, Argentina.

PROTESTA

Página 3

Se afirma que la revolución española resiste al fascismo Internacional

PUERTAS ABIERTAS ACTUA-
LA CHEKA COMUNISTA EN
CAPITAL CATALANA

**La revolución
no tiene límites**

comunista — la O. P. U. rusa
a España — en Barcelona se
ada en tres lugares: Conslado
S. S. en el Hotel Colón y en
Carlos Marx. Trabaja a las ór-
Ónsei ruso Antonov Ovsenko y
y funciona en armonía con la
frente de la cual se encuentra
miembro del Partido Comunista.
esos verdugos de la Cheka co-
tal Alfred Herz, muy bien co-
diertos ambientes obreristas y
los Estados Unidos, particular-
Eladelfia. Como ayudante, el
en individuo apellidado Hermann,
ante de verdugo está la mujer
es hombres de escolta y cuatro
policia de una brigada con co-
la Puerta del Angel. Un claro
chequistas rusos son los instruc-
os, para enseñarles los métodos
sia sirvieron para enseñarse,
difamar, extor de hambre y
e millones de revolucionarios
que estorbaban a la política cri-
remilín.
a tiene otras ramificaciones. Por
la calle Junquera, está el cuar-
uardia de Asalto que posee un
evolucionarios más grande que
la Delegación del Estado. Allí
una lista negra en la cual se
ticularmente los nombres de

aquellos que convendría al Partido quitar
de enmedio, y que van eliminando en toda
oportunidad favorable que se les ofrece.
Una de esas víctimas había de ser el oom-
pañero Lucien Haussard, de "Le Libertai-
re", de París, contra el cual Ovsenko había
dado orden de eliminación. Nuestro com-
pañero pudo salvarse a tiempo.
Quien no pudo salvarse fué el periodista
Mark Rein, redactor en jefe del periódico
"Social Democratic Kraken" de Estocolmo.
Este, en la noche del 9 al 10 de abril fué
secuestrado por la Choka en el Hotel Con-
tinental y hecho desaparecer. Su periódico
publicaba demasñadas verdades sobre la
realidad rusa, y a los jefes bolcheviques les
convenía quitarlo de la circulación. Se tie-
nen todas las indicaciones de que Mark Rein
ha sido trasladado a Rusia por la G. P. U.
y probablemente tendrá el fin que han te-
nido cuantos se opusieron a Stalin y a los
demás asesinos bolcheviques.
Hasta el mismo ministro de Gobernación
del Gobierno de Valencia, Zugazagotia, ins-
trumento de Prieto, se encuentra impotente para
hacerle frente a la Cheka comunista, la
que es temible por sus métodos de eliminar
gente y que está al servicio de la contra-
revolución en España.
(Extractado de un artículo que publicó
"Cultura Proletaria" el 25 de setiembre y
que fué enviado por su corresponsal de
Barcelona).

El simplismo de la rutina ha hecho surgir la ilusión de las revolucio-
nes milagrosas, totalitarias.

Se han inventado crodos inmutables, se han forjado dogmas intangibles,
alotando fantasías pueriles.

La Revolución es como un organismo natural que se desarrolla de gér-
menes primarios. No da más frutos que los contenidos en la semilla.

La convulsión de la calle es como el parto que alumbró el nuevo ser y
le pone en condiciones de proseguir su desarrollo en otros ambientes y en
otras circunstancias.

El contenido de una Revolución no está en los credos políticos y socia-
les en boga, sino en lo que la Humanidad doliente ha hecho germinar en
su espíritu de acuerdo con su nivel de cultura y sus necesidades.

Una Revolución no nos dará más grado de libertad que aquella a que
seamos acreedores, ni nos hará avanzar más allá de donde seamos capa-
ces de ir.

La verdadera Revolución es la que llevamos dentro cada uno.
Cada época y cada generación impulsan la marcha de la Humanidad
más o menos, según las reservas de energías y la capacidad creadora de
que disponen.

Hoy podemos conseguir una importante etapa, un objetivo fundamen-
tal: el desplazamiento de la dirección económica que detentaba la alta bur-
guesía parasitaria, y la regulación de la vida social por los obreros manua-
les, los campesinos y los técnicos.

Será preciso concretar esa posibilidad del momento, dejando para las
generaciones futuras la prosecución de una obra que no tiene meta. En lo
que nos corresponde a esta generación, la pequeña burguesía puede y debe
cooperar, por su bien y por el nuestro.

D. ABAD DE SANTILLAN

(Extracto de un extenso artículo publicado en "Tiempos Nuevos", de
los meses julio-agosto).

**URUTÍ, EL GLORIOSO COMBATIENTE,
ERA SU MONUMENTO EN ESPAÑA**

Ayuntamiento de Madrid acordó que al terminar la
en un lugar destacado de la capital, se eleve un
mento a la memoria de Buenaventura Durruti, perpe-
la frase que pronunció poco antes de hallar la muer-
de anarquistas renunciaremos a todo, menos a la vic-

monumento será costado por suscripción popular.

LAS CADENAS PARA EL PUEBLO ESPAÑOL

quistas revolucionarias obtenidas con las armas en la
o van siendo arrebatadas por el gobierno Negrín.

responsal permanente de
roletaria", en Barcelona,
larga correspondencia ac-
al situación española. De
oa un extracto:
cadenas están forjando —
eritor — los gobiernos con-
onarios de Valencia y

secutor de los obreros. Para que tal
gobierno fuera posible, los enemigos
del pueblo sabían que tenían que eli-
minar primero de aquí a los anar-
quistas.

Más adelante dice: "Aun no tene-
mos íntegramente un Estado de ese
género; pero está en proceso de for-

**EL PUEBLO ESPAÑOL, CON SU
LUCHA TITANICA, CONTAGIARA
AL PROLETARIADO DEL MUNDO**

El concepto filosófico y revolucio-
nario del anarquismo es en la actua-
lidad española el intérprete del im-
pulso heroico y de la consecuente ab-
negación de un pueblo a las vibra-
ciones revolucionarias y de su viril
respuesta a la provocativa guerra
fratricida desencadenada por los fá-
mulos de la Internacional Negra; y
por esa causa presenta múltiples fa-
cetas de ricas experiencias para los
anarquistas dignos de ser aprovecha-
das por la mente libertaria para
orientarse en futuras luchas y acoger
sus hechos que — desde el levanta-
miento en la Cuenca del Liobregat
hasta la denodada y no estéril inten-
tón de Casas Viejas — reflejan y
encarnan sus anhelos y propósitos de

plasmación de sus humanos anhelos—
va adquiriendo en el hélico y cotidia-
no bregar, pasta de mártir y apóstol
y temple macho para afrontar con
espartano gesto y altivos de titán los
embates más bravíos de la reacción,
dando, al mismo tiempo, vida y con-
cepiones que en otrora montecata y
amorfa opinión tildara de utópicas
quimeras.

Así, sin desmayos, va gestándose
en sus entrañas, tibias aún por la
sangre de sus hijos ofrecida en holo-
causto redentor, la esplendente y ro-
ja aurora que alumbró ya el sober-
bio advenir de la nueva era.

Así, sin caer en truhanescas em-
presas ni en infundadas realizaciones,
va dando forma a manifestaciones

The Emma Goldman Papers

[A letter from Emma Goldman. In Spanish] Una carta de Emma Goldman / Emma Goldman. — p. 1 ; 29 cm. In Cultura Proletaria [New York]. — (Dec. 4, 1937).
Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

NUMERO 501

UNA CARTA DE EMMA GOLDMAN

París, 11 de Noviembre de 1937.

Queridos compañeros:

Estoy de regreso de la abalida y trágica España, pero no acabo convencida del triunfo heroico final de nuestros compañeros que lo estaba cuando fui allí. La C.N.T. y la F.A.I. han perdido muchas de las posiciones estratégicas, estando en control la cuadrilla staliniana, la que descaradamente lleva a efecto su sucia labor abyecta y encubiertamente. Pero existe una extraña contradicción en los trabajadores y campesinos españoles. Es esta: mientras que los "gangsters" de Moscú se hallan en el poder, encadenando todos los medios posibles para exterminar sus adversarios, no arraigan ni lo más mínimo en el seno del pueblo español. Por el contrario, toda la simpatía que hayan tenido al principio de la revolución la han perdido puesto que han querido establecer en España la bendición staliniana. Es un hecho absolutamente verdad el que los comunistas son más intensamente odiados en España que los mismos fascistas.

240W22rd.

Y cuando os digo que nuestros camaradas han hecho todo sacrificio, toda posible concesión y muchos deplorables compromisos para mantener la moral antifascista, os daréis cuenta lo profundamente que son odiados estas gentes en aquel país. Debéis de comprender, y así lo deben de hacer los compañeros de todas partes, el que la lucha antifascista se ha convertido en una verdadera obsesión de la C.N.T., una verdadera pasión mística. Fueron los de la C.N.T. los primeros del mundo en detener al fascismo. Y se consideran que han de ser los últimos que lo han de abandonar. En otras palabras, nuestros compañeros lucharán hasta el fin contra la bestia que amenaza a toda la humanidad. Pero se han dado cuenta que los satrapas moscovitas no son menos amenaza que este mismo fascismo. Saben también como nosotros que llegará el día de ajustar cuentas y están preparados para ello. Sobre lo que trato de impresionaros a vosotros y a todos los otros compañeros es que mientras los secuaces de Stalín están en el poder, políticamente hablando, cometiendo crímenes tras crímenes sin que por ellos se los castigue, la fuerza moral revolucionaria no se de ellos ni nunca lo será.

Por otra parte, la C.N.T. y la F.A.I. han sido siempre, desde el principio, la fuerza moral que ha sido, y es, la más importante que los otros, pero, con todas las que le habido de decir que la influencia de la C.N.T. y la F.A.I. había aumentado considerablemente y sigue aumentando.

Esto me hace creer que la fuerza de los comunistas es artificial y por lo tanto condenada a morir, mientras que la posición de la C.N.T. y la F.A.I. gozan de más simpatía entre los trabajadores y los campesinos revolucionarios que lo ganado nunca.

4 Dec 1937
Cult. Prolet. P.
moral nacion. mayor que Stalín
antes de los San-

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The Emma Goldman Papers

Emma Goldman Reports on Spain / Emma Goldman. — pp. 1, 3 ; 29 cm. In Spanish Revolution [New York]. — (Dec. 6, 1937, fragment).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

SPANISH REVOLUTION

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Vol. II, No. 6

NEW YORK, DECEMBER 6th, 1937

Price Five Cents

EMMA GOLDMAN REPORTS ON SPAIN

Revolution Goes on in Spite of Stalinist Sabotage—Communists Hated in Spain—C.N.T. Growing in Moral Prestige.

Well, here I am, back from poor tragic Spain, by no means less convinced of the ultimate success of our heroic comrades than I was when I went there. True, I found appalling conditions. The C.N.T.-F.A.I. have lost very considerably of their strategic position—the murderous Stalin gang is in control and is doing its rotten job openly and underhand. But while the Moscow gangsters are in power politically, hard on their job to exterminate their opponents by every foul means, they have no roots whatsoever in the Spanish people. On the contrary, whatever appeal they had in the beginning of the Revolution has been lost to them since they tried so hard to introduce Stalin's blessings in Spain. It is an absolute fact that the Communists are hated more intensely than the fascists...

C.N.T. Moral Strength Growing

What I mean to impress upon you is that while Stalin's henchmen are in power, politically speaking, committing crime after crime without being held to account, the moral strength in the revolutionary struggle is not theirs and never will be in Spain.

On the other hand, the

C.N.T.-F.A.I. have gained moral prestige far beyond that which they held before the May events. Wherever I went, and I travelled more extensively on this visit, and with whomever I spoke I found the influence of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. growing. That gives me reason to believe that the power of the Communists is artificially created, hence doomed to perish, while the position of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. in the estimation of the Spanish workers and awakened peasants is stronger than ever.

Blum Prepared Ground For Stalin

As to the masses at large, they were, of course, carried away by the "solidarity" of comrade Stalin. But, they too, have learned that his "generous" help to the Spanish people was that of the usurer who makes capital out of the dire needs of his clients and, once in his clutches, the strangle hold continues far beyond the value of the aid rendered the victim by the money lender. And if that strangle hold continues, it is entirely due to the criminal alliances of the so-called Democratic countries with the Non-Intervention agreement for it is

(Continued on page three)

LARGO CABALLERO ADDRESSES PUBLIC OPINION OF SPAIN

POLITICAL MACHINATIONS EXPOSED

Only seven or eight months ago, Largo Caballero's statements and pronouncements made front page news with every leading newspaper in the world.

It is not so long ago that he was spoken of in certain sections of radical movement (mainly communist) in hushed tones, as the Spanish Lenin, the great revolutionary statesman leading the country and the working class, through the chaos of civil war and revolution, toward the bright future of a socialist commonwealth.

Things have changed greatly during this brief interval of time

more in its utter recklessness and cynicism than the similar campaigns conducted against the P.O.U.M. leaders. What happened during this time? What has Caballero done to provoke such reaction on the part of the communists and reformist politicians? What made him so particularly odious in the eyes of Moscow which is now singling him out for attacks and vilification?

A Curtain Raiser

The recent speech made by Caballero—the only one he permitted himself after months of enforced silence—throws light on those questions. And in doing so, it also

Fighting Democracy Within Unions

Two months ago the U.G.T. (an old trade union organization corresponding in its structure and basic policies to the social-democratic unions of Western Europe) was split wide open by the communists and their allies from the right wing of the Socialist Party.

The alleged reason given by those elements was that the official leadership of the U.G.T. headed by Largo Caballero did not represent any more the opinions of the majority of the organization and that it maintained itself by undemocratic procedures.

It is a little difficult to imagine the disciples of Stalin in the role of ardent defenders of trade-union democracy. One always suspects a "nigger in the woodpile" whenever the communists become too vocal about the "trampling of the majority will" in the unions. The subsequent developments in the struggle between the two central bodies within the U.G.T. fully bear out those suspicions.

Faking a "Majority"

On the surface, there seems to be some justification to the communist outcries about Caballero's

(Continued on page two)

INDUSTRIAL UNIONS FIGHT ATTEMPT TO MILITARIZE ECONOMY

C.N.T. Against Russian Methods in Industry—Unified Wage Versus Stakhanovism—Factory Committees Upheld.

The latest slogan of the political groups now controlling the government of Spain (night-wing socialists and communists) is to "keep the unions in their right place;" "the business of political parties is to govern and that of the unions to work and obey."

Those slogans are now elaborated in the leading articles of the communist press, in the speeches of their leaders, and the statements now frequently issued by prominent men in split-off union formed by the communist and right wing socialist and pretending to represent the workers of the U.G.T.

Drive for Militarization

And along with this goes a renewed drive for militarization,

for placing an ever widening field of national economy on a military basis. Militarize railways, marine transport, war industries, telegraph services, communications, peasant collectives—such is the refrain now being repeated in all its variations by the communist press and speakers.

A militarized economy is a fascized economy. It is an economy built upon the utter negation of democratic rights of the masses of workers. It perverts the normal type of relationships existing in an industrial democracy. And as it was shown by Soviet Russia, especially in the period when militarization was the dominant drive, it is ruinous in its effects upon economic efficiency.

Efficiency, however, is of least concern to the politicians now modelling their activity on the Russian pattern. They realize that the industrial unions have struck deep roots, have obtained control of economic life and that not until this control is wrested from their hands will the present groups now controlling the government of Spain be secure in their power.

Dictatorship In Industry Demanded

That is why Comorera, the leader of Catalonian Communist Party advocates a total change in the control of factories, the total elimination of factory committees and the establishment of the dictatorship of factory directors.

(Continued on page two)

PROTEST EMBARGO ON AMMUNITIONS TO LOYALIST SPAIN.



Black Wings
Over Spain.
Children,
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The Emma Goldman Papers

Emma Goldman Reports on Spain / Emma Goldman. — pp. 1, 3 ; 29 cm. In Spanish Revolution [New York]. — (Dec. 6, 1937, fragment).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

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RESULT OF THE BUREAUCRATIC ATTEMPT TO ELIMINATE THE INDUSTRIAL UNIONS FROM ECONOMIC CONTROL

Particularly illuminating in this respect is the story of how the Catalonian railwaymen took over the road system of their province. It is told by the "L'Espana Antifascista" in one of its latest issues. Here we present a summary of the somewhat lengthy reports dealing with the initial period of control as well as with the later developments.

International Capital In Control

The Catalonian railroad system is one of the oldest in Spain. Like all the other important industries of that country it was mainly controlled by foreign banks and the Jesuite Society.

The bank controlling the net of Catalonian railroads before the revolution ("Stern and Cie") is interlocked with the mightiest financial institutions of France. The Rothschilds, the Schneiders (munition interests), the utility interests of France were sharing control of those railways with the leading insurance company of Spain dominated by the Jesuites of that country.

The Spanish high nobility acted in the capacity of a "comprador" that is minor partners of native stock, taken in for their political influence and prestige. Among those minor partners were also the Generals Mola and Goded—that is, the leading figures of the fascist revolt.

Drifting Into Bankruptcy

The combined control of international finance, clerical hierarchy and a parasitic nobility could not but lead to conditions prevailing in every semi-colonial country. The roads were in a state of chronic bankruptcy. Although running through the richest, most industrial

And the more the workers revolted against those conditions, the more pronounced became the sympathies of the railway magnates toward the gathering forces of fascist revolt. The railway companies of Catalonia became the strongest backers of the fascist rebellion. The seizure of those railroads was the central point of the tactical plan evolved by the fascist generals under the guidance of their Nazi and fascist mentors.

Workers' Unions On the Job

What happened to those plans is now known to everyone. Very few people know, however, that the high degree of revolutionary solidarity, spontaneity and readiness for mass action shown by the railway workers of Catalonia proved to be one of the decisive factors in foiling the excellent plans of the fascist plotters.

On July 17 Franco gave the signal for revolt, on the 18th a general strike was declared on all the Catalonian railroads, on the 19th the enemy was repulsed, and on the 20th first measures were taken to resume services along the

The rapid resumption of railway services enabled the Barcelona militiamen to reconquer Aragon. And it also made possible the almost instantaneous resumption of normal economic activity by the victorious workers and peasants of Catalonia. The normal functioning of the system since that time was one of the most powerful factors in stabilizing the newly emerged revolutionary economy.

How was that achieved? It was mainly due to the fact that the workers acting through their organizations—C.N.T. and U.G.T.—did not waste any time in taking over the management of the railways. The old administration was swept out immediately after the suppression of the revolt. Shop committees began functioning in the shops, stations, along the roads and also in the administration offices.

The co-operative attitude of the administration personnel, excepting, of course, the top salaried executives, was one of the most important factors in putting the railway into working shape. Cashiers, statisticians, accountants, station masters joined this work through their respective sections. By now their organization is an integral part of the administrative apparatus running the railways of Catalonia.

This apparatus is built on the principles of full industrial democracy. Shop committees elect delegates to the Central Committee. Every service is administered by an elected sub-committee. A careful selection of high technicians was made from the point of view of their loyalty to the worker's cause. A number of them are by now working under the control of the Central and other sub-committees. With their help bureaus have been built up for such technical tasks as purchasing, testing of engines, analyzing materials etc.

Difficulties

The difficulties with which the roads have to contend are very great. Foremost among them is the lack of fuel (Catalonia does not possess its own coal resources) and a shortage of other materials necessary for construction and repairs.

There are also difficulties of a financial nature. War taxes greatly reduce the carrying capacity of the roads, and there is of course, a con-

EMMA GOLDMAN REPORTS ON SPAIN

(Continued from page one)

certain that if the anti-fascist forces could have freely purchased arms for Spain, Stalin could never have laid his crushing hand on the Spanish Revolution, nor could his satraps have infested the whole political life of Spain. Even at this late hour, Stalin's rule in Spain would collapse like a house of cards if Blum's still-born child were buried at last. It was Non-Intervention, now exposed to the world in all its farcical and lying hypocrisy, and nothing else that forced our comrades to make the compromises that they have made.

Revolution Still Goes On

To deny the evils I found on my second visit to Spain would be a betrayal of my whole past and would ill-serve the Spanish comrades. Their losses are tremendous, yet they do not weigh in the scale against their gains. I am not speaking only of their moral influence. I am speaking of the constructive work on the 19th of July which, in many instances, has grown, improved and has been perfected so much since last year. To me, it is miraculous for a people to go on building in the face of war, food shortage and a deadly political regime that has filled the prisons, destroyed some of the collectives and that disposes of all opponents in the dead of the night, thus endangering everybody's life who will not swear by the Stalin-Negrin combine.

I hope to write about the devastating march of the Lister and Marx brigades through some of the collectives in Aragon and of the havoc they

Just Received from Spain "THE TRAGIC WEEK IN MAY"

by Augustin Souchy
(a 48-page pamphlet describing the Stalinist plot in Barcelona)
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left behind. For the present, I only wish to say that even this savage siege has not dampened the spirits of our comrades. Their spirit burns at white heat that gives them strength and determination to continue the process of building a new Spain. One must see their work and hear their story to realize that the Revolution is far from dead.

THE FATE OF THE LIBERTARIAN REVOLUTION IS THE FATE OF THE CIVILIZED WORLD

SPANISH REVOLUT

A PUBLICATION PUBLISHED BY THE UNITED LIBERTARIAN ORGANIZATIONS

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The Emma Goldman Papers

A Visit to the Durruti-Ascaso Orphans Colony / Emma Goldman. — p. 8 ; 28 cm. In Spain and the World [London]. — (Dec. 10, 1937).
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London, S.E.24.

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CIRCULO LIBERTARIO.
Providence, U.S.A.

"Spain and the World" is the best paper we have had for a long time and deserves a wider circulation ... Wishing it a great success ..."

J. S. RICHFIELD.

Bristol.

A Visit To The Durruti-Ascaso Orphans Colony

WHEN I returned to Spain last September I promised myself to visit the colony for orphan and other children which had been organised by the L'Espagne Libre and supported by our comrades all over the world. Not the least among them the strenuous efforts made to raise funds by "Spain and The World." I had reckoned without the new situation which I was to find in Spain on my arrival. Travelling by rail was difficult enough last year; but it proved quite impossible on this visit. On the other hand the Regional Committee of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. in Barcelona could only dispose of eleven autos, an insignificant number when one considers the hundreds of syndicates it represents. True, most cars have been commandeered for the front; but also it is true that some of the Anti-Fascist allies of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. have more cars at

their disposal in proportion to their syndicate affiliations, than the Regional Committee. But then, the Anti-Fascist allies are in the Government, and all Governments are known to be generous to those that serve them best. I therefore might not have succeeded in carrying out my desire to visit the colony had not a lucky star aided me. An English woman who is very active in London on behalf of the refugees and her Spanish husband, came to see me in Barcelona, and they volunteered to take me to Gerona on their way to Figueras their home town.

I arrived about 4 p.m. The colony is situated in a magnificent park and in a spacious house which has ample accommodation for 200 children. Of them twenty are the orphans cared for by "Spain and The World." These, as well as all the others, came from Madrid. The

published numerous interviews with comrades in Spain which bring to light facts which do not appear in the daily press. (Our interview with Camillo Berneri ("Spain and the World," No. 6) was reprinted IN SPAIN in French, Italian and Spanish!).

Further, we were able to receive, with much difficulty, details of the attacks on villages carried out by the Communists (Nos. 20 and 21), whilst no less than thirteen articles have appeared dealing with the structure and management of collectivised villages and industries. However, we do agree with those comrades that there might have been more actual factual news. This can be attributed to two causes: the limited time at the disposal of our correspondents, and the difficulty experienced in getting articles through the Spanish Government postal censors. These are two obstacles which we have been unable to overcome.

to send six large sacks containing about 300lbs. of winter and summer clothing. We also thank those other friends who have sent clothing, and trust that others will do likewise. They will greatly assist if they include a list of contents with each parcel.

As to the conditions existing at the Colony, no comment can carry more weight than the letter from Comrade Emma Goldman which appears elsewhere on this page.

CONCLUSION

We conclude this review of one year's activity with an appeal to all comrades and friends who feel strongly the cause of Free Spain, to co-operate with us in the smooth running and efficient propaganda of our publication "Spain and the World." There can be no limits to our work. It is for us to give all our energies to the greatest of causes, NOW, before it will be too late! THE EDITORS.

comrades who manage the colony consist primarily of a young Polish Jewish woman and a Frenchman supported by a staff of French and Spanish comrades. We came unannounced and unheralded. No preparation could have been made in advance. This gave me the chance to see the colony in its natural condition and daily routine.

The dining room not being large enough to seat 200 children, the smaller kiddies were fed first, then those between seven and ten, and lastly the older ones. I was impressed and moved to see the pride of these kiddies when they showed their clean hands as they filed passed the manageress of the colony. The dining room is sunny and airy with flowers on all tables, cheer emanating from every corner. Cheer more necessary for the victims of Fascism than for children of normal conditions. The menu cards, illustrated with little flowers give the menu of every day during the week.

The food is ample and wholesome. The dormitories too, surprised me by their space, air and sunshine. The beds spotlessly

clean—in fact every part of the house spoke of the efficiency and devotion of the comrades in charge of the children.

No less important were the playgrounds where the children romp in their leisure hours and after school. Our comrades had hoped to establish classes both indoor and outdoor in the colony; but it has now become obligatory to attend the Government school. Fortunately the latter has not yet succeeded in changing the splendid educational plans introduced at the large plenum of teachers which I attended in Barcelona in 1936. Nevertheless the colony has three teachers, one of whom is a comrade passionately devoted to the new approach and methods of modern education. The most gratifying impression was that the children are free and easy going, and that there was no cringing before their elders. Perfect good fellowship and comradeship prevailed between our comrades at the head of the colony, the teachers and the children. There was no exhibitionism and showing off. No one imposed upon them the necessity to make (continued next column)

colony had to make was their desperate need of some vehicle that will enable them to collect food-stuff sent them to the border by the L'Espagne Libre Group in Paris. Owing to the scarcity of trucks and autos, the provisions sometimes lie about for days, subject to decay, such as vegetables and fruit, etc. Also some vehicle to take stricken children to the nearest hospital which is quite some distance from the colony. The comrades begged me to stress this need and to appeal to the readers of "Spain and The World" who have responded with such solidarity to the appeals for the orphan fund.

I can only add my appeal to the urgent request of our comrades of the colony for a special fund to provide a combination ambulance.

I can assure you that the Durruti-Ascaso colony is one bright spot in the truly gigantic and heroic struggle the Spanish comrades are making. It is up to us to show our co-operation, solidarity and help.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

ORPHANS FUND

XIIIth LIST.

- Previously acknowledged £425/12/8
210. Detroit, Mich.: I. Refrattari per proceeds Social, Oct. 6, £2/16/0.
 211. Detroit, Mich.: I. Refrattari per proceeds Social, Oct. 30, £1/4/0.
 212. Stroud: P. Parsons 2/6.
 213. London: G. Seates 2/6.
 214. Toronto: United Libertarian Groups (per D. Giesecke) £3/0/7.
 215. Detroit, Mich.: International Libertarian Committee against Fascism in Spain (per E. Vivas) £9/16/1.
 216. Detroit, Mich.: Grupo Cultura Libertaria (per E. Vivas) proceeds from a play presented Nov. 8th £29/8/3.
 217. Stroud: L. S. Wolfe 10/-.
 218. Stroud: T. H. Keeli 7/6.
 219. Johannesburg: F. Bosagga £1/10/0
- TOTAL: £474/10/1

Published by Thos. H. Keeli, Whiteway Colony, nr. Stroud, Glos., England, on December 10th, 1937, and printed by The Narod Press (T.U.), 129/131 Bedford Street, London, E.C.1.

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coming year, we hope to extend news service.

Our principal aim has had some success. Articles from "Spain and the World" are used by some twenty Left newspapers, published in France, Spain, and India, whilst in a book recently by Secker and Warburg, "Shadow and Substance," we find that one chapter, dealing with the Anarchists, has long quotations from "Spain and the World" and our earlier pamphlet for Liberty in Spain."

Y.

We have received from comrades who are considered as being representative of the attitude toward our publication the reason why as many comrades as possible (of the year) then we feel that our paper has been of a useful and constructive nature which has appeared in certain quarters and their approval, because they feel that progress ceases once criticism ceases; we realise only too well that we are not infallible.

For the coming year will be unsuccessful however endeavour to have more articles other than Spain, thus justifying the title "Spain and the World" to our publication.

Articles who have written to us would like to see factual news as to what is going on in Spain. We must point out to these comrades that our publication has certain limitations. We cannot publish news of the day after it appears in print. We state facts appearing in the Spanish press and from correspondents in Spain, and write articles. Nevertheless we have had numerous interviews with comrades in Spain and in light facts which do not appear in the press. (Our interview with Caspary in "Spain and the World," No. 6) was published in French, Italian and Spanish.

We were able to receive, with much interest, of the attacks on villages carried out by anarchists (Nos. 20 and 21), whilst thirteen articles have appeared dealing with the life and management of collectivised villages. However, we do agree with those who feel that there might have been more news. This can be attributed to two reasons: the time at the disposal of our correspondents and the difficulty experienced in getting through the Spanish Government post-office. These are two obstacles which we have to overcome.

We feel justified in this expense, in that we hope to make more contacts than is possible at our present address which is 100 miles from London. Furthermore there is the advantage of having our offices in the same building as those of the London Bureau of the CNT, which is also at the moment preparing a small exhibition of material brought back from Spain by our Comrade Emma Goldman. This too should bring us new readers.

But this alone will not be sufficient. We need new comrades who will volunteer to sell "Spain and the World" at meetings and in the streets. At the moment we have too few comrades doing this important work for the paper. We must effectively overcome the general apathy which seems to have overtaken the British public. And through our newspaper we must remind them that the struggle is still going on. Some comrades, for instance, take a dozen copies of each issue and send them to friends interested in Spain, or distribute them among their friends. Another reader has sent us two subscriptions for us to send "Spain and the World" regularly to two friends of his. Other comrades send us addresses which might serve as new contacts.

There are so many ways of doing active propaganda to suit each comrade's situation, and if all our comrades will give a little of their time to this work our newspaper will reach a new public interested in our ideals.

ORPHANS FUND.

This was started late in March and in nine months we have received more than £470. Of this total only £100 has been collected in England. It was to be expected that we should have received less than from the American comrades, though on the other hand we were hoping to receive from our English comrades more small expressions of solidarity.

Thanks in the main to the activity of a group of friends at Whiteway we have been able to send six large sacks containing about 300lbs. of winter and summer clothing. We also thank those other friends who have sent clothing, and trust that others will do likewise. They will greatly assist if they include a list of contents with each parcel.

As to the conditions existing at the Colony, no comment can carry more weight than the letter from Comrade Emma Goldman which appears elsewhere on this page.

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We conclude this review of one year's activity with an appeal to all comrades and friends who feel strongly the cause of Free Spain, to co-operate with us in the smooth running and efficient propaganda of our publication "Spain and the World." There can be no limits to our work. It is for us to give all our energies to the greatest of causes, NOW, before it will be too late! THE EDITORS.

your cause very sympathetic and should be glad to be of use to you in any way I can ..."

CYRIL CONNOLLY.

London, S.W.3.

"Your paper bears the stamp of Truth and can be verified by anyone who troubles to seek the truth ..."

CLARA COLE.

Essex.

(continued from previous column) believe. All in all, the colony, made me wish that all the innocent victims of Franco might have similar care, attention and nourishment.

The readers of "Spain and The World" may justly ask whether all refugee children are so well supplied and so splendidly taken care of as those in the Durruti-Ascaso colony. That is unfortunately so far not the case. It must however be borne in mind that Catalonia alone has two million refugees, men, women and children, in addition to its own population, then there is the need of sending food supplies to Madrid, as well as to feed the thousands of militias at the Aragon front, yet as far as it is within their power, our comrades of the C.N.T.-F.A.I., are doing their utmost to give to all children the necessities and care of life.

The only complaint the comrades who manage the Durruti-Ascaso colony had to make was their desperate need of some vehicle that will enable them to collect food-stuff sent them to the border by the L'Espagne Libre Group in Paris. Owing to the scarcity of trucks and autos, the provisions sometimes lie about for days, subject to decay, such as vegetables and fruit, etc. Also some vehicle to take stricken children to the nearest hospital which is quite some distance from the colony. The comrades begged me to stress this need and to appeal to the readers of "Spain and The World" who have responded with such solidarity to the appeals for the orphan fund.

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Ascaso

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SPAIN AND THE WORLD, 10th DECEMBER, 1937

5

Political Persecution In Republican Spain

By Emma GOLDMAN

ON my first visit to Spain in September, 1936, nothing surprised me so much as the amount of political freedom I found everywhere. True it did not extend to Fascists; but outside of these deliberate enemies of the Revolution and the Emancipation of the workers in Spain, everyone of the Anti-Fascist front enjoyed political freedom which hardly existed in any of the so called European democracies. The one party that made the utmost use of this was the P.S.U.C., the Stalinist party in revolutionary Spain. Their radio and loud speakers filled the air. Their daily marches in military formation with their flags waving were flaunted in everybody's face. They seemed to take a special pleasure in marching past the House of the Regional Committee as if they wanted to make the C.N.T.-F.A.I. aware of their determination to strike the blow when they will attain to complete power. This was obvious to anyone among the foreign delegates and comrades who had come to help in the Anti-Fascist struggle. Not so our Spanish comrades. They made light of the communist brazenness. They insisted that this circus clap trap could not decide the revolutionary struggle, and that they themselves had more important things to do than waste their time in idle display. It seemed to me then that the Spanish comrades had little understanding of mass psychology which needs flagwagging, speeches, music and demonstrations—that while the C.N.T.-F.A.I. however, were concentrated on their constructive tasks, and fighting on the various fronts, their communist allies made hay while their sun shone. They have since proved that they knew what they were about.

During my stay of three months I visited many of the collectivised estates and factories, maternities and hospitals in Barcelona, and last but not least, also the "Modelo" prison. This is the place that had harbored some of the most distinguished revolutionaries and anarchists in Catalonia. Our own heroic comrades Durruti and Ascaso, Garcia Oliver and many others had been cell neighbours of Companys, the new President of the Generalitat. I visited this institution in the presence of a comrade, a physician who had made a special study of criminal-psychology. The Director gave me free access to every part of the prison, and the right to speak to any of the Fascists without the presence of guards. Among the few hundred admirers of Franco were officers and priests. They assured me in one voice of the decent and just treatment they were receiving from the management in charge of the place, most of whom were C.N.T.-F.A.I. men.

The possibility that Fascists would soon be replaced by revolutionaries and anarchists was far removed from my mind. If anything, the high water mark of the revolution in the Autumn of 1936 held out hopes that the stain of prison would be wiped out once Franco and his hordes were defeated.

The report of the foul murder of the most gentle of anarchists, Camillo Berneri and his room-mate, the anarchist Barbieri, was followed by wholesale arrests, mutilation and death. They seemed too fantastic, the change in the internal political situation, too incredible to be true. I decided to go back to Spain to see for myself how far the new found freedom of the Spanish masses had been annihilated by Stalin's henchmen.

Once again I arrived on the 16th September this year. I went straight to Valencia and there discovered that 1,500 C.N.T. members, comrades of the F.A.I. and the Libertarian Youth, hundreds of the P.O.U.M. and even members of the International Brigade were filling the prisons of Valencia. During my short stay there, I left no stone unturned to get permission to visit some of our comrades, among them Gustel Dorster whom I had known in Germany as most active in the Anarcho-Syndicalist movement before Hitler ascended to power. I was assured that I would be given permission; but at the last moment, before my return to Barcelona, I was informed that foreigners were not allowed to see the Prison. I soon discovered the same situation

trying to speak at once and tell me of their conditions. I discovered that no charge whatever that would stand in any Court, even under Capitalism, had been preferred against them, except the idiotic charge of "Trotzkism."

These men from every part of the globe had flocked to Spain, often heaving their way across, to help the Spanish Revolution, to join the ranks of the Anti-Fascist, and to lay down their lives in the struggle against Franco were held captive. Others again had been picked up on the street and had vanished without leaving any trace behind. Among the many was Reis, son of the internationally known Russian Menshevik Ahramowitch.

The most recent victim is Kurt Landau, a former member of the Executive Committee of the Austrian Communist Party, and before his arrest, on the Executive Committee of the P.O.U.M. Every effort to find him has met with failure. In view of the disappearance of Andres Nin of the P.O.U.M. and scores of others it is reasonable to conclude that Kurt Landau met with the same fate.

But to return to the Modelo prison. It is impossible to give all the names, because there are so many incarcerated there. The most outstanding is a comrade who, in a high responsible position before the May events, had turned over millions of pesetas to the Generalitat found in Churches and Palaces. He is

I also visited the P.O.U.M. Section. Many of these prisoners are Spaniards, but among them there are also a large number of foreigners, Italian, French, Russian and German. Two members of the P.O.U.M. approached me personally, but begged me to take a message to their own wives in Paris. They were Nicolas Sundelwisch—the son of the famous Menshevik who had spent the longest part of his life in Siberia. Nicolas Sundelwisch certainly did not give me the impression of being guilty of the serious charges made against him of "having given the Fascists information" among the many other charges against him. It takes the perverted communist mind to hold a man in prison because in 1922 he had illegally left Russia.

Richard Tietz was arrested as he came out of the Argentine Consulate in Barcelona where he had gone on behalf of his wife, previously arrested. When he demanded to know the grounds of his arrest the Commissar nonchalantly said "I consider it just." That was evidently enough to keep Richard Tietz in the Modelo since July.

As far as prison conditions can be humane the Modelo is certainly superior to the cheka prisons introduced in Spain by the Stalinists according to the best party examples of Soviet Russia. The "Modelo" still maintains its traditional political privileges such as the right

Landau the wife of Kurt Landau, who had been arrested several months before him. She was like the old time Russian Revolutionists, utterly devoted to her ideas. I already knew of her husband's disappearance and possible end; but I did not have the heart to disclose this fact to her. This was in October. In November I was informed by some of her comrades in Paris, that Mrs. Landau had begun a hunger strike on the 11th November. I have just received word that as a result of two hunger strikes Katia Landau has been released.

A few days before my departure from Spain I was informed on good authority that the old dreadful Bastille—Montjuich was again being used to house political prisoners. The infamous Montjuich, whose every stone could tell of man's inhumanity to man, of the thousands put to death by the most savage methods of torture, or driven mad or to suicide. Montjuich, where in 1897, the Spanish Inquisition had been reintroduced by Canovas Del Casatillo, then Premier of Spain. It was at his behest that 300 workers, among them distinguished Spanish anarchists, had been kept for months in underground damp and dirty cells—repeatedly tortured and denied counsel. It was in Montjuich that Francisco Ferrer was murdered by the Spanish Government and the Catholic Church. Last year I visited this terrifying fortress. Then it held no prisoners. The cells were empty. We descended into black depths with torches guiding our way. I almost seemed to hear the agonised cries of the thousands of victims who had breathed their last in the ghastly holes. It was a relief to get to the light again.

History does repeat itself after all. Montjuich again serves its old ghastly purpose. It is overcrowded with ardent revolutionaries who had been among the first to rush to the various fronts. Militias of the Durruti column freely giving their health and strength but unwilling to be turned into military automata—members of the International Brigade who had come to Spain from every land to fight Fascism, only to discover the harsh differentiation them, their officers and the political commissars, and the criminal waste of human lives due to the military ignorance and for party purpose and glory. All these and more are incarcerated in the fortress of Montjuich.

Since the world slaughter and the continued horror under dictatorship, red and black, human sensibilities have been atrophied; but there must be a few left, who still have a sense of justice. True Anatole France, George Brandes and so many great souls whose protests saved twenty two victims of the Soviet State in 1922 are no longer with us. Still there are the Gides, the Silones, Aldous Huxley, Havelock Ellis, John Cowper Powis, Rebecca West, Ethel Mannin and others, who would surely protest if made aware of the political persecutions rampant under the Negrin, Prieto and Communist regime.

At any rate I cannot be silent in the face of such barbarous political persecutions. In justice to the thousands of our comrades in prison, I have left behind, I will, and must speak out.

London, December, 1937.

INDEPENDENT
INDIA

Editor: M. N. Roy.

Weekly journal containing articles

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During my stay of three months I visited many of the collectivised estates and factories, maternities and hospitals in Barcelona, and last but not least, also the "Modelo" prison. This is the place that had harbored some of the most distinguished revolutionaries and anarchists in Catalonia. Our own heroic comrades Durruti and Ascaso, Garcia Oliver and many others had been cell neighbours of Companys, the new President of the Generalitat. I visited this institution in the presence of a comrade, a physician who had made a special study of criminal-psychology. The Director gave me free access to every part of the prison, and the right to speak to any of the Fascists without the presence of guards. Among the few hundred admirers of Franco were officers and priests. They assured me in one voice of the decent and just treatment they were receiving from the management in charge of the place, most of whom were C.N.T.-F.A.I. men.

assured me in one voice of the decent and just treatment they were receiving from the management in charge of the place, most of whom were C.N.T.-F.A.I. men.

The possibility that Fascists would soon be replaced by revolutionists and anarchists was far removed from my mind. If anything, the high water mark of the revolution in the Autumn of 1936 held out hopes that the stain of prison would be wiped out once Franco and his hordes were defeated.

The report of the foul murder of the most gentle of anarchists, Camillo Berneri and his room-mate, the anarchist Barbieri, was followed by wholesale arrests, mutilation and death. They seemed too fantastic, the change in the internal political situation, too incredible to be true. I decided to go back to Spain to see for myself how far the new found freedom of the Spanish masses had been annihilated by Stalin's henchmen.

Once again I arrived on the 16th September this year. I went straight to Valencia and there discovered that 1,500 C.N.T. members, comrades of the F.A.I. and the Libertarian Youth, hundreds of the P.O.U.M. and even members of the International Brigade were filling the prisons of Valencia. During my short stay there, I left no stone unturned to get permission to visit some of our comrades, among them Gustel Dorster whom I had known in Germany as most active in the Anarcho-Syndicalist movement before Hitler ascended to power. I was assured that I would be given permission; but at the last moment, before my return to Barcelona, I was informed that foreigners were not allowed to see the Prison. I soon discovered the same situation repeated in every town and village I visited. Thousands of comrades and other genuine revolutionaries were filling the prisons under the Negrin-Prieto and Stalinist regime.

When I came back to Barcelona in the early part of October, I immediately sought to see our comrades in the Modelo prison. After many difficulties, comrade Augustin Souchy succeeded in obtaining permission to have an interview with a few of the German comrades. Much to my surprise I found on my arrival there, that the same Director was still in charge. He too recognised me and he again gave me full entry to the prison. I did not need to speak to the comrades through the hideous bars. I was in the hall where they foregather, surrounded by German, Italian, Bulgarian, Russian and Spanish comrades, all



held under the ludicrous charge of having embezzled 100,000 pesetas.

Comrade Helmut Klose a member of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. He was arrested on the 2nd July. No charge has been made up to this date, neither was he brought before a Judge. Comrade Klose was a member of the FAUD in Germany (German Anarcho-Syndicalist Organisation). After having been arrested several times, he emigrated to Yugoslavia in the summer of 1933. Expelled from there in February, 1937, because of Anti-Fascist activity. He came to Spain in March. He joined the frontier service of the F.A.I., in the "De la Costa" Battalion. After the dissolution of this Battalion, in June he took his discharge, and entered the service of the Agricultural Collective of San Anores. In compliance with the request of his Group he later undertook the reorganisation of the Tailors' Collective of the Emigrants' Committee. The charge made by the Cheka of his having disarmed officers while in the Frontier Service at Figueras is entirely without foundation.

Comr. de Albert Kille. He was arrested on September 7th. No reason was given. In Germany he had belonged since 1919 to the Productive Supply Union. Besides this he was a member of the Communist Party. In 1933 he emigrated to Austria. After the February events he fled to Prague; but later returned to Austria, whence he was expelled and left for France. Here he joined the German Anarcho-Syndicalist Group. In August, 1936, he went to Spain, where he at once proceeded to the front. He was wounded once. He belonged to the Durruti column right up to the time of the militarisation. In June he took his discharge.

of the inmates to freely mingle together, organise their committees to represent them with the director, receiving parcels, tobacco, etc., in addition to the scanty prison fare. They can also write and receive letters and reading material. Besides, the prisoners issue little prison papers and bulletins which they can paste in the corridors where they all foregather. Both in the section of our comrades and the P.O.U.M. I found such prison papers, posters and photographs of the heroes of the two parties. The P.O.U.M. had even a very fine drawing of Andrai Nin and a picture of Rosa Luxemburg, while the anarchist's side had Ascaso and Durruti on their wall.

Most interesting was the Durruti cell which he had occupied in Barcelona until released by the 1936 elections. It was left intact as it had been while Durruti was its involuntary lodger. Several large posters of our gallant comrade made the cell very much alive. The strangest part is however, that the Durruti cell is in the Fascist section. In answer to my question as to how Durruti's cell comes to be in there, was told by the guard "as an example of the living spirit of Durruti that will destroy Fascism." I wanted very much to have the Durruti cell photographed; but permission had to be obtained from the Minister of Justice. I gave up the idea. I had never in my life asked favours of Ministers of Justice, much less would I ask for anything from the counter-revolutionary government, the Spanish Cheka.

My next visit was to the women's prison, which I found better kept and more cheerful than the Modelo. Only six women politicals were there at the time. Among them Katia

the thousands of victims who had breathed their last in the ghastly holes. It was a relief to get to the light again.

History does repeat itself after all. Montjuich again serves its old ghastly purpose. It is overcrowded with ardent revolutionaries who had been among the first to rush to the various fronts. Militias of the Durruti column freely giving their health and strength but unwilling to be turned into military automata—members of the International Brigade who had come to Spain from every land to fight Fascism, only to discover the harsh differentiation them, their officers and the political commissars, and the criminal waste of human lives due to the military ignorance and for party purpose and glory. All these and more are incarcerated in the fortress of Montjuich.

Since the world slaughter and the continued horror under dictatorship, red and black, human sensibilities have been atrophied; but there must be a few left, who still have a

since the world slaughter and the continued horror under dictatorship, red and black, human sensibilities have been atrophied; but there must be a few left, who still have a sense of justice. True Anatole France, George Brandes and so many great souls whose protests saved twenty two victims of the Soviet State in 1922 are no longer with us. Still there are the Glades, the Silones, Aldous Huxley, Havelock Ellis, John Cowper Powis, Rebecca West, Ethel Mannin and others, who would surely protest if made aware of the political persecutions rampant under the Negrin, Prieto and Communist regime.

At any rate I cannot be silent in the face of such barbarous political persecutions. In justice to the thousands of our comrades in prison, I have left behind, I will, and must speak out.

London, December, 1937.

INDEPENDENT INDIA

Editor: M. N. Roy.

Weekly journal containing articles

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International affairs.

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Editorial Offices:

Empire Automobile Building,
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The Emma Goldman Papers

Political Persecutions in Spain Must Stop / Emma Goldman.— 28 cm. In Spanish Revolution [New York]. —(Dec. 20, 1937).

Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

SPAIN IN REVOLUTION

PUBLISHED BY THE UNITED LIBERTARIAN ORGANIZATIONS

NEW YORK, DECEMBER 20, 1937

Price Five Cents

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Who Is Betraying The Anti-Fascist Cause?

General Appointed to Discipline
Anarchists in Catalonia Arrested
On Charges of High Treason.

While the Communist Party of Spain is busily concocting fantastic charges of espionage against the charges of espionage against the militants of the labor movement, treason has found its way to the very heart of the military apparatus which it built up as a bulwark against the forward course of the revolution of July 19.

The latest news is that a number of high-ranking military officials, very closely connected with the Communist Party, have been arrested on charges of high treason. Some were shot already, the evidence being overwhelming in proof of their openly treasonable activities.

Not a Single Militant Among Them

In this connection it is important to bear in mind that not a single anarchist or P.O.U.M. militant who

(Continued on page four)

POLITICAL PERSECUTIONS IN SPAIN MUST STOP

EMMA GOLDMAN APPEALS TO THE CONSCIENCE
OF THE WORLD

1936-1937.— Humanitarian Prison Reform Undone—Spanish
Bastille Again Serves Its Ghastly Purpose— Political Persecu-
tions Rampant Under Stalinist-Prieto Regime.

On my first visit to Spain in September 1936 nothing surprised me so much as the amount of political freedom I found everywhere. True, it did not extend to Fascists; but outside of these deliberate enemies of the Revolution and the emancipation of the workers in Spain, everyone of the Anti-Fascist front enjoyed political freedom which hardly existed in any of the so called European democracies. The one party that made the utmost use of this was the P.S.U.C., the Stalinist party in revolutionary Spain. Their radio and loud speakers filled the air. Their daily marches in military formation with their flag waving were flaunted in everybody's face. They seemed to take special pleasure in marching past the House of the Regional Committee as if they wanted to make the Regional Committee in the C.N.T.-F.A.I. aware of their determination to strike the blow when they attain to complete power.

This was obvious to anyone among the foreign delegates and comrades who had come to help in the Anti-Fascist struggle. Not so our Spanish comrades. They made light of the communist brazenness. They insisted that this circus clap-trap could not decide the revolutionary struggle, and that they themselves had more important things to do than waste their time in idle display.

During my stay of three months I visited many of the collectivized estates and factories, maternities and hospitals in Barcelona, and last but not least, also the Modelo prison. This is the place that harbored some of the most distinguished revolutionaries and anarchists in Catalonia. Our own heroic comrades—Durruti and Ascaso, Garcia Oliver and many others—had been cell neighbors of Companys, the now president of the Generalitat.

I visited this institution in the presence of a comrade, a physician who had made a special study of criminal psychology. The director gave me free access to every part of the prison, and the right to speak to any of the Fascists without the presence of guards. Among the few hundred admirers of Franco were officers and priests. They assured me in one voice of the decent and just treatment they were receiving by the management in charge of the place, most of whom were C.N.T. F.A.I. men.

Back to Old Conditions

Once again I arrived on the 16th September this year. I went straight to Valencia and there discovered that 1500 C.N.T. members, comrades of the F.A.I. and the Libertarian Youth, hundreds of the P.O.U.M. and even members of the International Brigade were filling the prisons of Valencia. During my short stay there, I left no stone unturned to get permission to visit some of our comrades, among them Gustel Dorster whom I had known in Germany as most active in the Anarcho-Syndicalist movement before Hitler ascended to power.

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Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

the C.N.T. on the pre-revolutionary situation in Spain ("Proceso historico de la revolucion Espanola").

Jesuits In Economic Control

"Everyone knows of the fabulous financial power exercised by the Jesuits (order of Jesus) in Spain prior to July 19. The Jesuits were the major shareholders of the Spanish railways; they dominated the electric, gas, trolley and maritime

The republican government of pre-revolutionary Spain pursued, as is known, the same kind of pussy-footing policy of conciliating those powerful enemies which is now advocated by the Communist Party. Nominally, the Jesuit order was dissolved by the Republican government, but the sources of its economic power remained intact.

The result was a "sit-down" strike on the part of the economic rulers of Spain. The political democracy of pre-revolutionary

Spain appears to have been a "brothers" which the present Stalinist-Prieto coalition, following in the footsteps of the impotent policy of the pre-revolutionary government, is trying to foist upon the country.

Just Received from Spain "THE TRAGIC WEEK IN MAY"

by Augustin Souchy
(a 48-page pamphlet describing the Stalinist plot in Barcelona)
IN ENGLISH

Single copy — 10c.

Special Rates for
Bundle Orders

and

We Also Have a Number of SPANISH ALBUMS FOR SALE.

Order from
U.L.O. — Jack White
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POLITICAL PERSECUTIONS MUST STOP

"I Cannot remain silent in face of such barbarous persecutions"
—EMMA GOLDMAN

(Continued from page one)

I was assured that I would be given permission; but at the last moment before my return to Barcelona I was informed that foreigners could not see the prisoners. I soon discovered the same situation, repeated in every town and village I visited. Thousands of comrades and other genuine revolutionists filled the prisons under the Negrin and Stalinist regime.

When I returned to Barcelona in the early part of October I immediately sought to see our comrades in the Modelo prison. After many difficulties comrade Augustin Souchy succeeded in obtaining permission to have an interview with a few of the German comrades.

Much to my surprise I found on my arrival there that the same Director was still in charge. He too recognised me and he again gave me full entry to the prison. I did not need to speak to the comrades through the hideous bars. I was in the hall where they foregathered, surrounded by German, Italian, Bulgarian, Russian and Spanish comrades, all trying to speak at once and tell me of their conditions. I discovered that no charge whatever that would stand in any Court, even under Capitalism, had been preferred against them, except the idiotic charge of "Trotskyism."

Revolutionary Zeal 'Rewarded'

These men from every part of the globe who had flocked to Spain, often begging their way across, to help the Spanish Revolution, to join the ranks of the Anti-Fascist, and to lay down their lives in the struggle against Franco, were held captive.

Others again had been picked up on the street and had vanished without leaving any trace behind. Among the many was Rein, son of

the internationally known Russian Menshevik, Abramowitch. The most recent victim is Kurt Landau, a former member of the Executive Committee of the Austrian Communist Party and before his arrest on the Executive Committee of the P.O.U.M. Every effort to find him has met with failure. In view of the disappearance of Andre Nin of the P.O.U.M. and scores of others it is reasonable to conclude that Kurt Landau met with the same fate.

Inquisition Revived

A few days before my departure from Spain I was informed on good authority that the old dreadful Basile, Montjuich, was again being used to house political prisoners.

The infamous Montjuich whose every stone could tell of man's inhumanity to man, of thousands put to death by the most savage methods of torture, driven mad or to suicide. Montjuich, where in 1897 the Spanish Inquisition had been re-introduced by Canavos Del Castillo, then Premier of Spain. It was at his behest that 300 workers, among them distinguished Spanish anarchist, had been kept for months in underground damp cells—repeatedly tortured and denied counsel. I was in Montjuich where Francisco Ferrer had been murdered by the Spanish Government and the Catholic Church.

Last year I visited this terrifying fortress. Then it held no prisoners. The cells were empty. We descended into black depths with torches guiding our way. I almost seemed to hear the agonizing cries of the thousands of victims who had breathed their last in the ghastly holes. It was a relief to get to the light again.

History does repeat itself after all. Montjuich again serves its old ghastly

purpose. It is overcrowded with ardent revolutionaries who had been among the first to rush to the various fronts. Militias of the Durruti column, freely giving their health and strength but unwilling to be turned into military automatons—members of the International Brigade had come to Spain from every land to fight Fascism, only to discover the cross indifference to them on the part of their officers and the political commissars, and the criminal waste of human lives due to the military ignorance, party purpose and glory. All these and more are incarcerated in the fortress of Montjuich.

Honest Intellectuals Must Speak Out.

Since the world slaughter and the continued horror under dictatorship red and black, human sensibilities have been etrophied; but there must be a few left, who still have a sense of justice. True, Anatole France, George Brandes and so many great souls whose protests saved twenty two victims of the Soviet state in 1922 are no longer with us. Still there are the Gides, the Silones, Aldous Huxley, Havelock Ellis the John Cowper Powis, Rebecca West, and others who would surely protest if made aware of the political persecutions rampant under the Negrin Prieto and Communist regime.

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December, 1937

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The Emma Goldman Papers

["Among the Features That Impressed Me Most..."] / Emma Goldman. — 27 cm. In Spanish Revolution [New York]. — (Dec. 12, 1937, excerpt).
Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

SPANISH REVOLUTION

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P.O.U.M. VINDICATED

"From an absolutely authoritative source in Spain I am able to report this week news which is good and at the same time unsatisfactory.

"The Minister of Justice, Senor Irujo, has informed the Cabinet that after thorough investigation of the charges made against the five P.O.U.M. leaders, he and his advisers have concluded that there is no case against them to present to the Special Tribunal for espionage. Following this report, the Cabinet considered what to do and decided by seven votes to two to liberate the prisoners quietly one by one.

"The minority of two was composed of the Communist Party representatives, who wanted the charges to be pressed. They regarded the matter as a major issue, and that it might similarly be regarded by Soviet Russia.

"In view of the importance of maintaining the unity of the Government and the co-operation of Russia, the question was reconsidered, and it was finally agreed to keep the prisoners in confinement without penal conditions, but not to proceed with the trial."

Fenner Brockway, leader of Independent Labor Party of Britain, in "The New Leader" (British publication) of Nov. 26.

WHO IS BETRAYING ANTI-FASCIST CAUSE? GENERAL POZAS ARRESTED

(Continued from page one)

were brought up before the Tribunals on trumped up charges of espionage were convicted. It is the more flagrant an evidence of the fantastic nature of such charges that the Tribunals were packed by yes-men of the War Commissariat controlled to a certain extent by the Stalinists.

Stalinist Appointee Arrested

Most sensational of all is the arrest of General Pozas, the supreme commander of the Catalonian forces. We quote the Swiss weekly "Le Reveil," (December 4) for information on this matter.

"Everyone remembers that following the May days in Barcelona, the Negrin government, which succeeded Lafgo Caballero, sent to Catalonia General Pozas with full civil and military powers. The latter became

lonia. He was to reform, fortify and restore healthful conditions at the front as well as in the rearguard.

"In reality, even in the military circles he was regarded as anything but an eagle. But like the Communist General Lister he distinguished himself in his work of repression against the workers of Catalonia *)

*) Ed. Note: We lack definite information as to whether General Pozas was a member of the Communist Party. Most of the prominent Generals of the old army now working with the loyalists did join this party, partly for camouflaging purposes and partly by class instinct, since the Communist Party, backed up by Soviet Russia, set itself up as the most formidable bulwark against the revolutionary workers.

We do know, however, that General Pozas took a very important part in the summer conference of the P.S.U.C. (Communist outfit of Catalonia) as one of the important

"Among the features that impressed me most in the revolution was the large laboratory brought into existence by the comrades of the C.N.T.

"It embraces 12 departments of science. The chief research work is agriculture and experiments are carried out on large estates.

"This laboratory can well be compared, on a smaller scale of course, with many such institutions outside of war-ridden Spain."

—EMMA GOLDMAN

"But for some time nothing was heard of this grand savior. The rather intriguing silence in regard to him was finally broken by information reaching us from Barcelona, to the effect that General Pozas was arrested on charges of high treason, while HALF OF HIS STAFF HAD ALREADY GONE OVER TO FRANCO."

"Independent News," a French news bulletin, informs on the same matter:

"It is affirmed in the military centers that the deposition and the arrest of General Pozas were motivated by the fact that the most advanced positions near Huesca conquered by the revolutionary troops were abandoned without any apparent reason.

"It is also reported that large stocks of war material have recently disappeared in a rather mysterious manner."

Treason Rife in The General Staff

The same bulletin reports drastic purges in the General Staff of the Stalinist division (Karl Marx) at the Aragon front.

"A large number of the members of the General Staff of the Stalinist division (Karl Marx) were shot for having aided their comrades to make their way to the fascist lines; others

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Emma Goldman habla sobre las luchas de los obreros españoles [Emma Goldman speaks of the Spanish workers' struggle. In Spanish] / Emma Goldman. — p. 3 ; 34 cm. In Solidaridad Obrera [Barcelona]. — (Dec. 25, 1937).
Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

Enma Goldman habla sobre las luchas de los obreros españoles

12/25/37 p.3
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YA está de regreso Emma Goldman. Después de tres meses de ausencia, durante los cuales ha viajado por toda la España antifascista, se encuentra de nuevo en Inglaterra, para continuar trabajando en favor de la C. N. T.-F. A. I., aunque ahora en una escala mucho mayor que antes.

Le hemos preguntado qué punto de España le ha impresionado más. —Madrid, sin ninguna duda. He visitado las trincheras defendidas por nuestros compañeros. En este frente, la C. N. T.-F. A. I. tiene cincuenta y seis mil adherentes. En algunos puntos, este frente solamente dista de los fascistas, cien metros. He hablado con nuestros bravos milicianos y oficiales. He quedado sorprendida por su espíritu. Tienen un entusiasmo verdaderamente admirable. A ellos les preocupa una sola idea: la destrucción del fascismo.

Pora darles una idea del entusiasmo que existe entre ellos, les relataré un hecho que me ha ocurrido. Encontré a un muchacho de la C. N. T. que tiene quince años, en las primeras líneas. Le pregunté si era movilizado. Con orgullo me contestó: No; soy voluntario.

—¿No le parece que la C. N. T. y la F. A. I. han ganado terreno en Madrid?

—Sí, y lo atestiguan el caso de la gran tirada que tienen en Madrid los periódicos de la C. N. T.-F. A. I. En cambio, el periódico comunista solamente tira veinte y seis mil ejemplares. En Madrid, "CNT" tiene una tirada de treinta mil ejemplares, y en Castilla de cien mil. En cuanto el censor suspende el diario de Madrid "CNT", inmediatamente nuestros compañeros editan "Frente Libertario", del cual se tiran cien mil ejemplares.

—¿Cuáles son las condiciones de vida en Madrid? ¿Faltan muchos alimentos en las trincheras?

—En este sentido, Madrid está mejor que Barcelona, a pesar de que Madrid no tiene todo lo que debía tener.

Como usted sabe, la Prensa comunista y capitalista continuamente dicen que Cataluña no ha cumplido con su deber, en relación con el resto de la España antifascista.

—Todo lo que yo he visto son pruebas de la falsedad de estas afirmaciones. Y esto todavía no es todo. En Hospitalet, por ejemplo, ciudad que está a unos treinta kilómetros de Barcelona y que tiene cerca de treinta y cinco mil habitantes, cuya ciudad es el mayor centro de producción de verduras y fruta. De los cientos de miles de refugiados que han llegado a Cataluña, Hospitalet ha acogido cuarenta mil de ellos, y a pesar de esto, todavía continúa enviando ayuda a Barcelona. Es muy importante que todos los obreros ingleses sepan que el rumor de que Cataluña está soboleando a Madrid, no es otra cosa que una criminal calumnia.

A pesar de que algunas Colectividades han sido atacadas o destruidas por los comunistas, muchas de ellas todavía funcionan. Los ataques contra las Colectividades han decrecido bastante desde que el Gobierno de Negrín las ha legalizado. Esto ha sucedido, no por simpatía hacia la C. N. T., sino simplemente porque el Gobierno ha tenido que reconocer que las Colectividades producen mucho más de lo que se producía con el viejo sistema. Cuando los comunistas tienen las manos libres, virtualmente destruyen todos los pueblos y asesinan o ostenen a nuestros compañeros más activos.

Suponemos que habrá usted visitado alguna de las Colectividades que ya había visitado anteriormente.

—Sí; he visitado bastantes de éstas. Las he encontrado en mejores condiciones que el año pasado. En muchos pueblos se había olvidado definitivamente el dinero. En una de las Colectividades nos invitaron a cenar con los colectivistas, todo lo que nos ofre-



cieron en aquella cena, incluso el vino, había sido producido por los mismos compañeros.

—Seguramente habrá usted encontrado algún progreso en los pueblos, y ¿cree usted que el movimiento C. N. T.-F. A. I. también ha hecho el mismo progreso?

—Sí; nuestros compañeros, políticamente, así como estratégicamente, han perdido terreno. En muchos casos han sido desplazados por los comunistas. Pero yo creo que han ganado, moralmente. El pueblo español sabe que nuestros compañeros de la C. N. T.-F. A. I. han sido los únicos que en España han hecho todo lo posible para ganar la guerra contra el fascismo. A consecuencia de esto, han contraído muchos compromisos.

—¿Qué opinión tiene sobre esta política?

—Sin duda sabrá usted que allí los grupos de oposición, como los "Amigos de Durruti" y las Juventudes Libertarias, no estaban totalmente de acuerdo con la línea oficial de la C. N. T.

Yo siempre he sido contraria a los compromisos y sigo siéndolo, pero también comprendo a los compañeros españoles. Estos están obsesionados de que ellos son el primer pueblo del Mundo que ha hecho retroceder al fascismo y que ellos serán los últimos en la lucha contra Franco. Yo no tengo ningún miedo sobre el desenlace final. Nuestros compañeros tienen un espíritu verdaderamente revolucionario y están dispuestos, tan pronto como destruyan al fascismo, a atenerse a sus principios. De esto estoy completamente convencida, como también de la victoria final. Tampoco dudo del fracaso final de los comunistas, los cuales han realizado un fuego muy peligroso durante la lucha. Ustedes deben comprender que el comunismo no tiene raíces en España. El comunismo es algo artificial.

Los comunistas han ganado sus adherentes entre la clase media. Respecto a la posición de la C. N. T., desde luego existe esta oposición. Ha presenciado los plenos del movimiento juvenil y de la F. A. I., he oído críticas muy fuertes contra el Comité Nacional; pero ahora los compañeros jóvenes están con la C. N. T., como un solo hombre, y principalmente en lo que se refiere a su determinación de luchar contra Franco y sus hordas.

—¿Puede usted darnos alguna idea sobre el progreso científico y cultural que se ha realizado en España durante la Revolución?

—Esto se refiere al porvenir de la Revolución, y es lo que más me ha impresionado. He visto, por ejemplo, un gran laboratorio cerca de Barcelona, construido por los compañeros de la C. N. T. Este laboratorio se compone de doce departamentos de ciencia. El trabajo más importante del mismo es la agricultura, y se han hecho muchos experimentos. He visitado muchos laboratorios en todo el Mundo, y puedo asegurar que este laboratorio puede ser comparado con cualquiera de las instituciones de este género que existen fuera de España, aunque, claro está, en una escala más reducida. En Madrid mismo, desafiando o todo el peligro, existe una grandiosa obra de investigación. Además, es imposible hacer justicia a lo colosal obra constructiva que han emprendido nuestros compañeros de la C. N. T.-F. A. I. en un pequeño reportaje. Pienso hacerlo en una serie de artículos.

No es esto todo lo que nos ha contado nuestro compañero. Hemos pasado casi cuatro horas oyendo sus explicaciones sobre lo que he visto y ha oído. Por el tono entusiástico y decisivo con el cual nos hablaba, hemos comprendido que ella estaba con el corazón y con el espíritu, con los obreros españoles que luchan contra el fascismo internacional.

(De "Spain and the World".)

La Aviación lo mismo que los Ejércitos de mar y tierra, deben estar organizados en unidades de combate, con sus jefes naturales y perfecta sucesión de mandos; todo lo demás es perder el tiempo e involucrar las cosas, y en el desconcierto diluir las jerarquías y las responsabilidades.

El jefe de las fuerzas aéreas del Ejército de tierra y al aire por lo tanto, su misión es la del subsecretario, y sólo depende de su ministro.

A él compete, pues, única guerra de las fuerzas del aire responsabilidad, por su actividad mismo del ajuste jerárquico de calabros que en su designación.

La distribución de las fuerzas bien por escuadras, tiene que ser militar jerárquica, en la cual, se sepa quién asume el mando del conjunto de la fuerza, o zona aérea ha de ocurrir en el Ejército de tierra, tengan que salir para cualquier que componen sus fuerzas.

AL FRENTE DE SUS FUERZAS DEL MANDO, en el aire y en donde esté, es el ÚNICO responsable, de cuanto bueno o malo. No necesita un jefe de concentradas todas sus fuerzas de que el jefe DEBE estar mayor de sus fuerzas, puede el sitio adecuado para ponerse su ayudante y su secretario, de combate.

Los servicios auxiliares de protección de los aeródromos, y pueden ser NUNCA obstáculo, aéreas, eluda la obligación, en el aire, y actuar en los combates puede admitir que los elementos datrix que obligue al jefe de acciones del aire.

Todo el engranaje jerárquico precisa para que la falta del en cuenta que estas ausencias la sucesión de mandos perfecto.

Lo dicho para el jefe de la cado con caracteres mucho más escuadrilla, que sus máximas a conseguir el máximo rendimiento.

¿Que todo esto es el A? Efectivamente. Pero también gloria de unos cuantos. Si TE, los subordinados están obligados, que el EJEMPLO de los militares. La falta de LA GRADUACION del que tiene que tener presente: PARSE con la OMISION de.

En Aviación, Ejército de pie y personal culto, los primeros un momento por los jefes deben ser el catecismo de todo así veremos como cosa corriente de aviadores, que vivirán esclavizando como cosa natural, indagando sobre su aparato y

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(THE CALL OF THE REFRACTARIES)
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EMMA GOLDMAN

Persecuzione politica nella Spagna repubblicana

Nella mia prima visita alla Spagna, nel settembre del 1936, nulla mi sorprese quanto l'estensione della libertà politica che trovai dappertutto. Non comprendeva, è vero, i fascisti, ma, ad eccezione di questi nemici aperti della Rivoluzione e dell'Emancipazione dei lavoratori iberici, nell'ambito del Fronte Antifascista tutti godevano di una misura di libertà politica, che non esiste in alcuno dei paesi sedicenti democratici d'Europa. Il solo che facesse il massimo uso di questa libertà era il P. S. U. C., il partito stalinista della Spagna rivoluzionaria. La sua radio e i suoi altoparlanti rintronavano nell'aria; le sue parate quotidiane, in formazioni militari, con sventolio di bandiere, non sfuggivano ad alcuno. Pareva che i seguaci di cotesto partito trovassero un piacere straordinario a sfilare davanti alla Casa del Comitato Regionale, quasi che intendessero premonire la C. N. T. della loro determinazione di fare il colpo, non appena ne avessero la forza. Questo appariva chiaro a tutti i delegati e a tutti i compagni che dall'estero erano venuti a portare il loro aiuto nella lotta contro il fascismo. Non così ai nostri compagni spagnoli, i quali non davano importanza all'impudenza comunista. Dicevano che queste pagliacciate non potevano cambiare le sorti della rivoluzione e che essi avevano cose molto più importanti da fare, che perdere il tempo in oziose dimostrazioni di forza. A me pareva, allora, che i compagni spagnoli non avessero una giusta comprensione della psicologia della massa, che ha bisogno di sventolio di bandiere, di discorsi, di musica e di dimostrazioni; e che mentre la C. N. T. e la F. A. I. si concentravano nel lavoro costruttivo e nella lotta sui vari fronti, i loro alleati comunisti ne approfittavano per raccogliere adesioni. Questi hanno poi dimostrato che sapevano quel che volevano.

Durante i tre mesi di quella mia visita, andai a vedere molte collettivizzazioni rurali e industriali, ospedali e ricoveri di maternità in Barcellona; e, non meno importante, anche il "Carcere Modello". In questa istituzione sono state ospitate alcune delle personalità più distinte del movimento rivoluzionario e anarchico di Catalogna. I nostri valorosi compagni Durruti, Ascaso, Garcia Oliver e molti altri vi sono stati compagni di cella di Companys, il nuovo presidente della Generalità. Visitai il "Carcere Modello" insieme a un compagno, un medico che aveva fatto uno studio speciale della psicologia criminale. Il direttore mi lasciò libera di andare in qualunque posto della prigione e di parlare con qualunque dei fascisti che vi si trovavano, senza la presenza di guardie. Tra le centinaia di ammiratori di Franco, erano ufficiali e preti. Tutti mi assicurarono che erano trattati con giustizia e con decenza dalla direzione — composta in gran parte di uomini della C. N. T. - F. A. I.

Il pensiero che i fascisti avrebbero potuto essere sostituiti da rivoluzionari e anarchici in breve tempo, mi martellava nella mente con insistenza. Al culmine della rivoluzione contro la banda dei pirati, nell'autunno del 1936, grande era la speranza che cesserebbero di esistere prigionieri, ed io presentivo che la vergogna delle galere sarebbe cancellata non appena Franco e le sue orde fossero



Dis. di Castolan

sconfitte. La notizia che il più gentile degli anarchici, Camillo Berneri, era stato barbaramente assassinato insieme al suo compagno Giovanni Barbieri, seguita da altre notizie di arresti in massa, mutilazioni, assassinii, pareva troppo fantastica, il cambiamento della situazione politica interna troppo incredibile, per essere vero. Così decisi di ritornare in Spagna, onde vedere coi miei occhi fino a qual punto la conquistata libertà delle moltitudini spagnole fosse stata abbattuta dai giannizzeri di Stalin.

Arrivai in territorio spagnolo il 16 Settembre 1937 e andai diritto a Valenza, dove trovai, nelle prigioni, 1.500 compagni della C. N. T. insieme a membri della F. A. I., della Gioventù Libertaria, centinaia di membri del P. O. U. M. ed anche membri della Brigata Internazionale. Durante la mia permanenza in quella città feci di tutto per ottenere il permesso di visitare qualcuno dei nostri compagni, fra i quali Gustel Dorster, che avevo conosciuto in Germania prima dell'avvento di Hitler, come militante attivissimo del movimento Anarco-Sindacalista. Mi si assicurò che avrei ottenuto il permesso desiderato; ma, poco prima di tornare a Barcellona, fui informata che gli stranieri non potevano essere autorizzati a visitare prigio-

nieri. Non tardai a scoprire che lo stesso stato di cose esisteva dappertutto altrove, in tutte le città e in tutti i villaggi che ho visitato. Sotto il regime di Negrin-Prieto-Staliniani, migliaia di compagni e di altri rivoluzionari autentici riempiono le prigioni della repubblica.

Quando tornai a Barcellona, al principio d'ottobre, cercai subito di visitare i compagni chiusi nel "Carcere Modello". Dopo molte difficoltà, il compagno Augustin Souchy riuscì ad ottenere per me il permesso di vedere alcuni compagni tedeschi. Giunta al Carcere, scoprii, non senza sorpresa, che il direttore non era cambiato. Egli pure mi riconobbe e mi ammise con la massima libertà. Non ebbi bisogno di parlare coi compagni attraverso le inferriate, ma in una sala, dove erano stati raccolti in precedenza i compagni tedeschi, italiani, bulgari, russi e spagnoli, ansiosi di parlarmi delle loro condizioni. Seppi, allora, che nessuna accusa pesava su di loro, suscettibile di stare in piedi anche in un tribunale borghese, nulla, all'infuori della stupida accusa di "trotskismo".

Da mesi, questi uomini venuti in Spagna da ogni parte del mondo con sacrifici indicibili, per aiutare la Rivoluzione Spagnola, entrando nei ranghi antifascisti e offrendo la vita stessa nella lotta contro Franco — da mesi essi erano tenuti in prigione. Altri erano stati presi nella strada ed erano spariti senza lasciare traccia. Tra questi non pochi scomparsi, era Rein, figlio di un intellettuale menscevico internazionalmente conosciuto, Abramowitch. La vittima più recente era Kurt Landau, ex-membro del Comitato Esecutivo del Partito Comunista Austriaco, e, prima del suo arresto, membro del Comitato Esecutivo del P. O. U. M. Tutti i tentativi fatti per ritrovare Landau sono stati infruttuosi. Data la scomparsa di Andres Nin, Segretario Generale del P. O. U. M., e di decine d'altri, è ragionevole concludere che Landau ha subito la stessa sorte.

Ritornando al "Carcere Modello", è impossibile dare il nome di tutte le vittime, perché troppe ve ne sono, in quella galera. Il caso più sintomatico è quello di un compagno che, trovandosi in una posizione importantissima, prima degli avvenimenti del Maggio, aveva consegnato milioni di pesetas alla Generalità, danaro che era stato trovato nelle chiese e nei palazzi. Questo compagno è tenuto in prigione sotto l'assurda imputazione di aver truffato 100.000 pesetas.

Il compagno Helmut Klose, membro della C. N. T. - F. A. I., non ha che 33 anni. Fu arrestato il 21 luglio. Nessuna imputazione è stata formulata a suo carico, fino a questo momento — principio di dicembre — né è stato egli mai presentato ad alcun giudice. In Germania, Klose apparteneva alla FAUD — l'organizzazione Anarco-Sindacalista tedesca. Arrestato diverse volte, emigrò in Yu-

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Sabato 25 Dicembre 1937

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goslavia nell'estate del 1933. Ne fu espulso nel Febbraio del 1937, in conseguenza della sua attività pro' Spagna. Giunse in Ispagna nel marzo ed entrò nel servizio di frontiera della F. A. I., nel Battaglione "De la Costa". Sciolto questo battaglione, in Giugno, si congedò e si arruolò nella Collettività Agricola di San Andres. Conformemente ai desideri del suo gruppo, egli intraprese poi la riorganizzazione della Collettività dei Sarti del Comitato Emigranti. L'accusa fattagli dalla Ceka, di avere disarmato ufficiali al tempo in cui era nel servizio di Frontiera a Figueras, non ha alcun fondamento. Tuttavia, egli rimane in prigione.

Il compagno Albert Kille ha 41 anno. Fu arrestato il 7 settembre. Nessuna imputazione è levata contro di lui. In Germania, apparteneva all'unione Attrezzi di Produzione, fin dal 1919, e al Partito Comunista. Nel 1933 andò in Austria. Dopo gli avvenimenti di Febbraio ripartì a Praga, poi, tornato in Austria, ne fu espulso e andò in Francia. In Francia entrò nel Gruppo Anarco-Sindacalista tedesco e nell'Agosto 1936 andò in Ispagna, raggiungendo subito il fronte, dove rimase ferito. Appartenne alla Colonna Durruti fino al tempo della militarizzazione della Milizia. Allora entrò nel Battaglione "De la Costa", da cui si congedò lo scorso giugno. Kille è gravemente ammalato. Fin dal suo arresto si trova nell'ospedale, dove, non si fa nulla per curarlo. Molti altri si trovano nello stesso caso.

Andai a visitare anche la sezione del P. O. U. M. Molti dei prigionieri di questo partito sono spagnoli, ma vi sono anche stranieri: italiani, francesi, russi e tedeschi. Due membri del P. O. U. M. si avvicinarono a me. Non avevano molto da lagnarsi delle loro sofferenze, ma mi pregarono di portare loro notizie alle mogli che si trovano a Parigi. Uno di essi era Nicola Sundelwitch, il quale non mi fece certo l'impressione di essere colpevole delle accuse che gli si facevano, d'essere "un informatore dei fascisti", tra le altre cose. Ci vuole la mente perversa dei comunisti, per tenere in galera un uomo sol perché, nel 1922, era uscito illegalmente dalla Russia. Sundelwitch è il figlio di un famoso menscevico che ha passato quasi tutta la sua vita in Siberia, per le sue idee. Tietz è un altro. Fu arrestato mentre usciva dal consolato argentino di Barcellona, dove era andato per pratiche riguardanti la moglie, che era stata precedentemente arrestata. Quando domandò la ragione del suo arresto, il Commissario, senza scomporsi, rispose: "Io lo considero giusto", e questo è bastato per tenere Tietz nel "Carcere Modello" da luglio in poi.

Tornando a questa prigione, nella misura che una prigione può essere umana, essa è certamente superiore alle prigioni che la Ceka ha introdotte in Ispagna, in conformità delle tradizioni russe del partito staliniano. Il "Modello" conserva le sue tradizionali agevolazioni per i politici, come il diritto per detenuti di stare insieme, organizzare i propri comitati per rappresentarli presso la direzione, ricevere pacchi, tabacco, ecc., in più del

rancio regolamentare. Possono anche scrivere e ricevere lettere e stampati. Inoltre, i prigionieri fanno piccoli fogli e bollettini, che affiggono nei corridoi dove si raggruppano insieme. Tanto nella sezione dove si trovano i nostri compagni, quanto in quella dove sono i membri del P. O. U. M., trovai questi scritti di prigionieri, insieme a manifesti e fotografie degli eroi delle due organizzazioni. La sezione del P. O. U. M. aveva un bel disegno di Andres Nin e una fotografia di Rosa Luxemburg, mentre gli anarchici avevano appeso ai muri le fotografie di Ascaso e di Durruti.

Interessante era la cella di Durruti, la cella che egli aveva occupata finché non fu liberato, dopo le elezioni. E' stata lasciata intatta, com'era quando Durruti n'era l'ospite involontario. Alcuni manifesti contenenti la figura del nostro valoroso compagno davano vita alla cella. Lo strano sta nel fatto che la cella di Durruti è nella sezione fascista del carcere. Su mia domanda, la guardia rispose che la cella di Durruti era in quel posto "come ammonimento che la fiaccola vivente di Durruti distruggerà il fascismo". Avrei voluto avere la fotografia della cella di Durruti, ma mi fu detto che, per farla fotografare, avrei dovuto ottenere il permesso dal Ministero di Giustizia. Vi rinunciai. Non ho mai domandato favori ai Ministeri di Giustizia e tanto meno ne domanderei al governo contro-rivoluzionario della Ceka spagnola.

Andai a visitare anche la prigione femminile, che trovai meglio tenuta e meno triste del "Carcere Modello". Vi si trovavano soltanto sei donne arrestate per ragioni politiche. Una era Katia Landau, la moglie di Kurt Landau, un tipo rivoluzionario del vecchio stampo russo, completamente devota alle sue idee. Era stata arrestata parecchi mesi prima del marito. Pur sapendo della sua scomparsa e della sua probabile fine, non osai dargliene notizia. Era in Ottobre. A Parigi, mi raggiunse la notizia che la Landau aveva incominciato uno sciopero della fame, l'undici novembre. Ora mi scrivono che, in seguito a due scioperi della fame, Kate Landau è stata liberata. E' incredibile quel che l'ardore rivoluzionario può fare!

Alcuni giorni prima di partire dalla Spagna, seppi da buona fonte che l'orrenda bastiglia di Montjuich era di nuovo usata per prigionieri politici. Montjuich, la bastiglia infame, dove ogni pietra potrebbe dire la storia della bestialità dell'uomo contro l'uomo, dei mille e mille messi a morte fra i tormenti delle più selvagge torture, o spinti alla follia e al suicidio. Montjuich, dove, nel 1897, l'inquisizione fu restaurata da Canovas del Castillo, presidente del Consiglio. Per suo ordine, 300 lavoratori, tra i quali distinti anarchici spagnoli, furono tenuti per lunghi mesi in celle sotterranee umide, ripetutamente torturati e completamente isolati dal mondo. Fu a Montjuich, che Francisco Ferrer fu assassinato dal governo spagnolo e dalla chiesa cattolica romana. L'anno scorso andai a visitare questa terribile fortezza. Ma, allora, non c'erano prigionieri. Le celle erano vuote. Discendemmo nelle sue profondità oscure, con torcie per rischiararci la via. Mi pareva di sentire i lamenti delle migliaia di vittime agonizzanti, che in questi orrendi impacci avevano esalato l'ultimo respiro. Fu davvero un sollievo ritornare alla luce del sole.

La storia si ripete, dunque. Montjuich ritorna a servire al suo ufficio sinistro. Ora è sovrappieno di rivoluzionari ardenti, che erano stati i primi ad accorrere sui vari fronti. Militi della Colonna Durruti, generosamente pronti a dare la salute e la forza, ma non ad essere trasformati in automati militari; membri della Brigata Internazionale, accorsi in Ispagna da ogni terra per combattere il fascismo..... Questi ed altri ancora, sono ora chiusi nella Fortezza di Montjuich.

Dopo la grande carneficina mondiale e l'orrore continuato delle dittature in Rosso, Nero e Bruno, sembra che la sensibilità umana si sia atrofizzata; ma deve ben esservi ancora qualcuno in possesso di un acuto senso di giustizia.

Anatole France, Georg Brandes e molti altri grandi spiriti le cui proteste salvarono, nel 1922, ventidue vittime dello Stato Sovietico, non ci sono più; ma abbiamo ancora i Gide, i Silone, gli Huxley, Havelock Ellis, John Cowper Powys, Rebecca West, Ethel Manin, una legione d'altri, che non mancherebbero di protestare, se fossero informati delle persecuzioni politiche che imperverano, in Ispagna, sotto il terrore del regime Negrin-Pricto-Stalinisti.

In ogni modo, io non posso tacere davanti a questi misfatti atroci. La giustizia per le migliaia di compagni che ho dovuto lasciare laggiù, in prigione, m'impone di parlare in loro favore.

The Emma Goldman Papers

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COPY.

The Editor,
 Toronto Star,
 Toronto, Ontario,
 CANADA.

December 27th 1937.

Sir,
 The American Press has rarely shown an intelligent appreciation of Anarchists and Anarchism. All the greater surprise to find an exception in the TORONTO STAR. I am referring to your Editorial entitled "Brickmaker Turns General" which appeared in your issue of December 8th.

Your quote the bulletin of the C.N.T.-A.I.T.-F.A.I. to the effect that "to provoke internal conflict at the present time, whatever their motives, actually amounts to betray Spain serves the interests of the international fascism" and then you proceed by saying "that at this distance the correctness of that statement appears to be an open question". I realize your difficulty, being so far removed from the scene of action as you are. Many correspondents, though right on the spot in Spain, likewise seem to find it difficult to appreciate the true value and force of the National Confederation of Labour (CNT) and the Anarchist Federation of Iberia (FAI). May be they are simply unable to see, for as the saying goes: "none so blind as those who will not see". Hence the many distorted reports concerning the C.N.T.-F.A.I. that are sent to the Press by their representatives.

Well, I have just returned from my second visit to Spain. During a seven weeks stay I travelled up and down the country, between Barcelona, Valencia and Madrid; I visited the trenches in that epic city, only a hundred metres away from Franco's side; I covered all the industrial collectives in the large cities, as well as the collectivised villages in Castille, the Levante, Aragon, and Catalonia, and I can assure you that the contents of the Bulletin are by no means exaggerated.

The Anarchists in Spain still adhere to their firm belief the "Governments interfere too much with the lives of the people". On this score, there is no difference or disagreement whatever between the Anarchists in or outside of Spain. It is therefore incorrect to say the "sincere idealists are checking those of their number who are disposed to attack the Government as bourgeois and reactionary". They know only too well that the Legitimist - Communist Government is a bourgeois and reactionary government and that it is the "disastrous policies followed by those now in power" which has done no end of harm to the pursuance of the Anti-Fascist struggle.

In point of truth, the Communist pseudo allies of the Legitimist

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Liberal Government have done their utmost to sabotage the victory over Franco. They have done so insiduously and openly by means of armed force, the destruction of a number of collectives, the arrest, torture and death of many true and ardent revolutionary Anti-Fascists. Indeed, their acts of provocation since May last would be enough to try the staunchest hearts. If Stalin's emissaries with the aid of the his transplanted Cheka failed in Spain, it is because the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. refused to fall into the trap so clumsily set for them.

The C.N.T.-F.A.I. were the first to repulse on that historic date - JULY 19th 1936 - the military and Fascist conspiracy and they are determined to be the last on the battlefield in order to deal the death blow to Fascism. To them the struggle does not mean mere scenes shifting and the change of one set of politicians for another. The motive inspiring the C.N.T. and F.A.I. in their heroic and desperate fight against Fascism is to safeguard the Spanish Revolution and its constructive achievements. In this they are not only supported by their own large membership, approx 3,000,000 workers, peasants and libertarian youths; but also by the great majority of the Spanish people as a whole. You are therefore quite right in saying that "The thing that matters most is that the masses of the Spanish people are forgetting their differences and uniting to oppose the forces that have held them in bondage for centuries".

I must add, however, that the Spanish people are well aware of the fact that their liberation will not be accomplished by the "Liberal Government" enjoying Stalin's blessings; they know their liberation will be achieved through their own will, through their syndicates, their collectivised and socialised institutions, Komunismo Libertario (Libertarian Communism) - that is the living force deeply ingrained in and animating the Spanish masses; it is this which is urging them on to destroy Fascism and all other enemies of the people's heritage of political, economic and social freedom and well-being.

I appreciate deeply your tribute to my comrade Cipriano Mera. He did all you say, and more. Next to Buenaventura Durruti, the people's idol, it is Mera whose valor has caught the imagination of the Spanish masses. Another of their heroes is the Anarchist Garcia Vivanco, the hero of Belchite, who freed that city from Franco's German and Italian forces. For this he was highly commended by General Pozas. The latter though known as an arch-hater of Anarchism yet felt impelled to send Vivanco a message of appreciation.

Great as that achievement was, Vivanco - as I have just heard from an authentic source - has now followed it up with one still greater: for it was GARCIA VIVANCOS who with his 25th Division, which consisted of the 116, 117, and 118 Brigades, all C.N.T.-F.A.I. members actually captured Teruel. Vivanco is a born leader of men, and is greatly beloved by his men.

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To The Toronto Star / [Emma Goldman]. — 1937 Dec. 27, draft. — 3 p. ; 28 × 17 cm.
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3.

It is true to say that there are hundreds of such gallant men in Spain who have attained to magnificent heights by their bravery and courage in their fight against fascism. Most of them were simple working men whose idealism and daring have proven stronger than German and Italian arms.

The greatest characteristic of the Spanish people is their selflessness. They do not want honours or medals. They find their supreme reward in the consciousness that by fighting fascism they are not merely fighting for Spain alone but for the whole world, for the liberation of the people from that scourge.

Sincerely.

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Anarchists Captured Teruel / Emma Goldman.— 17 cm. In The Toronto Star. — (Dec. 27, 1937).

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ANARCHISTS CAPTURED
TERUEL

To the Editor of The Star.
Sir: The American press has rarely shown an intelligent appraisal of anarchism and anarchists. At the greater my surprise to find an exception in The Toronto Star. I am referring to your editorial entitled "Brickmaker Turns General" which appeared in your issue of Dec. 2.

You quote the bulletin of the C.N.T.-A.I.T.-F.A.I. to the effect that "to provoke internal conflict at the present time, whatever the motives, actually amounts to betrayal and serves the interests of the international fascism."

I have just returned from my second visit to Spain. During a seven-week stay, I travelled up and down the country, between Barcelona, Valencia and Madrid; I visited the trenches in that epic city, only a hundred metres away from Franco's side; I covered all the industrial collectives in the large cities, as well as the collectivized villages in Castille, the Levant, Aragon and Catalonia, and I can assure you that the contents of the bulletin are by no means exaggerated.

The anarchists in Spain still adhere to their firm belief that "government interferes too much with the lives of the people." They know only too well that the Negrin-Poite-Communist government is a bourgeois and reactionary government. The Communist pseudo-allies of the Negrin-Poite government have done their utmost to sabotage the victory over Franco. If Stalin's commissaire with the aid of his henchman Curra failed in Spain, it is because the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. refused to fall into the trap so clumsily set for them. You are quite right in saying that "the thing that matters most is that the masses of the Spanish people are forgetting their differences and uniting to oppose the forces that have held them in bondage for centuries."

The Spanish people are well aware of the fact that their liberation will not be accomplished by the "Liberal government" enjoying Stalin's blessing. They know their liberation will be achieved through their own efforts, through their syndicates, the collectivized and socialized institutions. Komunismo - Libertario (Libertarian Communism).

I appreciate deeply your tribute to my comrade Mariano Mera. He did all you say, and more. Next to Buenaventura Durru, the people's idol, it is Mera whose valor has caught the imagination of the Spanish masses. Another of their heroes is the anarchist Gaiete Vivanco, the hero of Brihuega, who freed that city from Franco's German and Italian forces. For this he was highly commended by General Pozas. The latter, though known as an arch-hater of anarchism yet felt impelled to send Vivanco a message of appreciation.

Great as that achievement was, Vivanco has, I have just heard from an authentic source, now followed it up with one still greater: for it was Gaiete Vivanco who with his 25th division, consisting of the 116, 117 and 118 brigades, all C.N.T.-F.A.I. members, actually captured Teruel.

Vivanco is a born leader of men, and is greatly beloved by his men. There are hundreds of such gallant men in Spain who have sustained to magnificent heights by their bravery and courage in their fight against fascism. Most of them were simple working men whose idealism and daring have proven stronger than German and Italian arms. The greatest characteristic of the Spanish people is their selflessness. They do not want honor or medals. They find their supreme reward in the consciousness that by fighting fascism they are not merely fighting for Spain alone but for the whole world, for the liberation of the peoples from the scourge.

EMMA GOLDMAN
London, Eng.

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Herschel Feibel Grynspan and His Tormentors / Emma Goldman. — [1938?, draft]. — 3 p. ; 29 × 22 cm.

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COPY.

Herschel Feibel Grynspan and his Tormentors.

by Emma Goldman.

The great poet Heinrich Heine once wrote that to rouse the German it is necessary to poke them between the ribs with a lamp post. Hitler's ascendancy to power has proven that Heine was far from his mark in his belief that the German could be roused by a mere lamp-post between the ribs.

Since 1933 Germany has been turned into a slaughter house with Hitler, Goering and Goebbels and their cohorts adding kneedeep in the blood of their victims. No, not only Jews, but thousands of political dissenters have been tortured and done to death in the hideous concentration camps or on the block. Yet not a voice of protest in Germany or a hand raised against the modern torcuadas who lord it over that country. To be sure the continued persecution of the Jews and the clandestine and open extermination of other thinking Germans did at first rouse the indignation of the world outside Germany, but it was of short duration. The protests against the horrors of the Nazi regime made no deeper dent than a wagon passing through a stagnant pool. The wheels spread the slimy surface to both sides, the ill-smelling pool remained. Nothing moved in Germany, and public opinion outside also settled down to the fait accompli.

Moreover, all the so-called democratic and liberal governments began to view Hitler and his regime with admiration and respect as well as with hidden envy because they had not yet succeeded in putting their peoples in a similar straight jacket. So widespread had the recognition of Hitler's achievement grown that the Prime Minister of the British Empire went to lay his personal homage at Hitler's feet. To, me, however, the humiliation of a high official of the British National Government was not anything so outrageous as the craven acclaim rendered him by the majority of the British people and the leaders of Labour and nearly every political party.

Heinrich Heine's dictum unfortunately applies not only to the German. The peoples in the rest of the world also have to be poked between the ribs with more than a lamp-post. Especially is this true since the last world conflagration. Its frightfulness and all that has come in its wake have completely jaded human sensibilities to wrongs, injustice and outrage. The concentrated horrors of the Jewish pogroms were needed to awaken the world again to the savage methods resurrected in Germany from the dead past.

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The new awakening to the sufferings of a whole people is indeed commendable. So is the ready response from all layers of society in every land to the great needs of the Jewish victims of Hitler and his cohorts. In the midst of it all it is probably understandable that public opinion should turn against the boy of seventeen who has dared to raise hand against the force that is blessing and oppressing the German people. Nevertheless the condemnation, derision and contempt hurled against Grynspan are indicative of considerable ignorance and lack of psychological perception of the forces that condition a political act of violence. To be sure the more human have expressed surprise that a young creature, usually given to sports and idle amusements, should have been willing to stake his own life by his act. "It was such a useless act since his victim did not directly participate in the recent frightfulness of the pogrom", they say. While I readily concede that the boy's shot was worthy of a more important fry, I consider the charge of insanity lacking in understanding, and a very cheap method of explaining the intricate motivations of such an act. Besides, the history of tyrannicide, once acclaimed as the highest expression of courage and patriotism, and now considered out of date, proves that those who had risen against tyranny are nearly all of the most impressionable age. The wonder to me is not Grynspan's act. Rather is it that so few inspired individuals now rise against so much oppression in the world.

The most important fact entirely overlooked is that the true murderers of Von Rath were really not the boy now in a lone cell in France and repudiated by his own people as well as the rest of the world. He had merely used the gun loaded for him by the bloodthirsty rulers of Germany and the relentless treatment of foreigners by the French authorities.

The only attempt made to interpret the act of Grynspan was by Henri Jenson in S.A.I. now published in Paris. In a very penetrating article the author analyses the forces that have driven the boy to take the life of Von Rath and thereby to sacrifice his own.

I give below the substance of this article:

"In 1930 Hitler burst on the world - for it was in February 1930, that the Nazi party decided its programme and promised itself to expel the Jews from the German nation.

On the 25th March, 1921, Grynspan (Herschel Feibel) was born.

During the 10 years, 1921 to 1930, Grynspan underwent all the humiliations inflicted on Jews by the S.A. During these 15 years Grynspan lived in an atmosphere of hate, of blood and of terror. His fellows were imprisoned, tortured and massacred.

In 1930 Grynspan achieved his rebirth - in plain fact he succeeded in escaping from his racial prison. He came to France - to France which has the reputation of a place of refuge.

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- 3 -

For two years he lived with his uncle, Abraham Grynspan. He was peaceful and happy. He found work...

The German and the Italian Embassies now seem to rule over the Ministry of the Interior - and the Szarek became their pawn. Refugees were searched out and ill-treated. They were beaten up. They were expelled. This man hunt was quite openly pursued every morning.

The outlaws were expelled - if one can so describe it. Political crimes had the choice between assassination or suicide - of vengeance or death - of despair or resignation. On the 11th August, 1938, the police refused Grynspan his identity card.

There was no charge against him. He was involved in no wrongdoing. He lived quietly, honestly - but - he was one of the pestilant race!

Now, a marked man, where could he go, where hope to escape? How could he live? Where sleep? How eat? Grynspan had been turned a drift. He slept a night here, a night there, always hiding. Frightened, a hunted creature, at the mercy of the first informer who found him out.

He had committed no crime, but was forced to live like an animal. He was treated like a murderer - although he was innocent. Why should he not have become a murderer, since, innocent, he was forced to behave like one?

While he was living in this condition, endeavouring to evade the Police, he learnt that his parents, driven from their home in Hanover, thrust back over the Polish frontier, were dying of cold and hunger somewhere on the German-Polish border.

Then this man whom the police had treated as a wolf, this man whom they had tried to make into a murderer - became a judge. He went to the German Embassy and shot Von Rath.

Grynspan was arrested, but that was not enough. His aunt and uncle were also arrested, guilty of having allowed the poor boy to sleep in their house. As in Germany, when dealing with a Jew, the whole family are considered as complices in any ill-doing.

I can add little to this flaming indictment of the tormentors of Herschel Feibel Grynspan except that they and not he are the perpetrators of his act. They have driven him to the brink of despair, they have loaded the gun that struck Von Rath. Grynspan merely pulled the trigger. They and not Grynspan should be branded with letters of fire as the murderer of Von Rath.

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MY SECOND VISIT TO SPAIN.

SEPTEMBER 16th-NOVEMBER 6th, 1937.

I have been back in England for some time, but it has been impossible to settle down to writing an account of my findings and impressions on my second visit to Spain. I am sure that the comrades everywhere will want to know what is happening in the most heroic country in the world to-day, and I want to try to give what I myself have seen and have experienced.

Always I shall remember the deep impression made on me on my first visit when I arrived at Port Bou, the French-Spanish border, late on the 17th of September, 1936. I presented my British passport which was scorned by the border guards. I then took out my C.N.T.-F.A.I. credentials, and the stern faces lit up with enthusiasm and friendliness. I was led off by these comrades to the headquarters of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. and received as much affection and solidarity as if they had known me all their lives. The same attitude I met everywhere in my extensive travels while I was in Spain in 1936. I soon convinced myself that the generous hospitality extended to me was no exception. Everyone who came to Spain at that time who could show that his sympathies were with the anti-Fascist struggle and that he was interested in the great revolutionary constructive work, was greeted as a comrade and given every opportunity to gather material at first hand.

All this was changed after the May events in 1937. The events in that month were really the motive for my return to Spain. The various rumours afloat in England of what had happened during the early May days and the attempt by the C.P. to annihilate the revolutionary achievements of our comrades of the C.N.T.-F.A.I., determined me to go back to Spain.

The comrades of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. thought it unwise for me to re-enter Spain by way of Port Bou. The friendly border guards of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. had been replaced by their Communist allies and the police, and they made it difficult - even well-nigh impossible - for anyone known as

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an Anarchist to pass the frontier. Besides that, the comrades also feared the possible danger to me who am known by the Communists as their "arch" enemy. The C.N.T. arranged for me to fly from Marseilles.

On my arrival in Barcelona I proceeded to the Via Durruti without anybody being the wiser who I was or about my quest. There I met all my dear comrades with whom I had been associated on my first visit for three months. They were all very happy to see me, and of course I delighted in seeing them again still safe, still imbued with their fire of conquering Fascism and building a new social world.

On the 16th of September, 1937, I had my first experience of the horrors of bombardment. On that day Franco sent down German and Italian bombs which resulted in the mutilation and death of many children and adults and the wounding of a large part of the population of a suburb called Barcelonette. The day of my reunion with the comrades was therefore made sad and painful owing to the dreadful sacrifice of mostly women and innocent children.

The same night we went by auto to Valencia. Comrade Augustine Souchy was my escort. Among the many changes I found was the lack of petrol and the lack of cars, the Government having commandeered both for the needs of the war. As a result we travelled thirteen hours from Barcelona to Valencia, a journey which ordinarily should not have taken more than six hours.

In Valencia I again met comrades whom I had first encountered in Barcelona a year before. Owing to my activities for the National Confederation of Labour and the Anarchist Federation of Iberia, I came to know Comrade Mariano Vazquez better. I admit my first impression of him in Barcelona was anything but favourable. He seemed to me to be blindly fanatical, rigid in his sectarianism and quite unsociable; but coming in closer contact with him during the short ten days in Valencia has convinced me that his savage wildness was only on the surface. Underneath was his large flaming spirit that lives and dreams only of the realisation of the Revolution. Other comrades I met also gained in my estimation on closer acquaintance.

Among the most interesting institutions in Valencia was the Agricultural Department which we visited for several days in succession. The change in that department from a year before was extraordinary. In 1936 it was impossible to get any definite idea of the workings of the collective farms, not to speak of any statistics. Everything was in its beginning.

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Nothing worked regularly or with any efficiency. This time I found the institution in perfect order with dozens of departments for every phase of agriculture. In one year the scientists and specialists who joined the work of agriculture of the C.N.T. had achieved great experimental results, such as the method of getting the utmost value out of rice, the preserving of dried tomatoes which can be kept for years without injury, and need but to be put into hot water to regain their natural size and flavour. These and ever so many other experiments have been carried on within the framework of the established Agricultural Institute in Valencia. I came to know that similar institutions had been built in Madrid and in Barcelona. I will speak of them later.

In addition to the fascinating work our comrades were doing in the agricultural department in Valencia, we also had a chance to see the effect of the resourcefulness of C.N.T.-F.A.I. members in the textile industry. An old monastery was turned into a modern workshop, employing large numbers of men, women and girls on the basis of mutual aid and co-operation. A group of unemployed workers of the same trade had undertaken the task of creating this new collective. It was all done by voluntary agreement, without one single worker having been coerced into it. While the venture had not yet reached perfection, the workers connected with it knew exactly what they wanted, and were pressing ahead in spite of all obstacles and the imminent danger from bombardments. This collective factory was not merely for the production of things, but planned as a place for the physical and cultural life of those co-operating in the scheme. A dining-room was in the midst of building; a dispensary, a lecture hall and reading room and ever so many other plans were already under way. We found a radio installed with connections to the shops where, while the women and girls were working, they could listen to the news, to good music or to their own moving song called "The Son of the People"; altogether a very remarkable undertaking by the workers themselves as a demonstration of what they will be able to do once Fascism is crushed and the road made free to the realisation of the Revolution.

It was also in Valencia that I had the fortune to meet the comrade in the Council of Defence, who had been close and intimate as a friend and fighting colleague of our great Durruti. Comrade Manzana was with Durruti when he was struck by the treacherous bullet that cut short his great and useful life. He is most heroic in his own right; a magnificent figure with

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unlimited courage, he fought at the Aragon front side by side with our dead comrade and with the others of his column.

The same day we had a long interview with Comrade Avelino Entralgo of the Council of Defence. We learned that the number of fighters in the Popular Army who belong to the C.N.T. amount to 35 per cent. of its total strength. A distinction must be made between the brigades entirely composed of members of our organisation and the mixed brigades. We have 100,000 men in our own brigades and 250,000 who are serving in the mixed brigades. From the military schools more than 5,000 officers have been trained who belong to the movement, the said schools also belonging to the C.N.T. The Lister brigade also has C.N.T. members in its ranks. From these figures the reader will be better able to appreciate the outrageous charges of cowardice against our comrades made by the wretched capitalist and communist press.

Last, but not least, I had occasion to talk to comrades of the F.A.I., young militia boys who were in the Military Training College. They told me much of the attempt on the part of the Communist allies of the anti-Fascist front to impose their dictatorship on them. The C.N.T.-F.A.I. Press was forbidden in the training school, but after a hard struggle and many threats of strikes, our young military students succeeded in establishing their right to be themselves and to read whatever publications appealed to them most.

I was particularly anxious to know what the reaction was of these young comrades to militarisation. They were of course opposed to it, but explained that, Spain being attacked not only by the Fascists but also by all the imperialist countries calling themselves democracies, they felt that the voluntary militias were neither numerous enough nor sufficiently trained and equipped to offer successful fight against that formidable international array against anti-Fascism. These young people assured me that our comrades at the front have in no way changed through militarisation and that they were determined to gain whatever knowledge and experience they could, not merely to conquer Franco and his hordes, but for the purpose of defending their revolutionary gains in the rear. It was very refreshing indeed, and encouraging, to see these young comrades, their enthusiasm and their faith in the ultimate triumph of their ideal.

We left Valencia in the afternoon for Madrid, but had to go very slowly and carefully owing to the fact of one road leading to the Fascist front, the other to Madrid. Both are so intertwined that we might just as well have made the wrong turn and paid an unexpected visit to Franco's German and Italian friends. It does not require much imagination to know just the kind of reception we would have been given. We were lucky in having a comrade, a first-rate chauffeur, who brought us safely to Madrid and to the hospitable quarters of the National Confederation of Labour. The comrades there received us kindly and insisted that we must stop with them during our stay in their city.

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The following day we went to visit Comrade Val, the Secretary of the Centre Committee of Regional Defence, one of the live wires among the active comrades in Spain. He at once offered to take us all through Madrid to let us see the havoc left by constant bombardment from Fascist planes. No one who has not seen the terrific destruction wrought by the constant bombardment can possibly realise the fortitude of the Madrid people who have withstood the frightfulness of Franco for eighteen months.

We saw the Lydia Palace, University City, the National Palace, and also the Palace of the Duke of Alba, which, by the way, was destroyed to the very ground by his friend, Franco, and the aeroplanes so kindly supplied by his backers. But more overwhelming even than the destruction was the proof of the resourcefulness and the determination of the Madrid people to defend their city to the very bitter end.

I have described my impressions before, which appeared in nearly our entire press, so I will not repeat the story. I can only say that never in my wildest fancy did I imagine such a miracle possible as the one that met me in Madrid at every step.

Franco heralded to the whole world that he would take Madrid within a month. Since that time eighteen months have passed, eighteen months of superhuman courage, of a stoicism unheard of before, of a determination of the people to fight to the last man and the last drop of blood in defence of Madrid. I found this spirit prevailing everywhere, at the front, in the rear, among the ordinary people, men and women, in the various departments occupied with the perfection of the work of the revolutionary efforts begun on the 19th of July, 1936. I met all sorts of people in the trenches, from the Commanding Officer to the militias, among whom I met a boy of fifteen who assured me with pride that he had enlisted voluntarily and that he wanted to fight side by side with his comrades much older than he to conquer Fascism.

We met Commandant Palacios, a striking figure, and a man of iron will. He had been an army physician under the Monarchy and the dictatorship. On the 19th of July he made common cause with the C.N.T. in whose ranks he is serving to this present moment.

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I learned the amazing fact that the C.N.T. F.A.I. have 56,000 men at the Madrid front; besides the large numbers in the mixed divisions. The Capitalistic and Marxist Press have fed the world on lies and misrepresentations of the C.N.T. and F.A.I. They have dared to charge them with running away from the front. The correspondent of the New York Nation, Mr. Louis Fisher, stands out as the most dishonest of his profession, for it was he who wrote in the New York Nation last year that on the "6th and 16th of November, 1936, the Anarchists took fright and ran away from the Madrid front". This was the more reprehensible because he must have known that Buenaventuri Durruti was then still alive and in charge of the column which stood its ground in repulsing the first attack of Franco and his hordes. But that is beside the point. It is impossible to meet all the malignity sent out to the world by the various war correspondents. We have more important work to do.

It was a memorable experience, that day in the trenches, one hundred yards from the Fascist front and with the sniping going on without let up.

Our next attention was devoted to the Centre Federation of Peasants. It is housed in the private palace of a Count and is serving a much better purpose than when he was in possession. We collected a tremendous amount of data which Comrade A.I. is adding to his already monumental material on collectivisation to form a book. I can only give a brief outline of the information given us by the Secretary of the Federation.

We learned that 700 syndicates are affiliated with this Federation, and 300 collectives. The membership of the Federation is 100,000. In view of the fact that the Federation had begun its work only a short time ago, it was amazing to see the amount already achieved. Thus the Federation has departments of statistics, propaganda, interchange and sections dealing with oil, wine and all other kinds of provisions. We were taken into the scientific laboratory which, though not yet completed, already gave promise of an important and unique institution. The main stress laid there is on chemical and agricultural experiments and analyses. It is done with a view to improving and increasing the quality and quantity of output. In connection with this an experimental school for agricultural engineers was organised. The turnover from the 15th of July to the 15th of August, 1937, amounted to 11 million pesetas. This sum we were assured does not represent the full economic strength of the Federation because the local and

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territorial federations interchange among themselves and turn over to the Federation only the surplus of their products.

The Federation consists of two sections, labourers and small landowners. The syndicates are very hospitable to the owners because they feel that eventually they will realise the superior method of working the land in the collective way than by individual drudgery. So much more could have been gathered from the interesting account of the Secretary, had we but the time to remain long and make a thorough study of every detail of the ramifications represented by the Centre Federation of Peasants.

Of course we did not omit to pay a call on our comrades of the Syndicate of Public Amusement. We were fortunate in arriving just at the time when they were shooting a film called *Castilla se Libera* (Castile has liberated itself). The three scenes which were shown to us were splendidly done from every point of view and of great value to show the outside world the constructive work carried on by the C.N.T.-F.A.I. in every part of anti-Fascist Spain. We were promised copies of the film for England and the United States as well as other countries in Europe.

My first experience as a movie star in my whole life I had at the studios of the *Scena Espaniola-Americana*. We arrived just at the time when a Spanish fair was being filmed with all the artists present in their different regional costumes. Among them were two most strikingly handsome young Spanish girls-dancers - who could well compare with Argentina and other great Spanish dancers who are being paid phenomenal sums on the American stage. The manager, when he heard my name, rushed forward, embraced me as his own, and insisted that I must join the group of artists who were being filmed. I was never surrounded by a more colourful and intensely eager crowd of young people. Not only that, but he would have me greet Madrid in a few words so that they can reproduce it in sound. It was a very stirring event, my one regret being that I could not send my greetings to Madrid in Castilian, but Comrade A.I. did his best to get it as near as possible in his own quaint Spanish.

We learned that the leading artists of the collective - for it was a collective - receive the same salaries as before the 19th of July. The salary of the supporting caste, however, was increased. As far as one can get authentic answers in the presence of a manager, the artists all seemed satisfied with their lot. I do not mean to suggest that this manager was a fearsome person. He was but one with the others, mostly members of the C.N.T., who were in charge of the work from the beginning to the very completion of the films they were making.

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Madrid is the birthplace of the Mujeres Libres. It was there that a group of university women with our comrade, Mercedes Compasade, began the publication of the magazine by that name, dedicated to the enlightenment and emancipation of the Spanish women. The paper has since been transferred to Barcelona, but some of the originators together with a staff of young women, are continuing their work in Madrid; and a formidable work it is.

The Mujeres Libres, among other tasks, also busy themselves in visiting the wounded in hospital, inspecting the children's schools and the distribution of a tremendous amount of printed matter circulating among the civil population to acquaint them with the purpose and the importance of the anti-Fascist struggle. They have classes for children and adults which embrace all sorts of subjects, including a class for chauffeurs. The comrades told us with pride that several of them had already qualified and were holding driving licences. In addition is a class for languages. Then there is the Prosperidad Group that has 90 members affiliated with the M.J. They comprise delegates from various local federations; among them the most active is Maria Teresa who is at the same time the principal of the school and all other efforts that are being made for the enlightenment and emancipation of Spanish women and for the care of children, especially those who have become orphans by the Christian grace of Franco. They are playing their great part in the task of raising the physical and mental standard of Spanish women, held in bondage for so many centuries, and especially in their devoted care of children. No more loving attention could one possibly give one's own child than these comrades of the Mujeres Libres are giving to the innocent victims of Franco. I was particularly moved by the children aged from two to ten years, who were crowded together in a room turned into a cinema, and were hanging on every performance of Micky Mouse and fairy tales and sagas by Grimm and Andersen.

We also visited the newspaper offices of "C.N.T." publications, the Castile Libre and Frente Libertario. All of these papers are housed and printed in one building. Great was my astonishment when I discovered that the Communist Party and the Socialists also had their papers printed in the same place. But then the Spanish people are full of contradictions. I am sure this could never happen in any other country, especially in the face of the open and insidious activities against our people by the C.P.

I was surprised to learn that our two papers had a circulation of 55,000 daily in Madrid alone, and more than

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100,000 in the rest of Castile, while Frente Libertario is being printed in 100,000 copies; whereas the two publications of the C.P. in Madrid have only a circulation of 26,000. This goes to prove that in spite of all the efforts since the May events to undermine the position of the C.N.T.-F.A.I., the latter are morally as strong as ever.

Of course one could not leave Madrid without paying a visit to the headquarters of the Libertarian Youth. In fact, before I had a chance to go there, the comrades sent a delegation to ask Comrade A.I. and me to address them at a large meeting they were holding that same evening. Unfortunately my Spanish is still far from the mark - certainly far from speaking in public. I therefore spoke for a little while in English which Comrade A.I. interpreted for me. The youngsters, most of them still in their teens, were far older than the youth in Europe in their knowledge of revolutionary history, in their devotion to their ideal and in their complete consecration to the anti-Fascist struggle and to the Revolution. I appreciated more than their applause a set of their paper, "Revolution", which they dedicated to me and which was signed by many of these youthful comrades.

Besides all these impressions that had crowded in on me during my short stay in Madrid, I carried away with me the warm feeling of comradeship and solidarity given me by the comrades of the C.N.T. in their own living quarters. No finer or more generous hospitality have I enjoyed anywhere in my many travels during the many years of my activities in our ranks.

On the 24th of September, 1937, we began our return trip to Valencia, visiting several collectives on the way. The largest and most important is in Azuqueña, about 40 kilos. from Madrid along the road to Guadalajara. It has a population of only 1,500. The collective is on the estate of the Count of Romanones. This Grandee paid very little attention to the cultivation of that rich and beautiful estate consisting of 720 acres and known far and wide by the name of Miralcampo. The main occupation of Count Romanones was race-horse breeding for his own amusement. When the Revolution of the 19th of July broke out, this gentleman took to his heels, and the peasants took possession of the estate, which is now collectivised and employs 200 men. The land through which the River Júcar flows was flooded from time to time, gradually inundating the

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largest part of the land. Nevertheless the Count never took steps to check the danger. This has been accomplished by the workers themselves since they turned the estate to the use of all. Two engineers from the technical syndicate in Madrid were sent down to direct the harnessing of the river by means of filling in the inundated part with small stones and casing them in nettings of wire. These stones had to be brought to the river bed by means of a wheelbarrow which meant no end of difficult and hard labour; but every one of the members kept at the task with willingness and devotion. Certainly the accomplished task demonstrated the constructive capacity of the workers and held out hope for a great regeneration of Spain once Fascism will have been driven out of the country.

The old overseer of Miralcampo remained with the comrades in the collective. He took as much pride in looking after the variety of flowers, and perhaps more, than under his previous owner. He assured us that the work was much pleasanter because he had no master to drive him. He also assured us that the standard of life of the members of the collective, as well as of the town of Azuquema, had greatly improved. According to European standards 350 pesetas a month is not very high; they are, however, infinitely higher than they were before the 19th of July when the peasants were paid 3 and 4 pesetas a day during the season and permitted to starve for the rest of the year. In addition to the amount paid, fully 50 per cent. of the members of the collective eat together in the collectivised kitchen, and pay 60 pesetas a month each. Children are given their food free.

We had ample opportunity to verify this. We had left Madrid at an early hour without anything warm to drink. We were quite hungry when we arrived at the collective. We were generously invited to join the others in their morning repast which consisted of hot coffee, good baked bread and melons. I have never before had a chance to be so close to the toilers of the soil and to enjoy their unspoiled and uncorrupted fellowship at the same table. It was indeed a great treat. Here, too, I found several people who could speak French. One of them was the father of the Secretary of the Collective, an old Anarchist who had lived a number of years in France. He constituted himself my guide and escort and explained everything in the minutest detail with great pride. Through him I learned that they work eight hours a day, that the richness of the soil had been increased; that before the 19th the crops

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realised 400,000 pesetas; now they exceeded a million. The entire agricultural production of 1937 consisted of the following: 300 loads of melons; 250,000 kilos. of potatoes; 123,000 kilos. of barley; 175,000 kilos. of wheat; part of it had been sent to the Centre Federation of Peasants in Madrid, part to the front and the surplus for the needs of the collective. Of the crop in 1936 125,000 pesetas worth of produce was contributed free of charge to the needs of Madrid. The comrade also spoke of the increase in livestock and in the quality of it. Among others, one of the members from Geniz, a peasant who formerly tilled his own bit of ground, had contributed 8 milking cows of the finest quality. The collective also has built its own bakery, rabbit hutches and chicken coops.

There are two syndicates in the town of Azuquema. One belongs to the U.G.T. The other belongs to the comrades of the C.R.T. But as the workers of the former did not go in for collectivisation of their land, quite a number of them are working in the collective of the C.R.T. Of course a school was organised, not only for the children of the members, but for the members themselves, as many of them had remained in illiteracy and ignorance until the 19th of July.

The comrades wanted us to remain for a mid-day meal. They were loath to see us go. They were so overjoyed by our visit that they assured us that rarely did people from outside Spain take the trouble to visit them and see for themselves that the C.R.T.-P.A.I. were not only concentrating on winning the war but on building a new Spain. They wanted us to proclaim this in every country and to make known the truth of the situation so that it may counteract the libellous misrepresentation which they had heard appeared in capitalistic papers in every country. I should have loved to remain at least another day, but as I have already said, cars were scarce in Spain, and we were admonished to return to Valencia as soon as possible.

The old overseer would not be denied his pleasure to bring me a huge bouquet of different flowers he himself had raised. The other comrades would do no less. They brought us fruit and tomatoes representing their part. Indeed they would have given us the fruit of half the estate had we consented to take it with us. I was so impressed and moved with all they had accomplished in so short a time, and so rewarded for the visit, I wanted nothing else to carry with me except the memory of the simple and the kind-hearted comrades among the peasantry with whom I had broken bread.

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We arrived in Telmes, a town of 1,720 inhabitants, on the Madrid-Valencia road in the afternoon. At the Secretariat of the C.N.T. we were given the information we were seeking. We learned that until the 19th of July there was no organisation of any kind, trade union or of a political nature in that town. To-day the C.N.T. and the U.G.T. have their own local syndicates, but it was the C.N.T. members who organised a collective mainly composed of former small owners, numbering in all 435 members. A tomato-canning factory had been turned over by its owner voluntarily. In the agreement with the collective he pledged himself not to demand the return of his machinery should he decide to leave the collective, and in his presence the titles to his property were destroyed. True, his motive was not entirely selfless; the poor man was head over heels in debt amounting to 15,000 pesetas which he could not hope to repay in many years to come. By entering the collective he was relieved of that responsibility. The debt was paid for him. Partly out of self-interest and partly out of gratitude he now works as ardently as he did when the plant belonged to him.

The owners of an olive oil and soap factory followed the good example of their colleague from the tomato plant. Thus two-thirds of the members of the collective are former small owners. The rest are labourers. They now own the lands, tools, implements and livestock in common. The collective covers an area of 140 acres. The soil yields wheat, potatoes, corn, beans, barley, tomatoes, sweet peppers and olives. They own 15 cows, 60 goats and 100 mules. The collective has instituted family wages, arranged as follows: a married man receives 8 pesetas a day; a single person 6 pesetas; in addition married couples receive an adequate allowance in cash and 125 kilos. of olive oil a year plus 40 kilos. for each child. The houses are municipalised.

The syndicates have their secretariat which consists of a council of economy composed of three sections - agriculture, manufacture of agricultural products, industry and one section of statistics and accounting. The structure of the syndicate is that of an organisation performing a double function, that of production and consumption. The collective which is affiliated to the syndicate has a school attended by 70 children; 2 teachers, also members of the collective, work on the same principle as all the other members. All the material for the school is supplied free of charge.

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I had a touching experience in this collective which shows the quality of the Spanish people in its most hard-worked and formerly enslaved and exploited ranks. The dwelling of the former owner of the tomato factory, though consisting only of two rooms, was spotlessly clean and had a few pieces of decent-looking furniture. I wondered whether all the population of the town had similar "luxurious" living quarters. I was assured by a comrade that this is not the case. He would take me to a place where a family of five were living in two stone rooms cut out of the rock without windows, the air coming in during the day through the only opening, the door. It was really a cave, yet it was kept in the greatest of order and with pathetic bits of crockery to give the place some colour and to make up for never-penetrating sunshine. I asked if I might wash my hands, as they had become quite soiled and we were going to have a meal before departing on our way to Valencia. The wife, who could not be more than 35, but looked 50 from frequent child-bearing and everlasting drudgery, brought a clean white towel and the last remnant of a piece of toilet soap which she undoubtedly cherished very much. It was her homage to me as a foreign comrade who, she had been told, would write about their struggle and their new hope. I should not have felt more deeply moved and honoured by any token given me by people of wealth.

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L Trotsky

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1934

I N T R O D U C T I O N .

This pamphlet grew out of an article for Vanguard, the anarchist Monthly published in New York City. It appeared in the July issue, but as the space of the magazine is limited, only part of the manuscript could be used. It is here given in a revised and enlarged form.

Leon Trotsky will have it that a criticism of his part in the Kronstadt tragedy is only to aid and abet his mortal enemy, Stalin. It does not occur to him that one might detest the savage in the Kremlin and his cruel regime and yet not exonerate Leon Trotsky from the crime against the sailors of Kronstadt.

In point of truth I see no marked difference between the two protagonists of the benevolent system of the dictatorship except that Leon Trotsky is no longer in power to enforce its blessings, and Josef Stalin is. No, I hold no brief for the present ruler of Russia. I must, however, point out that Stalin did not come down as a gift from heaven to the hapless Russian people. He is merely continuing the Bolshevik traditions, even if in a more relentless manner.

The process of alienating the Russian masses from the Revolution had begun almost immediately after Lenin and his party had ascended to power. **C**rass discrimination in rations and housing, suppression of every political right, continued persecution and arrests, early became the order of the day. True, the purges undertaken at that time did not include party members, although Communists also helped to fill the prisons and concentration camps. A case in point is the first Labour Opposition whose rank and file were quickly eliminated and their leaders, Shlapnikov sent to the Caucasus for "a rest", and Alexander Kollontay placed under house arrest. But all the other political opponents, among them Mensheviks, Social Revolutionists, Anarchists, many of the Liberal intelligentsia and workers as well as peasants, were given short shrift in the cellars of the Cheka, or exiled to slow death in distant parts of Russia and Siberia. In other words Stalin has not originated the theory or methods that have crushed the Russian Revolution and have forged new chains for the Russian people.

I admit, the dictatorship under Stalin's rule has become monstrous. That does not, however, lessen the guilt of Leon Trotsky as one of the actors in the revolutionary drama of which Kronstadt was one of the bloodiest scenes.

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He had fought against the Revolution from its very beginning and had led some of the Wrangel forces in the Crimea. He was guilty of fiendish barbarities to war prisoners and infamous as a maker of progroms. Now Slastchev recanted and was returning to "his Fatherland". This arch-counter-revolutionist and Jew-baiter, together with several Tsarist generals and White Guardists, was received by the Bolsheviki with military honours. No doubt it was just retribution that the anti-Semite had to salute the Jew, Trotsky, ~~xxxxxx~~ his military superior. But to the Revolution and the Russian people the triumphal return of the imperialist was an outrage.

As a reward for his newly-fledged love of the Socialist Fatherland, Slastchev ~~xxx~~ "Krimsky" was commissioned to quell the Karelian peasants who demanded self-determination and better conditions. ♦

♦ My Dissillusionment in Russia, p. 239

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LEON TROTSKY PROTESTS TOO MUCH.

By

Emma Goldman.

I have before me two numbers, February and April, of the New International, Trotsky's official magazine. They contain articles by John G. Wright, a hundred per cent. Trotskyist, and the Grand Mogul himself, purporting to be a refutation of the charges against him in re Kronstadt. Mr. Wright is merely echoing the voice of his master, and his material is in no way first hand, or from personal contact with the events of 1921. I prefer to pay my respects to Leon Trotsky. He has at least the doubtful merit of having been a party to the "liquidation" of Kronstadt.

There are, however, several very rash mis-statements in Wright's article that need to be knocked on the head. I shall therefore proceed to do so at once and deal with his master afterwards.

John G. Wright claims that The Kronstadt Rebellion, by Alexander Berkman, "is merely a restatement of the alleged facts and interpretations of the S.R.'s. with a few insignificant alterations" - (culled from The Truth About Russia in Volya, Russia, Prague, 1921).

The writer further accuses Alexander Berkman of "brazenness, plagiarism, and making, as is his custom, a few insignificant alterations, and hiding the real source of what appears as his own appraisal". Alexander Berkman's life and work have placed him among the greatest revolutionary thinkers and fighters, utterly dedicated to his ideal. Those who know him will testify to his sterling quality in all his actions, as well as his integrity as a serious writer. They will certainly be amused to learn from Mr. Wright that Alexander Berkman was a "plagiarist" and "brazen", and that "his custom is making a few insignificant alterations ..."

The average Communist, whether of the Trotsky or Stalin brand, knows about as much of Anarchist literature and its authors as, let us say, the average Catholic knows about Voltaire or Thomas Paine. The very suggestion that one should know what one's opponents stand for before calling them names would be put down as heresy by the Communist hierarchy. I do not think, therefore, that John G. Wright deliberately lies about Alexander Berkman. Rather do I think that he is densely ignorant.

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It was Alexander Berkman's life-long habit to keep diaries. Even during the fourteen years' purgatory he had endured in the Western Penitentiary, Alexander Berkman had managed to keep up his diary which he succeeded in sending out sub rosa to me. On the "Buford" which took us on our long, perilous cruise of 28 days, my comrade continued his diary and he kept up this old habit through the 23 months of our stay in Russia.

Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist, conceded by conservative critics even to be comparable with Fedor Dostoyevsky's Dead House, was fashioned from his diary. The Kronstadt Rebellion and his Bolshevik Myth are also the offspring of his day-by-day record in Russia. It is stupid, therefore, to charge that Berkman's brochure about Kronstadt "is merely a restatement of the alleged facts ..." from the S.R. work that appeared in Prague.

On a par in accuracy with this charge against Alexander Berkman by Wright is his accusation that my old pal had denied the existence of General Kaylovsky in Kronstadt.

The Kronstadt Rebellion, page 15, states: "There was indeed a former General Kaylovsky in Kronstadt. It was Trotsky who had placed him there as an artillery specialist. He played no role whatever in the Kronstadt events." This was borne out by none other than Zinoviev who was then still at the zenith of his glory. At the Extraordinary Session of the Petrograd Soviet, March 4th, called to decide the fate of Kronstadt, Zinoviev said: "Of course Kaylovsky is old and can do nothing, but the White Officers are back of him and are misleading the sailors." Alexander Berkman, however, stressed the fact that the sailors would have none of Trotsky's former pet General, nor would they accept the offer of provisions and other help of Victor Tchernov, leader of the Right S.R.'s. in Paris.

Trotskyists no doubt consider it bourgeois sentimentality to permit the maligned sailors the right to speak for themselves. I insist that this approach to one's opponent is damnable Jesuitism and has done more to disintegrate the whole labour movement than anything else of the "sacred" tactics of Bolshevism.

That the reader may be in a position to decide between the criminal charge against Kronstadt and what the sailors had to say for themselves, I here reproduce the radio message to the workers of the world, March 6th, 1921:

"Our cause is just: we stand for the power of Soviets, not parties. We stand for freely elected representatives of the labouring masses. The substitute Soviets manipulated by the Communist Party have always been deaf to our needs and demands: the only reply we have ever received was shooting ...

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1926

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Comrades! They not only deceive you; they deliberately pervert the truth and resort to most despicable defamation ... In Kronstadt the whole power is exclusively in the hands of the revolutionary sailors, soldiers and workers - not with counter-revolutionists led by some Kozlovsky, as the lying Moscow radio tries to make you believe ... Do not delay, comrades! Join us, get in touch with us: demand admission to Kronstadt for your delegates. Only they will tell you the whole truth and will expose the fiendish calumny about Finnish bread and Entente officers.

"Long live the revolutionary proletariat and the peasantry!"

"Long live the power of freely elected Soviets!"

The sailors "led" by Kozlovsky, yet pleading with the workers of the world to send keen delegates that they might see whether there was any truth in the black calumny spread against them by the Soviet Press!

Leon Trotsky is surprised and indignant that anyone should dare to raise such a hue and cry over Kronstadt. After all, it happened so long ago, in fact seventeen years have passed, and it was a mere "episode in the history of the relation between the proletarian city and the petty bourgeois village". Why should anyone want to make so much ado at this late day unless it is to "compromise the only genuine revolutionary current which has never repudiated its banner, has not compromised with its enemies, and which alone represents the future". Leon Trotsky's egotism known far and wide by his friends and his foes, has never been his weakest spot. Since his mortal enemy has endowed him with nothing short of a magic wand, his self-importance has reached alarming proportions.

Leon Trotsky is outraged that people should have revived the Kronstadt "episode" and ask questions about his part. It does not occur to him that those who have come to his defence against his detractor have a right to ask what methods he had employed when he was in power, and how he had dealt with those who did not subscribe to his dictum as gospel truth. Of course it was ridiculous to expect that he would beat his chest and say, "I, too, was but human and made mistakes. I, too, have sinned and have killed my brothers or ordered them to be killed." Only sublime prophets and seers have risen to such heights of courage. Leon Trotsky is certainly not one of them. On the contrary, he continued to claim omnipotence in all his acts and judgments and to call anathema on the heads of anyone who foolishly suggests that the great god Leon Trotsky also has feet of clay.

He jeers at the documentary evidence left by the Kronstadt sailors and the evidence of those who had been within sight and hearing of the dreadful siege of Kronstadt. He calls them

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"false labels". That does not, however, prevent him from assuring his readers that his explanation of the Kronstadt rebellion could be "substantiated and illustrated by many facts and documents". Intelligent people may well ask why Leon Trotsky did not have the decency to present these "false labels" so that they might be in a position to form a correct opinion of them.

Now it is a fact that even capitalist courts grant the defendant the right to present evidence on his own behalf. Not so Leon Trotsky, the spokesman of the one and only truth, he who has "never repudiated his banner and has never compromised with its enemies".

One can understand such lack of common decency in John G. Wright. He is, as I have already stated, merely quoting holy Bolshevik scripture. But for a world figure like Leon Trotsky to silence the evidence of the sailors seems to me indicative of a very small character. The old saying of the leopard changing his spots but not his nature forcibly applies to Leon Trotsky. The Calvary he has endured during his years of exile, the tragic loss of those near and dear to him, and, more poignantly still, the betrayal by his former comrades in arms, have taught him nothing. Not a glimmer of human kindness or fellow-feeling has affected Trotsky's rancorous spirit.

What a pity that the silence of the dead sometimes speaks louder than the living voice. In point of truth the voices strangled in Kronstadt have grown in volume these seventeen years. Is it for this reason, I wonder, that Leon Trotsky resents its sound?

Leon Trotsky quotes Marx as saying, "that it is impossible to judge either parties or people by what they say about themselves". How pathetic that he does not realise how much this applies to him! No man among the able Bolshevik writers has managed to keep himself so much in the foreground or boasted so incessantly of his share in the Russian Revolution and after as Leon Trotsky. By this criterion of his great teacher, one would have to declare all Leon Trotsky's writing to be worthless, which would be nonsense of course.

In discrediting the motives which conditioned the Kronstadt uprising, Leon Trotsky records the following: "From different fronts I sent dozens of telegrams about the mobilisation of new 'reliable' detachments from among the Petersburg workers and Baltic fleet sailors, but already in 1918, and in any case not later than 1919, the fronts began to complain that a new contingent of 'Kronstadters' were unsatisfactory, exacting, undisciplined, unreliable in battle and doing more harm than good". Further on, on the same page, Trotsky charges that, "When conditions became very critical in hungry Petrograd the Political Bureau more than once discussed the possibility of securing an 'internal loan' from Kronstadt where a quantity of old provisions still remained, but the delegates of the

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1994

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Petrograd workers answered, 'You will never get anything from them by kindness; they speculate in cloth, coal and bread. At present in Kronstadt every kind of riff-raff has raised its head'. Now very Bolshevik that is, not only to slay one's opponents but also to besmirch their character. From Marx and Engels, Lenin, Trotsky to Stalin, this method has ever been the same.

Now, I do not presume to argue what the Kronstadt sailors were in 1918 or 1919. I did not reach Russia until January, 1920. From that time on until Kronstadt was "liquidated" the sailors of the Baltic fleet were held up as the glorious example of valour and unflinching courage. Time on end I was told not only by "Anarchists, Mensheviks and social revolutionists", but by many Communists, that the sailors were the very backbone of the Revolution. On the 1st May, 1920, during the celebration and the other festivities organised for the first British Labour Mission, the Kronstadt sailors presented a large clear-cut contingent, and were then pointed out as among the great heroes who had saved the Revolution from Karsensky, and Petrograd from Yudenich. During the anniversary of the October the sailors were again in the front ranks, and their re-enactment of the taking of the Winter Palace was wildly acclaimed by a packed mass.

Is it possible that the leading members of the party, save Leon Trotsky, were unaware of the corruption and the demoralisation of Kronstadt, claimed by him? I do not think so. Moreover, I doubt whether Trotsky himself held this view of the Kronstadt sailors until March, 1921. His story must therefore be an afterthought, or is it a rationalisation to justify the senseless "liquidation" of Kronstadt?

Granted that the personnel had undergone a change, it is yet a fact that the Kronstadters in 1921 were nevertheless far from the picture Leon Trotsky and his echo have painted. In point of actual fact, the sailors met their doom only because of their deep kinship and solidarity with the Petrograd workers whose power of endurance of cold and hunger had reached the breaking point in a series of strikes in February, 1921. Why have Leon Trotsky and his followers failed to mention this? Leon Trotsky knows perfectly well, if Wright does not, that the first scene of the Kronstadt drama was staged in Petrograd on February 24th, and played, not by the sailors but by the strikers. For it was on this date that the strikers had given vent to their accumulated wrath over the callous indifference of the men who had prated about the dictatorship of the proletariat which had long ago deteriorated into the merciless dictatorship of the Communist Party.

Alexander Berkman's entry in his diary of this historic day reads:

"The Trubotchny mill workers have gone on strike. In the distribution of winter clothing, they complain, the Communists received undue advantage over the non-partisans. The Government refuses to consider the grievances till the men return to work.

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"Crowds of strikers gathered in the street near the mills, and soldiers were sent to disperse them. They were Kursanti, Communist youths of the military academy. There was no violence."

"Now the strikers have been joined by the men from the Admiralty shops and Galernaya docks. There is much resentment against the arrogant attitude of the Government. A street demonstration was attempted, but mounted troops suppressed it."

It was after the report of their Committee of the real state of affairs among the workers in Petrograd that Kronstadt did in 1921 what it had done in 1917. They immediately made common cause with the workers. The part of the sailors in 1917 was hailed as the red pride and glory of the Revolution. Their identical part in 1921 was denounced to the whole world as counter-revolutionary treason. Naturally, in 1917 Kronstadt helped the Bolsheviks into the saddle. In 1921 they demanded a reckoning for the false hopes raised in the masses, and the great promise broken almost immediately the Bolsheviks had felt entrenched in their power. A heinous crime indeed. The important phase of this crime, however, is that Kronstadt did not "mutiny" out of a clear sky. The cause for it was deeply rooted in the suffering of the Russian workers: the city proletariat, Leon Trotsky, not the bourgeois peasantry.

To be sure, the former com issar assures us that "the peasants reconciled themselves to the requisition as a temporary evil", and that "the peasants approved of the Bolsheviks, but became increasingly hostile to the 'Communists'". But those contentions are mere fiction, as can be demonstrated by numerous proofs - not the least of them the liquidation of the peasant soviet, headed by Maria Spiridonova, and iron and fire used to force the peasants to yield up all their produce, including their grain for their spring sowing.

In point of historic truth, the peasants hated the régime almost from the start, certainly from the moment when Lenin's slogan, "rob the robbers" was turned into "rob the peasants for the glory of the Communist Dictatorship".

Leon Trotsky tells us that the Kronstadt sailors in 1919 would not have given up provisions by "kindness" - not that kindness had been tried at any time. In fact this word does not exist in Bolshevik lingo. Yet here are these demoralised sailors, the riff-raff speculators, etc., siding with the City proletariat in 1921, and their first demand is for equalisation of rations. What villains those Kronstadters were, really!

The readers will find the resolution of the Kronstadt men themselves at the end of the article. It was written under the

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greatest duress and under the fire of Bolshevik artillery. Yet every word brings home the singleness of purpose of the men who were ultimately crushed by the deadly machine of the dictatorship.

Much is being made by both writers against Kronstadt of the fact that the sailors who, as we insist, did not premeditate the rebellion, but met on the 1st March to discuss ways and means of aiding their Petrograd comrades, quickly formed themselves into a Provisional Revolutionary Committee. The answer to this is actually given by John G. Wright himself. He writes: "It is by no means excluded that the local authorities in Kronstadt bungled in their handling of the situation ... It is no secret that Kalinin, let alone Commissar Kuzmin, was none too highly esteemed by Lenin and his colleagues ... In so far as the local authorities were blind to the full extent of the danger or failed to take proper and effective measures to cope with the crisis, to that extent their blunders played a part in the unfolding events ..."

The statement that Lenin did not esteem Kalinin or Kuzmin highly is unfortunately an old trick of Bolshevism to lay all blame on some bungler so that the heads may remain lily pure.

Indeed, the local authorities in Kronstadt did "bungle". Kuzmin attacked the sailors viciously and threatened them with dire results. The sailors evidently knew what to expect from such threats. They could not but guess that if Kuzmin and Vassiliev were permitted to be at large their first step would be to remove arms and provisions from Kronstadt. This was the reason why the sailors formed their Provisional Revolutionary Committee. An additional factor, too, was the news that a committee of 30 sailors sent to Petrograd to confer with the workers had been denied the right to return to Kronstadt, that they had been arrested and placed in the Cheka.

Both writers make a mountain of a molehill of the rumours announced at the meeting of March 1st to the effect that a truckload of soldiers heavily armed were on the way to Kronstadt. Wright has evidently never lived under an air-tight dictatorship. I have - when every channel of human contact is closed, when every thought is thrown back on itself and expression stifled, then rumours rise like mushrooms from the ground and grow into terrifying dimensions. Besides, truckloads of soldiers and Chekists armed to their very teeth tearing along the streets in the day, throwing out their nets at night and dragging their human haul to the Cheka, was a frequent sight in Petrograd and Moscow during the time when I was there. In the tension of the meeting after Kuzmin's threatening speech, it was perfectly natural for rumours to be given credence.

The news in the Paris Press about the Kronstadt uprising two weeks before it happened had been stressed in the campaign against the sailors as proof positive that they had been tools of the Imperialist gang and that the rebellion had actually been hatched in

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Paris. It was too obvious that this yarn was used only to discredit the Kronstadters in the eyes of the workers.

In reality this advance news was like other news from Paris, Riga or Helsingfors, and which rarely, if ever, coincided with anything that had been claimed by the counter-revolutionary agents abroad. On the other hand, many events happened in Soviet Russia which would have gladdened the heart of the Entente and which they never got to know - events far more detrimental to the Russian Revolution caused by the dictatorship of the Communist Party itself. For instance, the creation of the Cheka which undermined many achievements of October and which already in 1921 had become a malignant growth on the body of the Revolution. And many other similar events which would take me too far afield to treat here.

No, the advance news in the Paris Press had no bearing whatever on the Kronstadt rebellion. In point of fact no one in Petrograd in 1921 believed its connection, not even quite a number of Communists. As I have already stated, John G. Wright is merely an apt pupil of Leon Trotsky and therefore quite innocent of what most people within and outside of the party thought about this so-called "link".

Future historians will no doubt appraise the Kronstadt "mutiny" in its real value. If and when they do, they will no doubt come to the conclusion that the uprising could not have come more opportunely if it had been deliberately planned.

The most dominant factor which decided the fate of Kronstadt was the N.E.P. Lenin, aware of the very considerable party opposition this new-fangled "revolutionary" scheme would meet, needed some impending menace to the smooth and ready acceptance of the N.E.P. Kronstadt came along most conveniently. The whole crushing propaganda machine was immediately put into motion to prove that the sailors were in league with all the Imperialist powers, and all the counter-revolutionary elements to destroy the Communist State. That worked like magic. The N.E.P. was rushed through without a hitch.

Time alone will prove the frightful cost this manoeuvre has entailed. The three hundred delegates, the young Communist flower, rushed from the Party Congress to crush Kronstadt, were a mere handful of the thousands wantonly sacrificed. They went fervently believing the campaign a vilification. Those who remained alive had a rude awakening.

I have recorded a meeting with a wounded Communist in a hospital in My Disillusionment. It has lost nothing of its poignancy in the years since:

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"Many of those wounded in the attack on Kronstadt had been brought to the same hospital, mostly Kursanti. I had opportunity to speak to one of them. His physical suffering, he said, was nothing as compared with his mental agony. Too late he had realised that he had been duped by the cry of 'counter-revolution'. There were no Tsarist generals in Kronstadt, no White Guardists - he found only his own comrades, sailors and soldiers, who had heroically fought for the Revolution."

No one at all in his senses will see any similarity between the N.E.P. and the demand of the Kronstadt sailors for the right of free exchange of products. The N.E.P. came to reintroduce the grave evils the Russian Revolution had attempted to eradicate. The free exchange of products between the workers and the peasants, between the city and the country, embodied the very raison d'être of the Revolution. Naturally "the Anarchists were against the N.E.P." But free exchange as Zinoviev had told me in 1920, "is out of our plan of centralisation". Poor Zinoviev could not possibly imagine what a horrible ogre the centralisation of power would become.

It is the idea fixe of centralisation of the dictatorship which early began to divide the city and the village, the workers and the peasants, not, as Leon Trotsky will have it, because "the one is proletarian ... and the other petty bourgeois", but because the dictatorship had paralysed the initiative of both the city proletariat and the petty bourgeois peasant.

Leon Trotsky omits the most important reason for the seeming indifference of the workers of Petrograd and why they did not rush to the support of the sailors. It is therefore necessary to point out that the campaign of slander, vilification and calumny against the sailors began on the 2nd March, 1921. The Soviet Press fairly oozed poison against the sailors. The most despicable charges were hurled against them, and this was kept up until Kronstadt was liquidated on March 17th. In addition Petrograd was put under martial law. Several factories were shut down and the workers thus robbed to hold counsel with each other. In the diary of Alexander Berkman, I find the following:

"Many arrests are taking place. Groups of strikers slandered by Chekists on the way to prison are a common sight. There is great nervous tension in the city. Elaborate precautions have been taken to protect the Government institution. Machine guns are placed on the Astoria, the living quarters of Zinoviev and other prominent Bolsheviks. Official proclamation commanding immediate return of the strikers to the factories ... and warn the populace against congregating in the streets.

"The Committee of Defence has initiated a 'clean of the city'. Many workers suspected of sympathising with Kronstadt have been placed under arrest. All Petrograd sailors and part of the

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garrison thought to be 'unworthy' have been ordered to distant points, while the families of Kronstadt sailors living in Petrograd are held as hostages. The Committee of Defence notified Kronstadt that 'the prisoners are kept as pledges' for the safety of the Commissar of the Baltic Fleet, N.M. Kuzmin, the Chairman of the Kronstadt Soviet, T. Vassiliev, and other Communists. If the least harm is suffered by our comrades the hostages will pay with their lives."

Under these iron-clad rules it was physically impossible for the workers of Petrograd to ally themselves with Kronstadt, especially not one word of the manifestoes issued by the sailors in their paper was permitted to penetrate to the workers in Petrograd. In other words, Leon Trotsky deliberately falsifies the facts. The workers would certainly have sided with the sailors because they know that they were not mutineers or counter-revolutionists, but that they had taken a stand with the workers as their comrades had done as long ago as 1905, March and October, 1917. It is therefore a grossly criminal and conscious libel on the memory of the Kronstadt sailors.

On page 106, second column, Trotsky assures his readers that no one "we may say in passing, bothered in those days about the Anarchists". That unfortunately does not tally with the incessant persecution of Anarchists which began in 1918, when Leon Trotsky liquidated the Anarchist Headquarters in Moscow with machine guns. At that time the process of elimination of the Anarchists began. Even now so many years later, the concentration camps of the Soviet Government are full of the Anarchists who remained alive. Actually before the Kronstadt uprising, in fact in October, 1920, when Leon Trotsky again had changed his mind about Machno, because he needed his help and his army to liquidate Wrangle, and when he consented to the Anarchist Conference in Charkov, several hundred Anarchists were drawn into a net and despatched to the Boutirka prison where they were killed without any charges until the end of 1921. But that is a page of Soviet history of its own. What is to the point in this instance is that the Anarchists must have been thought of very much, else there would have been no reason to arrest them and ship them in the old Tsarist way to concentration camps in distant parts of Russia and Siberia.

Leon Trotsky makes a sneering remark about the charge that he had shot 1,500 sailors. Whoever had made the charge was mistaken. It was indeed naive of the sailors to think that free Soviets can live side by side with a dictatorship. Actually the free Soviets had ceased to exist at an early stage in the Communist game, as the Trade Unions and the co-operatives. They had all been hitched to the chariot wheel of the Bolshevik machine. I well remember Lenin telling me with great satisfaction, "Your Grand Old Man, Enrico Malatesta, is for our soviets". I hastened to say, "You mean free soviets, Comrade Lenin. I, too, am for them." Lenin turned our talk to something else. But I soon discovered why Free Soviets had ceased to exist in Russia.

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John G. Wright will have it that there was no trouble in Petrograd until February 28th. That is on par with his other rehash of the "historic" Party material. The unrest and dissatisfaction of the workers were already very marked when we arrived. In every industry I visited I found extreme dissatisfaction and resentment because the dictatorship of the proletariat had been turned into a devastating dictatorship of the Communist Party with its different rations and discriminations. If the discontent of the workers had not broken loose before 1921 it was only because they still clung tenaciously to the hope that when the fronts would be liquidated the promise of the Revolution would be fulfilled. It was Kronstadt which pricked the last bubble.

The sailors had dared to stand by the discontented workers. They had dared to demand that the promise of the Revolution - all Power in the Soviets - should be fulfilled. The political dictatorship had slain the dictatorship of the proletariat. That and that alone was their unforgivable offence against the holy spirit of Bolshevism.

In his article Wright has a footnote to page 49, second column, wherein he states that Victor Serge in a recent comment on Kronstadt "concedes that the Bolsheviks, once confronted with the mutiny, had no other recourse except to crush it". Victor Serge is now out of the hospitable shores of the workers' capital "fatherland". I therefore do not consider it a breach of faith when I say that if Victor Serge made this statement charged to him by John G. Wright, he is merely not telling the truth. Victor Serge was one of the French Communist Section who was as much distressed and horrified over the impending butchery decided upon by Leon Trotsky to "shoot the sailors as pheasants" as Alexander Berkman, myself and many other revolutionists. He used to spend every free hour in our room running up and down, tearing his hair, clenching his fists in indignation and repeating that "something must be done, something must be done, to stop the frightful massacre". When he was asked why he, as a party member, did not raise his voice in protest in the party session, his reply was that that would not help the sailors and would mark him for the Cheka and even silent disappearance. The only excuse for Victor Serge at the time was a young wife and a small baby. But for him to state now, after seventeen years, that "the Bolsheviks once confronted with the mutiny had no other recourse except to crush it", is to say the least inexcusable. Victor Serge knows as well as I do that there was no mutiny in Kronstadt, that the sailors actually did not use their arms in any shape or form until the bombardment of Kronstadt began. He also knows that neither the arrested Communist Commissars nor any other Communists were touched by the sailors. I therefore call upon Victor Serge to come out with the truth: that he was able to continue in Russia under the comradely régime of Lenin, Trotsky and the other unfortunates who have been recently murdered, conscious of all the horrors that are going on, is his affair, but I cannot keep silent in the face of the charge against him as saying that the Bolsheviks were justified in crushing the sailors.

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Leon Trotsky is sarcastic about the accusation that he had shot 1,500 sailors. No, he did not do the bloody job himself. He entrusted Tuchachevsky, his lieutenant, to shoot the sailors "like pheasants" as he had threatened. Tuchachevsky carried out the order to the last degree. The numbers ran into legions, and those who remained after the senseless attack of Bolshevik artillery, were placed under the care of Dibenko, famous for his humanity and his justice.

Tuchachevsky and Dibenko, the heroes and saviours of the dictatorship! History seems to have its own way of meting out justice.

Leon Trotsky, John G. Wright and the Spanish Anarchists:

During the four years civil war in Russia the Anarchists almost to a man stood by the Bolsheviks, though they grew daily more conscious of the impending collapse of the Revolution. They felt in duty bound to keep silent and to avoid everything that would bring aid and comfort to the enemies of the Revolution.

Certainly the Russian Revolution fought against many fronts and many enemies, but at no time were the odds so frightful as those confronting the Spanish Anarchists and the Spanish Revolution. The menace of Franco aided by German and Italian man power and military equipment, Stalin's blessings transferred to Spain, the conspiracy of the Imperialist powers, the betrayal by the so-called democracies and, not the least, the apathy of the international proletariat, far outweigh the dangers that surrounded the Russian Revolution. What does Trotsky do in the face of such a terrible tragedy? He joins the howling mob and thrusts his own poisoned dagger into the vitals of the Spanish Anarchists in their most crucial hour.

No doubt the Spanish Anarchists have committed a grave error. They failed to invite Leon Trotsky to take charge of the Spanish Revolution and to show them how well he had succeeded in Russia that it may be repeated all over again on Spanish soil. That seems to be his chagrin.

Leon Trotsky tries a trump card, when he asks, "Where and when their great principles were confirmed, in practice at least partially, at least in tendency?" This card like all the others he has already played in his life, will not win him the game. In

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point of fact Anarchist principles in practice and tendency have been confirmed in Spain. I agree, only partially. How could that be otherwise with all the forces conspiring against the Spanish Revolution? The constructive work undertaken by the National Confederation of Labour (the C.N.T.) and the Anarchist Federation of Iberia (the F.A.I.), is something never thought of by the Bolshevik régime in all the years it was in power, and yet the collectivisation of the industries and the land stand out as the greatest achievement of any revolutionary period. Moreover, even if Franco should win, and the Spanish Anarchists be exterminated in rivers of blood, will the work they have started continue to live? The roots of Anarchist principles and tendencies are so deeply rooted in Spanish soil that they cannot be eradicated. Where and when has Trotsky's banner, which he claims has never compromised with the enemy and represents the revolutionary current of the future, even remotely shown equality with the splendid example of the men and women who are now fighting with their backs to the wall?

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LEON TROTSKY PROTESTA DEMASIADO

por Emma GOLDMANN

Tengo o la vista dos números de la "New INTERNATIONAL", correspondientes a Febrero y Abril, revista oficial de Trotsky. Aparecen en ellas artículos de John G. Wright, trotskista cien por cien y el mismo sumo pontífice pretende que los mismos constituyen una refutación de los cargos que se le hacen con respecto a lo de Kronstadt. Mr. Wright hace eco únicamente de la voz de su amo y el material que emplea está lejos de ser original ni resultado de su contacto personal con los sucesos de 1921. Yo prefiero pagar mis respetos a León Trotsky. El tiene, cuando menos, el dudoso mérito de haber tenido su parte en la "liquidación" de Kronstadt.

Existen, sin embargo, varias falsedades en el artículo de Wright que necesitan ser cortadas de raíz, lo cual voy a hacer desde ahora dejando para más adelante a su amo.

John G. Wright pretende que la "Rebelión de Kronstadt" de Alejandro Berkman "es meramente una repetición de los supuestos hechos e interpretaciones de S.R. con unas cuantas alteraciones significativas" (extraídas de "LA VERDAD SOBRE RUSIA en Volvo Rusio, Praga, 1921").

El escritor acusa más adelante a Alejandro Berkman de "desochoado, plagio y de hacer, según es su costumbre, unas cuantas alteraciones insignificantes y de ocultar la fuente verdadera de lo que hace aparecer como sus apreciaciones". Toda la vida y el trabajo de Alejandro Berkman le han colocado entre los más prominentes luchadores y pensadores revolucionarios, completamente dedicado a su ideal. Quienes le conocieron bien darán fe de su austeridad en todos sus actos, así como de su integridad y seriedad como escritor. Seguramente quedarán sorprendidos al conocer por Mr. Wright que Alejandro Berkman era un "desochoado plagio" y que "era su costumbre hacer algunas alteraciones insignificantes..."

El promedio de los comunistas, ya lleve la etiqueta de Trotsky o la de Stalin, conoce tanto la literatura anarquista y a sus autores como, podríamos decir, el promedio de los católicos a Voltaire o a Tomás Paine. La misma suposición de que uno conociese la posición de su oponente antes de ponerle objetivos abusivos equivaldría a declararlo hereje por la jerarquía comunista. Es por eso que no creo que John G. Wright mienta deliberadamente con respecto a Alejandro Berkman. Más bien me inclino a creer que él es un ignorante incommensurable.

Alejandro Berkman tuvo toda su vida el hábito de guardar sus diarios. Hasta durante los catorce años de purgatorio que soportó en lo Western Penitentiary, Alejandro Berkman se las arregló para mantener su diario, que me mandaba a mi clandestinamente; y a bordo del "Buford" que nos llevó en nuestro largo y peligroso viaje marítimo de 28 días, mi camarada continuó escribiendo su diario siguiendo su vieja costumbre durante los 23 meses de nuestro permanencia en Rusia.

"Las MEMORIAS DE PRESIDIO DE UN ANARQUISTA", trabajo que los más conservadores críticos han considerado de tanto valor como "La Casa de la Muerte" de Feodor Dostoyevsky, fue elaborado por Berkman con notas de su diario. "La Rebelión de Kronstadt" y "El Gran Bolchevique" fueron también resultado de las notas tomados diariamente por Berkman en Rusia. Por esto mismo resul-

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ta estúpida la acusación de que el libro de Berkman sobre Kronstadt "es meramente una repetición de supuestos hechos..." del trabajo de S.R. que apareció en Praga.

Paralela con la falsedad de esa acusación contra Alejandro Berkman que hace Wright está otra en la que afirma que mi viejo compañero ha negado la existencia del General Kaylovsky en Kronstadt.

En la página 15 de "La Rebelión de Kronstadt" dice: "Había allí, por cierto, un antiguo general en Kronstadt que se llamaba Kaylovsky. Fue Trotsky quien le destacó allí como artillero especializado; pero este general no jugó papel alguno en los acontecimientos de Kronstadt". Esto fue sostenido por el mismo Zinoviev, cuando aún se hallaba en la cúspide de su gloria. En la Sesión Extraordinaria del Soviet de Petrogrado del 4 de marzo, convocada para decidir la suerte de Kronstadt, dijo Zinoviev que "desde luego, Kaylovsky es viejo y no puede hacer nada, pero los oficiales blancos le apoyan y desvían a los marineros". Alejandro Berkman recalco el hecho de que los marineros no querían tener a ninguno de los antiguos generales favoritos de Trotsky, ni aceptarían los ofrecimientos de avituallamiento y otros apoyos de Víctor Tchernev, el caudillo de los S.R. del ala derecha en París.

Los trotekistas consideran indudablemente como sentimentalismo burgués permitir a los malignos marineros el derecho de hablar en pro de ellos mismos. Yo insisto en que las trabas puestas al propio oponente responden a las condenadas tácticas jesuíticas, y eso ha contribuido más para desintegrar a todo el movimiento obrero que cualquier ~~otro~~ otra de las "marchas" tácticas del bolchevismo.

Para que el lector pueda estar en posición de decidir entre las acusaciones criminales en contra de Kronstadt y lo que hubieron de ~~decir~~ decir sobre el particular los marineros mismos, reproduzco a continuación el mensaje que radiaron a los trabajadores del mundo el 6 de marzo de 1921:

"Nuestra causa es justa. ~~Nosotros~~ Nosotros queremos el poder para los Soviets, no para los partidos. Queremos la representación libremente elegida, de las masas productoras. Los substitutos de los Soviets manipulados por el Partido Comunista se han mantenido siempre sordos para oír nuestras necesidades y peticiones. La única respuesta que hemos recibido alguna vez ha sido por boca de los fusiles... Camaradas, ellos no solamente os engañan sino que pervierten deliberadamente la verdad y emplean las más despreciables de las calumnias... En Kronstadt todo el poder está exclusivamente en las manos de los trabajadores, marineros y soldados revolucionarios dirigidos por algún Kozlovsky según quiere hacer creer la radio embustera de Moscú. No os demoréis, camaradas! Uníos con nosotros! Poned en contacto con nosotros! Exigid que se permita a vuestros delegados venir a Kronstadt! Solamente ellos podrán decir la verdad completa y os revelarán lo infame de la calumnia sobre el plan de Finlandia y las ofertas de la entente.

Vivan los campesinos y los proletarios revolucionarios!
Viva el poder de los Soviets libremente elegidos!"

¡Los marineros "acaudillados" por Kozlovsky y, sin embargo, piden a los trabajadores del mundo que manden delegados para que puedan ver si existía alguna veracidad en la negra calumnia lanzada en contra de ellos por la prensa ~~soviética~~ soviética!"

Leon Trotsky se sorprende e indigna porque alguien se atreve a levantar tal clamor sobre lo de Kronstadt. Después de todo aquello ocurrió hace tanto tiempo... Efectivamente, han transcurrido diecisiete años y aquello no fue

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más que un mero "episodio en la historia de las relaciones entre el proletariado de la ciudad y la pequeña villa burguesa". Por qué debe haber alguien ahora que tenga interés en levantar semejante polvareda en estas horas tan lejanas si no es para "comprometer la única corriente revolucionaria genuina que nunca ha repudiado su bandera, que no ha pactado con el enemigo y de por sí representa el futuro?" El egoísmo de León Trotsky, conocido en toda su amplitud por sus amigos y enemigos, ha sido su punto débil. Desde que su mortal enemigo le desheredó de todo menos de su pálida magia personal, la importancia de nuestro personaje ha alcanzado proporciones alarmantes.

~~La~~ León Trotsky se siente ultrajado por el hecho de que haya alguien que recuerde el "episodio" de Kronstadt y que pida luz sobre la parte que tomó en él. No se le ocurre que quienes han salido en su defensa contra su detractor tiene el derecho de preguntarle algo respecto a los métodos que él empleó cuando estaba en el poder y la manera como se las arregló con aquellos que no acataron sus dictados como verdad evangélica. Desde luego era ridículo esperar que él se golpease el pecho y dijese: "yo, siendo humano, también he cometido errores. Yo también he pecado y matado a mis hermanos o he hecho que los matasen". Solamente los profetas sublimes y videntes han alcanzado alturas de coraje. León Trotsky no es, por cierto, uno de ellos. Por el contrario, él continúa considerándose omnipotente en todos sus actos y juicios y manda sus anatemas sobre la cabeza de cualquiera que ~~sugiera~~ sugiera tontamente que la gran divinidad León Trotsky también tiene pies de arcilla.

El se mofa de la evidencia documental dejada por los marinos y la de aquellos que vieron y oyeron los horrores del sitio de Kronstadt. Les llama "ideales falsos", Pero eso no le evita, empero, el asegurar a sus lectores que sus explicaciones sobre la rebelión de Kronstadt pueden ser "substanciadas e ilustradas con muchas pruebas y documentos". Las personas inteligentes podrán preguntarse por qué León Trotsky no tiene la decencia de presentar estas "falsas etiquetas" para estar en posición de formar una correcta opinión sobre ellas.

Es un hecho que hasta en los tribunales capitalistas se concede a los acusados el derecho de presentar pruebas en defensa propia. Pero no ocurre así con León Trotsky, el portavoz de la única y sola verdad, el que "nunca ha repudiado su bandera ni ha pactado con el enemigo".

Uno puede comprender tal falta de decencia común en John G. Wright. El, como ya he dicho, meramente nos da citas de las sagradas escrituras bolcheviques. Pero para una ~~figura~~ figura mundial como León Trotsky, silenciar las pruebas de los marinos me parece indicativo de un carácter muy pequeño. El viejo refrán de que el leopardo podrá cambiar de lugar pero no de naturaleza puede forzosamente aplicarse a León Trotsky. El calvario que él ha soportado durante sus años de destierro, la trágica pérdida de aquellos cercanos y queridos para él, y, los que es más mordaz todavía, la traición de sus antiguos camaradas, no le han enseñado nada. Ni un vislumbre de suavidad o de afecto humano ha cambiado el espíritu rencoroso de Trotsky.

Qué lástima que el silencio de los muertos hable a veces con más fuerza que la voz de los que viven. Verdaderamente, las voces estranguladas de ~~Kronstadt~~ Kronstadt han aumentado su volumen en estos diecisiete años. ¿Es acaso por esa razón que León Trotsky resiente sus ecos?

León Trotsky cita a Marx diciendo "que es imposible juzgar a la gente o a los partidos basándose en lo que dicen ellos mismos". Qué patético resulta que el no realice cuánto de eso se le puede aplicar a él! Ningún hom-

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bre de todos los capacitados escritores bolcheviques ha logrado mantenerse tanto en posición sobresaliente o hecho tanto reclamo incesantemente sobre la parte tomada en la Revolución y después de ella como León Trotsky. Según este criterio de su gran maestro, uno se ve obligado a declarar que todos los escritos de León Trotsky carecen de valor, lo cual sería absurdo, desde luego.

Desaorendando los motivos que condicionaron el levantamiento de Kronstadt, León Trotsky ~~xxxxxx~~ registra lo siguiente: "Yo mandé desde diferentes frentes docenas de telegramas sobre la movilización de nuevos regimientos "de confianza" formados por trabajadores de Petrogrado y de los marinos de la escuadra del Báltico, pero ya en 1918, o en todo caso, no después de 1919, los frentes empezaron a quejarse de que "los de Kronstadt" no satisfacían por ser exigentes, indisciplinados y no poderse confiar en ellos por que hacían más bien mal que bien". Más adelante, en la misma página, Trotsky acusa que "cuando las condiciones se hicieron críticas para el hambriento Petrogrado el Buró Político discutió más de una vez las posibilidades de obtener un empréstito interno de Kronstadt donde existían aún cantidades de viejos víveres, pero los delegados de los trabajadores de Petrogrado contestaron: nunca se podrá obtener nada de ellos con benevolencia. Ellos especulan con las ropas, con el carbón y con el pan. Actualmente en Kronstadt se le vantado la cabeza toda clase de desecho" por muy bolchevique que sea asesinar a sus oponentes, les es preciso también enunciar sus cardóteres. Desde Marx a Engels así como desde Lenin a Trotsky y a Stalin, siempre han seguido el mismo método.

Ahora ya no pretendo argumentar lo que fueron los marinos de Kronstadt en 1918 o 1919. Yo no llegué a Rusia hasta enero de 1920. Desde esa fecha en adelante hasta ~~xx~~^{que} Kronstadt fué "liquidado" los marinos de la escuadra del Báltico fueron proclamados como un ejemplo de valor y de indómito coraje. Una y otra vez oí de labios no solamente "anarquistas, bolcheviques y social revolucionarios", sino de muchos comunistas, que los marinos eran la espina dorsal de la Revolución. El primero de mayo de 1920, durante la celebración del día y de otras festividades organizadas en homenaje a la primera delegación de trabajadores ingleses, los marinos de Kronstadt presentaron un crecido y limpio contingente y eran señalados como parte de los grandes héroes que habían salvado a la Revolución de las manos de Kerensky y a Petrogrado de las de Yudenich. Durante el aniversario de octubre, los marinos estuvieron otra vez en las primeras filas y su reaparición marchando por el Palacio de Invierno fué frenéticamente aclamada por las masas que lo invadían todo.

¿Es posible que los miembros prominentes del Partido, excepto Trotsky, ignorasen la corrupción y desmoralización de Kronstadt que él anota? Yo no lo creo así. Más todavía, yo dudo que León Trotsky tuviera esa opinión de los marinos de Kronstadt hasta marzo de 1921. Su historia debe haber sido, por tanto, pensada después. ¿O es acaso una manera de justificar la insensata "liquidación" de Kronstadt?

Concediendo que el personal hubiese sufrido un cambio, todavía permanece el hecho de que los de Kronstadt eran, sin embargo, muy diferentes en 1921 del cuadro que nos pintan León Trotsky y su portavoz. Ateniéndonos a la realidad, el hecho es que los marinos encontraron su sentencia solamente debido a su profunda solidaridad con los trabajadores de Petrogrado, cuya fuerza para soportar el frío y el hambre había alcanzado sus límites con la declaración de varias huelgas en Febrero de 1921. ¿Por qué no han dicho nada de eso León Trotsky y sus secuaces? León Trotsky sabe perfectamente bien, si es que Wright lo ignora, que la primera escena del drama de Kronstadt se produjo en Petrogrado el 24 de febrero, y sus protagonistas no fueron los marineros sino los trabajadores huelguistas. Fué en esa fecha que los huelguistas desahogaron su có-

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lera, acumulada contra la cruel indiferencia de los hombres que tanto habían charlado sobre la dictadura del proletariado y que desde hacía tiempo se había convertido en la dictadura implacable del Partido Comunista.

Alejandro Berkman registra así en su diario este ~~interesante~~ histórico día:

"Los trabajadores de los molinos Trubotchny han ido a la huelga. Se quejan de que en la distribución de la ropa de invierno los comunistas reciben indebidas ventajas sobre los que no son sus partidarios. El Gobierno rehúsa considerar la injusticia hasta que los trabajadores regresen al trabajo.

"Grupos de huelguistas se reunieron en las calles cercanas a los molinos y fueron mandados soldados para dispersarlos. Estos eran Kursanti, jóvenes comunistas de la academia militar, No hubo violencia.

"Ahora se han unido a los huelguistas los trabajadores de los talleres del Almirantazgo y los de los muelles Galersaya. Hay mucho resentimiento contra la actitud arrogante del Gobierno. Se intenta hacer una manifestación por las calles, pero la caballería la suprime".

Fue después del informe de su Comité sobre el verdadero estado de la situación de los trabajadores de Petrogrado cuando hizo Kronstadt en 1921 lo mismo que había hecho en 1917. La parte tomada por los marinos en 1917 fue aclamada como el orgullo rojo y gloria de la Revolución. Su idéntica actitud en 1921 fue denunciada ante el mundo entero como una traición contra-revolucionaria. Naturalmente: en 1917 ~~ayudó~~ a los bolcheviques a encaramarse en la silla, mientras que en 1921 exigían el reconocimiento de las falsas esperanzas levantadas en las masas y el quebrantamiento de la gran promesa tan pronto como los bolcheviques se sintieron atrincherados en el poder. Crimen abominable verdaderamente. La fase importante de este crimen, empero, descansa en que Kronstadt no se "amotinó" fuera de un cielo limpio. La causa de ello estaba profundamente arraigada en el sufrimiento de los trabajadores rusos. El proletariado de la ciudad, León Trotsky, no ~~hizo~~ el campesinado aburguesado, para ser claros, el antiguo comisario, nos asegura que "los campesinos se reconciliaron con la requisita establecida como mal temporal" y que "ellos aprobaban a los bolcheviques pero que ~~su~~ su hostilidad para con los comunistas se acrecentaba". Pero ese alegato es mera ficción como puede quedar bien demostrado con numerosas pruebas, no siendo de las menos importantes de ellas la liquidación del soviét de campesinos, encabezado por María Spirdonova, o el fuego y el plomo empleado para obligar a los campesinos a entregar todos sus productos, incluyendo/que tenían para la sementera primaveral.

Como hecho de verdad histórica, el campesino odiaba al régimen casi que desde el principio, con tanta más razón desde que la consigna de Lenin "robad a los ladrones" fue invertida por la de "robad a los campesinos para la gloria de la dictadura comunista".

León Trotsky nos dice que los marinos de Kronstadt, en 1919, no hubiesen dado sus víveres "bondadosamente", ni que la bondad se hubiese manifestado en tiempo alguno. Efectivamente, el vocablo "bondad" no existe en la jerga bolchevique. Y sin embargo, aquí están estos marinos desmoralizados y los especuladores desaprensivos, etc., apoyando en 1921 al proletariado de la ciudad, siendo una de sus primeras peticiones la igualdad en los racionamientos. Cuán villanas eran, realmente, estas gentes de Kronstadt!

Los lectores encontrarán al final del artículo la resolución de los hom-

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bres de Kronstadt. Fue escrita bajo la dura presión de la artillería bolchevique. Y sin embargo cada palabra nos demuestra la sencillez de propósitos de los hombres que fueron finalmente aplastados por la mortífera máquina de la dictadura.

Mucho está siendo hecho por ambos escritores en contra de Kronstadt por el hecho de que los marineros, ~~insistimos~~ en ello, no premeditaron la rebelión sino que se reunieron el primero de marzo para discutir la manera de ayudar a sus camaradas de Petrogrado y se constituyeron ellos mismos en Comité Provisional Revolucionario. La respuesta a esto la da el mismo John G. Wright. El escribe que "no puede ser excluido de manera alguna que las autoridades locales de Kronstadt contribuyeron a enredar la situación... No es un secreto que Kalinin, dejando aparte al comisario Kuzmin, no era muy apreciado por Lenin ni por sus colegas... En cuanto a las autoridades locales, éstas estaban ciegas para apreciar en su magnitud el peligro o fueron incapaces de tomar las medidas propias y eficaces para dominar la crisis y en ese sentido sus errores ~~muchos~~ tomaron parte en el desarrollo de los acontecimientos..."

La razón de que Lenin no estimase a Kalinin o a Kuzmin así, desgraciadamente, una vieja patraña bolchevique para descargar toda la responsabilidad sobre algún chapucero y hacer que las cabezas directoras aparezcan con la pureza del lirio.

Verdaderamente, las autoridades locales de Kronstadt "prevaricaron". Kuzmin atacó viciosamente a los marineros y les amenazó con crueles reaultados. Los marineros sabían, evidentemente, lo que esperar de tales amenazas. Ellos no podían más que pensar que si Kuzmin y Vassiliev ~~eran~~ permitidos el obrar, el primer paso que darían sería el retiro de armas y víveres de Kronstadt. A eso obedeció el que los marineros constituyesen su Comité Provisional Revolucionario. Otro factor adicional fue el hecho de que se recibieron noticias del encarcelamiento del Comité de 30 marineros que fueron a Petrogrado para conferenciar con los trabajadores, a los cuales les fue negado el regresar a Kronstadt y puestos a disposición de la Cheka.

Ambos escritores forman castillos de naipes con los rumores que circulan en el mitin del primero de marzo, sobre el hecho de que un camión lleno de soldados perfectamente armados estaba en camino hacia Kronstadt, Wright, evidentemente, no ha vivido nunca dentro de la atmósfera asfixiante de la dictadura. Yo la he vivido cuando toda posibilidad de contacto humano se ha hecho imposible; cuando todo pensamiento humano tiene que permanecer dentro del cerebro que lo origina por imposibilidad de expresarlo; y es entonces cuando los rumores toman proporciones terribles. Además, durante el tiempo de mi permanencia en Moscú y en Petrogrado, veíase frecuentemente por las calles, camiones cargados de soldados y de agentes de la Cheka, tendiendo sus redes para enterrar en las noches en las mazmorras toda su pesada humana. Con la tensión producida en la reunión celebrada después de las amenazas contenidas en el discurso de Kuzmin, era perfectamente natural que se diese crédito a los rumores.

Las noticias de la prensa de París sobre el levantamiento de Kronstadt dos semanas antes de producirse el mismo, fueron aprovechadas en la campaña contra los marineros como prueba positiva de que ellos habían sido instrumentos de la cuadrilla imperialista y que la rebelión había sido incubada en París. Resultaba demasiado evidente que la patraña fue urdida para desacreditar a los de Kronstadt ante los ojos de los trabajadores.

Verdaderamente, ese adelanto de las noticias fue simultáneo a otras informaciones de París, Riga y Helsingfors, las cuales raramente coincidían,

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ei es que coincidieron en alguna ocasión, con lo propalado por los agentes ~~de~~ contrarrevolucionarios en las capitales europeas. Por otro lado, ocurrieron en la Rusia soviética muchos acontecimientos que hubiesen alegrado el corazón de la Entente, de cuales nunca fueron conocidos a pesar de ser más dañinos para la Revolución rusa por haber sido causados por la dictadura del mismo Partido Comunista. Uno de ellos, por ejemplo, fue la creación de la Cheka que minó muchas de las ejecutorias de octubre y que, ya en 1921, se había adherido como quiste maligno en el cuerpo de la Revolución. De la misma manera se produjeron otros acontecimientos similares que no creemos oportuno citar aquí.

No, las noticias adelantadas por la prensa de París no tenían relación alguna con la rebelión de Kronstadt. En realidad, nadie creyó en 1921, en Petrogrado, que existiese conexión alguna, ni siquiera un gran número de comunistas tuvieron tal creencia. Según he dicho anteriormente John G. Wright es meramente un ~~apto~~ apto pupilo de León Trotsky y, por lo tanto, bastante inocente respecto a lo que la mayor parte de la gente de dentro y de fuera del partido pensaban sobre este llamado "elabón".

Los historiadores futuros apreciarán ~~la~~ indudablemente en su justo valor, el "amotinamiento" de Kronstadt. Cuando lo hagan, llegarán sin duda alguna, a la conclusión de que el levantamiento no pudo venir con mayor oportunidad si hubiese sido preparado deliberadamente.

El factor principal que decidió la suerte de Kronstadt fue la N.E.P.. Lenin, conocedor de la considerable oposición que habría de encontrar en el Partido esta necia empresa "revolucionaria", necesitó la existencia de alguna amenaza para suavizar la oposición y preparar la aceptación de la N.E.P.. La situación de Kronstadt no pudo presentarse en momento más oportuno. Toda la maquinaria aplastante de propaganda fue puesta inmediatamente en movimiento para probar que los marinos estaban ligados a los poderes imperialistas y a todos los elementos contrarrevolucionarios para destruir el Estado Comunista. Eso trabajó como por magia. La N.E.P. fue impuesta sin tropiezo alguno.

Solamente que la horrible maniobra costó mucho tiempo. Los trescientos delegados, la flor de la juventud comunista, que fue mandada desde el décimo Congreso del Partido Comunista para aplastar a Kronstadt, fueron un puñado tan solo de hombres de los millares que fueron criminalmente sacrificados. Ellos fueron a la lucha con fervor y creyendo verdad lo que no era más que una campaña envilecedora. Aquellos que salvaron la vida tuvieron un rudo despertar.

En "mi decepción", narro la entrevista que tuve con un comunista herido la cual no ha perdido su mordacidad a pesar de los años transcurridos.

"Muchos de los heridos en el ataque a Kronstadt fueron traídos al mismo hospital, de los cuales eran en su mayoría Kursanti. Yo tuve la oportunidad de hablar con uno de ellos. Su sufrimiento físico decía él, no era nada comparado con su agonía mental. Se había dado cuenta demasiado tarde de que había sido engañado por el grito de contrarrevolución. Ni habían generales zaristas en Kronstadt ni guardias blancos; él no vio más que camaradas, marinos y soldados que habían luchado heroicamente por el triunfo de la Revolución".

Nadie que tenga sentido común hallará similitud alguna entre la N.E.P. y la petición de los marineros de Kronstadt para establecer el libre intercambio de productos. La N.E.P. vino a restablecer los graves males que la Revolución rusa había intentado arrencar. El libre cambio de productos entre los trabajadores y los campesinos, entre el campo y la ciudad, encarnaban la

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misma razón de ser de la Revolución. Naturalmente, "los anarquistas estaban contra la N.E.P." Pero el libre cambio, como ya me había dicho Zinoviev en 1920, "está fuera de nuestro plan de centralización". El pobre Zinoviev no pudo siquiera imaginar cuan horrible iba a resultar el logro de la centralización del Poder.

Fué la idea fija de centralización de la dictadura lo que vino pronto a producir la división entre la ciudad y el campo, los trabajadores y los campesinos y no cómo León Trotsky nos lo quiere hacer creer "porque los unos son proletarios...y los otros pequeños burgueses", sino porque la dictadura paralizó la ~~iniciativa~~ iniciativa de ambos : del proletariado de la ciudad y la del pequeño burgués del campo.

León Trotsky hace ilusiones depechadas sobre la acusación que se le hace de que él había fusilado 1.500 marineros. Quien quiera que haya hecho esa acusación está equivocado. Fué efectivamente una ingenuidad de los marineros el pensar que los soviets pudiesen vivir libremente al lado de la dictadura. El soviet libre dejó de existir pronto debido a una jugada comunista, igualmente que las uniones gremiales y las cooperativas. Todos ellos fueron absorbidos por el engranaje de la máquina bolchevique. Yo recuerdo muy bien lo que me dijo Lenin con gran satisfacción: "Vuestro viejo gran hombre, Enrico Malatesta, está de acuerdo con nuestro soviet". A lo cual le contesté yo con rapidez: "Si quieres decir el soviet libre, yo también lo apruebo, camarada Lenin". Lenin llevó la conversación hacia otro rumbo. Pero yo no tardé en descubrir el por qué dejó de existir el Soviet Libre en Rusia.

John G. Wright quiere hacer ver que no existieron dificultades en Petrogrado hasta el 22 de febrero. Eso está de acuerdo con sus otras mezcolanzas del material de su "histórico" partido. El descontento y el malestar de los trabajadores se notaba ya considerablemente cuando nosotros llegamos. En cada industria que yo visité pude observar extremo descontento y resentimiento porque la dictadura del proletariado había sido convertida en una dictadura devastadora por el Partido Comunista con sus respectivos racionamientos y ~~recriminaciones~~ recriminaciones. Si el descontento de los trabajadores no se desbordó antes de 1921 ello fué solamente debido a que los trabajadores se ~~agarraban~~ agarraban tenazmente a la esperanza de que, al ser liquidados los frentes, verían cumplidas las promesas de la Revolución. Fué Kronstadt lo que desbarató la última engañifa.

Los marineros de Kronstadt se atrevieron a ponerse del lado de los trabajadores descontentos. Se habían atrevido a reclamar el cumplimiento de la promesa de la Revolución: "Todo el poder a los Soviets". La dictadura política había asesinado a la dictadura del proletariado. Esa y solamente esa fué la inolvidable ofensa en contra del sagrado espíritu bolchevique.

León Trotsky se muestra sarcástico ante la acusación de que él fusiló 1,500 marineros. No, él no ejecutó el sangriento trabajo. El encargó a su lugarteniente, Tukhachevsky ~~quien~~, de llevar a cabo su amenaza de matarlos "cual si fuesen faisanes". Tukhachevsky cumplió la orden al pie de la letra. El número de muertos fué incontable y aquellos que se salvaron del incesante ataque de la artillería bolchevique fueron entregados a Dibenko, famoso por "su humaniterismo y su justicia". Tukhachevsky y Dibenko, los héroes y salvadores de la dictadura! La historia parece tener su propia manera de hacer justicia.

León Trotsky, John G. Wright y los anarquistas españoles

Durante los cuatro años de la guerra civil en Rusia, los anarquistas apoyaron a los bolcheviques casi que sin excepción alguna, a pesar de que

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Ciertamente que la Revolución rusa luchó contra muchos frentes y contra muchos enemigos, pero en ningún momento se registró tan gran desigualdad como la que hay en España entre los anarquistas y la Revolución con sus enemigos. La amenaza de Franco apoyado por la soldadesca y materiales italo-germano, la transferencia a España de las bendiciones de Stalin, la conspiración de las potencias imperialistas, la traición de los llamados demócratas y la considerable apatía del proletariado internacional, sobrepasan en mucho los peligros de que se vio rodeada la Revolución rusa. Qué es lo que hace Trotsky frente a tan terrible tragedia? El se une al tumulto bullicioso confiando que su puñal envenenado hiera lo más vital del anarquismo español en su momento más crítico.

León Trotsky intenta jugarse otro triunfo cuando pregunta: "Cómo y dónde han sido confirmados los grandes principios anarquistas en su práctica, aunque haya sido parcialmente o cuando menos en su tendencia?" Esa carta lo mismo que todas las que he jugado en su vida, no le sirve para ganar la partida. En honor a la verdad, las tendencias y principios anarquistas han sido confirmados en España. Yo estoy parcialmente de acuerdo. Cómo puede ser de otra manera con todas las fuerzas que conspiran contra la revolución española. El trabajo constructivo desarrollado por la Confederación Nacional del Trabajo, C.N.T., y la Federación Anarquista Ibérica, FAI, es algo en lo que nunca se pensó en el régimen bolchevique en todos los años que estuvo en el poder y, sin embargo, la colectivización de la tierra y de las industrias españolas es una de las mayores ejecutorias de cualquier periodo revolucionario. Más aún, con todo y que Franco triunfara y los anarquistas españoles fuesen ahogados en ríos de su propia sangre, continuaría la obra que ellos han empezado? Están tan arraigadas las raíces de los principios anarquistas en el suelo español que ~~ellos~~ nunca podrán ser arrancadas. Dónde y cuándo ha colocado Trotsky su bandera, que él dice no haber comprometido nunca con el enemigo y que representa la corriente revolucionaria del futuro, en un nivel parecido al ejemplo que dan los hombres y mujeres de España, quienes luchan con la espalda pegada a la pared?

The Emma Goldman Papers

Spain Betrayed by the Politicians. Workers of the World, Now Is the Time for Action! / Emma Goldman, *et al.* — [1938?, leaflet]. — 1 p. ; 28 × 20 cm.

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SPAIN BETRAYED by the POLITICIANS

WORKERS OF THE WORLD Now is the Time for Action !

THE turn of events in the Spanish tragedy should be a clarion call to the Proletariat throughout the world. An entire people—the Spanish People—is engaged, now for the third year, in a desperate fight against the well-armed Fascist hordes of Franco, Hitler and Mussolini. Daily and hourly open towns and villages are being bombed from the air, killing and maiming by the thousand women, children and the aged. It is nothing less than a war of extermination that is being waged against the Spanish people. That so many thousands of them should prefer to leave their country, as was the case just now with Catalonia, rather than submit to Franco's regime shows clearly that the people cherish no illusions as to the brutal treatment that awaits them (even including the civilian population) at the hands of the Fascist bandits.

Single-handed did the Spanish people carry on its bitter fight—betrayed by the whole world. True, numerous sympathetic messages reached them, as did foodstuffs, clothing and medicaments. But this was not enough. Far more effective help could have been rendered them if international revolutionary action had been taken.

It is no exaggeration to state that the attitude taken up by the so-called democratic states, from the very outset, was one directed *against* the freedom-loving Spanish workers and peasants. By their shameful support of the non-intervention farce, these Powers prevented the Spanish people from acquiring the arms they needed for defence against the Fascist murderers. They claimed that it was for "humanitarian" reasons that they introduced and maintained the hypocritical "non-intervention" pact, but to clear-headed and thinking men and women their motives were evident: it was because those who are directing international finance and who likewise control the so-called Democracies, were well aware that a victory of the Anti-Fascist Spanish masses would mean the overthrow of the Capitalist system and the establishment of a new order based on Libertarian Socialism. This the Capitalists were determined to prevent by all and every means. Herein lies the true explanation of the opposition of the entire Capitalist world against the Spanish people.

England particularly has lived up to its reputation of "Perfidious Albion" but now it has even discarded its hypocritical mask and has deliberately helped Franco to occupy the Island of Minorca, thereby showing the hollowness of its former pretence as regards the justice of "non-intervention," when it knew all along that the intervention on a large scale was going on from Hitler and Mussolini in favour of Franco. Having dropped its farcical pretences of non-intervention, England is now using all its endeavours to bring about the unconditional recognition of Franco. It does not even put forth the demand for an amnesty for the hundreds of thousands of heroic men and women who preferred the horrors of the concentration camps on French territory to the fate that would await them at Franco's hands. By failing to put forth the demand for an amnesty, the great democratic Powers are making themselves guilty of deliberately sacrificing these people to Franco's firing squads.

It may well be asked: What attitude did the International Labour Movement take in this matter? In principle it was on the side of the Spanish workers and peasants, but by its action, or rather *inaction*, it virtually aided Franco. During these recent years, the old Trade Union International repeatedly protested against the non-intervention farce. But the various countries practically made no attempt, or at any rate did very little to try to give effect to the well-meaning international resolutions. Here, too, the Labour Party of Great Britain must be charged with the largest share of guilt in as much as it did not take effective action to bring about the end of the gigantic fraud of "non-intervention." Even when eventually the Labour leaders realised their fatal blunder in supporting the British Government and changed their attitude to the question of non-intervention—even then they contented themselves to register their protests *merely in words*! As for France, let us not forget

that it was the Leader of the Popular Front, the Social-Democrat Blum, who was the first to submit to the non-intervention policy imposed by England. Nor must we forget that it was the Governments of Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Finland—countries which are practically entirely or partly ruled by Social Democrats—which gave their wholehearted support to the infamous non-intervention Pact along with the other bourgeois governments!

What are the lessons that the workers of the world can learn from all that has taken place? Are they to follow the same line of action? The answer to this must be a definite and thunderous NO! The workers in every country will surely have realised that their only salvation lies in direct action.

Workers of the world, in your capacity as producers, having the power to set all machinery in motion, you must mobilise your trade organisations so that they may become powerful organs in the fight against Capitalism and Fascism! This line of direct action has always been advocated by the Anarcho-Syndicalist Movement in all countries. It should be more clear than ever to the workers throughout the world that this is the only effective and true policy to follow.

Boycott and blockade against the Fascist countries—this is our urgent call to the world Proletariat. But such action must be taken by the workers themselves, by their own initiative. It is a shameful fact that the large masses of the people in every country buy goods imported from the murderous Fascist states. Such must not be. We call upon the workers to TAKE THE STRUGGLE INTO THEIR OWN HANDS, to refuse to handle goods at the docks which have come from or are to be shipped to Fascist countries. See to it that all goods from Fascist countries are boycotted. Such action will hit the Fascist States in their most vulnerable spot, their *Finance*, already greatly depleted as a result of their criminal rearmament policies.

Workers of England! Bethink yourselves while there is yet time! Come to the rescue of your martyred fellow workers in Spain. The need is desperate. Demand arms for your gallant Spanish comrades still determined to defend Central Spain to the uttermost. Help the tens of thousand refugees who fled from Fascist terror. They are crying for help.

Fellow workers! Now is the time for action. Help to save the brave Spanish workers from the vengeance of Franco. Demand from your Governments asylum for Franco's victims. It is the least Chamberlain can do to follow the example of France, to take if only a small part of the unfortunate refugees, for, it is evident that Franco is preparing a modern Bartholomews blood bath for those valiant Spanish workers and peasants whose only crime is their passionate love of freedom and justice, not for themselves alone, but for all.

Fellow workers, there is no time to lose, act now!

Let us revive the proud declaration of the First International Association: "The Emancipation of the Working Classes must be the work of the workers themselves."

Workers of England, the plight of the Spanish refugees is harrowing. Material help is needed at once. Send all your contributions to

JOHN ANDERSON,
Secretary of the I.W.M. Ass.,
Post Office Box 415,
Stockholm 1. Sweden.

Or to the London Refugee Fund of the I.W.M. Ass.,
Representatives:

RALPH BARR, Telephone Gerrard 2336,
EMMA GOLDMAN, 21, Fifth Street, W.1.

The Narod Press (T.U.), 129/131, Cavell Street, E.1.

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TROTSKY PROTESTS TOO MUCH

By

Emma Goldman

PRICE TWOPENCE

In America Five Cents

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INTRODUCTION.

This pamphlet grew out of an article for *Vanguard*, the Anarchist monthly published in New York City. It appeared in the July issue, 1938, but as the space of the magazine is limited, only part of the manuscript could be used. It is here given in a revised and enlarged form.

Leon Trotsky will have it that criticism of his part in the Kronstadt tragedy is only to aid and abet his mortal enemy, Stalin. It does not occur to him that one might detest the savage in the Kremlin and his cruel regime and yet not exonerate Leon Trotsky from the crime against the sailors of Kronstadt.

In point of truth I see no marked difference between the two protagonists of the benevolent system of the dictatorship except that Leon Trotsky is no longer in power to enforce its blessings, and Josef Stalin is. No, I hold no brief for the present ruler of Russia. I must, however, point out that Stalin did not come down as a gift from heaven to the hapless Russian people. He is merely continuing the Bolshevik traditions, even if in a more relentless manner.

The process of alienating the Russian masses from the Revolution had begun almost immediately after Lenin and his party had ascended to power. Crass discrimination in rations and housing, suppression of every political right, continued persecution and arrests, early became the order of the day. True, the purges undertaken at that time did not include party members, although Communists also helped to fill the prisons and concentration camps. A case in point is the first Labour Opposition whose rank and file were quickly eliminated and their leaders, Shlapnikov sent to the Caucasus for "a rest," and Alexandra Kollontay placed under house arrest. But all the other political opponents, among them Mensheviks, Social Revolutionists, Anarchists, many of the Liberal intelligentsia and workers as well as peasants, were given short shrift in the cellars of the Cheka, or exiled to slow death in distant parts of Russia and Siberia. In other words, Stalin has not originated the theory or methods that have crushed the Russian Revolution and have forged new chains for the Russian people.

I admit, the dictatorship under Stalin's rule has become monstrous. That does not, however, lessen the guilt of Leon Trotsky as one of the actors in the revolutionary drama of which Kronstadt was one of the bloodiest scenes.

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LEON TROTSKY PROTESTS TOO MUCH.

By Emma Goldman.

I have before me two numbers, February and April, 1938, of the *New International*, Trotsky's official magazine. They contain articles by John G. Wright, a hundred per cent. Trotskyist, and the Grand Mogul himself, purporting to be a refutation of the charges against him in *re* Kronstadt. Mr. Wright is merely echoing the voice of his master, and his material is in no way first hand, or from personal contact with the events of 1921. I prefer to pay my respects to Leon Trotsky. He has at least the doubtful merit of having been a party to the "liquidation" of Kronstadt.

There are, however, several very rash mis-statements in Wright's article that need to be knocked on the head. I shall, therefore, proceed to do so at once and deal with his master afterwards.

John G. Wright claims that *The Kronstadt Rebellion*, by Alexander Berkman, "is merely a restatement of the alleged facts and interpretations of the Right Social Revolutionists with a few insignificant alterations"—(culled from "The Truth About Russia in Volya, Russia, Prague, 1921").

The writer further accuses Alexander Berkman of "brazenness, plagiarism, and making, as is his custom, a few insignificant alterations, and hiding the real source of what appears as his own appraisal." Alexander Berkman's life and work have placed him among the greatest revolutionary thinkers and fighters, utterly dedicated to his ideal. Those who knew him will testify to his sterling quality in all his actions, as well as his integrity as a serious writer. They will certainly be amused to learn from Mr. Wright that Alexander Berkman was a "plagiarist" and "brazen," and that "his custom is making a few insignificant alterations"

The average Communist, whether of the Trotsky or Stalin brand, knows about as much of Anarchist literature and its authors as, let us say, the average Catholic knows about Voltaire or Thomas Paine. The very suggestion that one should know what one's opponents stand for before calling them names would be put down as heresy by the Communist hierarchy. I do not think, therefore, that John G. Wright deliberately lies about Alexander Berkman. Rather do I think that he is densely ignorant.

It was Alexander Berkman's life-long habit to keep diaries. Even during the fourteen years' purgatory he had endured in the Western Penitentiary in the United States, Alexander Berkman had managed to keep up his diary which he succeeded in sending out *sub rosa* to me. On the S.S. "Buford" which took us on our long perilous cruise of 28 days, my comrade continued his diary and he kept up this old habit through the 23 months of our stay in Russia.

Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist, conceded by conservative critics even to be comparable with Feodor Dostoyevsky's *Dead House*, was fashioned from his diary. *The Kronstadt Rebellion* and his *Bolshevik Myth* are also the offspring of his day-by-day record

in Russia. It is stupid, therefore, to charge that Berkman's brochure about Kronstadt "is merely a restatement of the alleged facts" from the S.R. work that appeared in Prague.

On a par in accuracy with this charge against Alexander Berkman by Wright is his accusation that my old pal had denied the existence of General Kozlovsky in Kronstadt.

The Kronstadt Rebellion, page 15, states: "There was indeed a former General Kozlovsky in Kronstadt. It was Trotsky who had placed him there as an artillery specialist. He played no role whatever in the Kronstadt events." This was borne out by none other than Zinoviev who was then still at the zenith of his glory. At the Extraordinary Session of the Petrograd Soviet, 4th March, 1921, called to decide the fate of Kronstadt, Zinoviev said: "Of course Kozlovsky is old and can do nothing, but the White Officers are back of him and are misleading the sailors." Alexander Berkman, however, stressed the fact that the sailors would have none of Trotsky's former pet General, nor would they accept the offer of provisions and other help of Victor Tchernov, leader of the Right S.R.'s in Paris (Socialist Revolutionists).

Trotskyists no doubt consider it bourgeois sentimentality to permit the maligned sailors the right to speak for themselves. I insist that this approach to one's opponent is damnable Jesuitism and has done more to disintegrate the whole labour movement than anything else of the "sacred" tactics of Bolshevism.

That the reader may be in a position to decide between the criminal charge against Kronstadt and what the sailors had to say for themselves, I here reproduce the radio message to the workers of the world, 6th March, 1921:—

"Our cause is just: we stand for the power of soviets, not parties. We stand for freely elected representatives of the labouring masses. The substitute Soviets manipulated by the Communist Party have always been deaf to our needs and demands; the only reply we have ever received was shooting Comrades! They not only deceive you; they deliberately pervert the truth and resort to most despicable defamation. . . . In Kronstadt the whole power is exclusively in the hands of the revolutionary sailors, soldiers and workers—not with counter revolutionists led by some Kozlovsky, as the lying Moscow radio tries to make you believe. . . . Do not delay, comrades! Join us, get in touch with us; demand admission to Kronstadt for your delegates. Only they will tell you the whole truth and will expose the fiendish calumny about Finnish bread and Entente offers."

"Long live the revolutionary proletariat and the peasantry!"

"Long live the power of freely elected Soviets!"

The sailors "led" by Kozlovsky, yet pleading with the workers of the world to send delegates that they might see whether there was any truth in the black calumny spread against them by the Soviet Press!

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Leon Trotsky is surprised and indignant that anyone should dare to raise such a hue and cry over Kronstadt. After all, it happened so long ago, in fact seventeen years have passed, and it was a mere "episode in the history of the relation between the proletarian city and the petty bourgeois village." Why should anyone want to make so much ado at this late day unless it is to "compromise the only genuine revolutionary current which has never repudiated its banner, has not compromised with its enemies, and which alone represents the future." Leon Trotsky's egotism known far and wide by his friends and his foes, has never been his weakest spot. Since his mortal enemy has endowed him with nothing short of a magic wand, his self-importance has reached alarming proportions.

Leon Trotsky is outraged that people should have revived the Kronstadt "episode" and ask questions about his part. It does not occur to him that those who have come to his defence against his detractor have a right to ask what methods he had employed when he was in power, and how he had dealt with those who did not subscribe to his dictum as gospel truth. Of course it was ridiculous to expect that he would beat his chest and say, "I, too, was but human and made mistakes. I, too, have sinned and have killed my brothers or ordered them to be killed." Only sublime prophets and seers have risen to such heights of courage. Leon Trotsky is certainly not one of them. On the contrary, he continues to claim omnipotence in all his acts and judgments and to call anathema on the heads of anyone who foolishly suggests that the great god Leon Trotsky also has feet of clay.

He jeers at the documentary evidence left by the Kronstadt sailors and the evidence of those who had been within sight and hearing of the dreadful siege of Kronstadt. He calls them "false labels." That does not, however, prevent him from assuring his readers that his explanation of the Kronstadt rebellion could be "substantiated and illustrated by many facts and documents." Intelligent people may well ask why Leon Trotsky did not have the decency to present these "false labels" so that the people might be in a position to form a correct opinion of them.

Now, it is a fact that even capitalist courts grant the defendant the right to present evidence on his own behalf. Not so Leon Trotsky, the spokesman of the one and only truth, he who has "never repudiated his banner and has never compromised with its enemies."

One can understand such lack of common decency in John G. Wright. He is, as I have already stated, merely quoting holy Bolshevik scripture. But for a world figure like Leon Trotsky to silence the evidence of the sailors seems to me indicative of a very small character. The old saying of the leopard changing his spots but not his nature forcibly applies to Leon Trotsky. The Calvary he has endured during his years of exile, the tragic loss of those near and dear to him, and, more poignantly still, the betrayal by his former comrades in arms, have taught him nothing. Not a

glimmer of human kindness or mellowness has affected Trotsky's rancorous spirit.

What a pity that the silence of the dead sometimes speaks louder than the living voice. In point of truth the voices strangled in Kronstadt have grown in volume these seventeen years. Is it for this reason, I wonder, that Leon Trotsky resents its sound?

Leon Trotsky quotes Marx as saying, "that it is impossible to judge either parties or people by what they say about themselves." How pathetic that he does not realise how much this applies to him! No man among the able Bolshevik writers has managed to keep himself so much in the foreground or boasted so incessantly of his share in the Russian Revolution and after as Leon Trotsky. By this criterion of his great teacher, one would have to declare all Leon Trotsky's writing to be worthless, which would be nonsense of course.

In discrediting the motives which conditioned the Kronstadt uprising, Leon Trotsky records the following: "From different fronts I sent dozens of telegrams about the mobilisation of new 'reliable' detachments from among the Petersburg workers and Baltic fleet sailors, but already in 1918, and in any case not later than 1919, the fronts began to complain that a new contingent of 'Kronstadters' were unsatisfactory, exacting, undisciplined, unreliable in battle and doing more harm than good." Further on, on the same page, Trotsky charges that, "when conditions became very critical in hungry Petrograd the Political Bureau more than once discussed the possibility of securing an 'internal loan' from Kronstadt where a quantity of old provisions still remained, but the delegates of the Petrograd workers answered, 'You will never get anything from them by kindness; they speculate in cloth, coal and bread. At present in Kronstadt every kind of riff-raff has raised its head.'" How very Bolshevik that is, not only to slay one's opponents but also to besmirch their characters. From Marx and Engels, Lenin, Trotsky to Stalin, this method has ever been the same.

Now, I do not presume to argue what the Kronstadt sailors were in 1918 or 1919. I did not reach Russia until January, 1920. From that time on until Kronstadt was "liquidated" the sailors of the Baltic fleet were held up as the glorious example of valour and unflinching courage. Time on end I was told not only by Anarchists, Mensheviks and social revolutionists, but by many Communists, that the sailors were the very backbone of the Revolution. On the 1st of May, 1920, during the celebration and the other festivities organised for the first British Labour Mission, the Kronstadt sailors presented a large clear-cut contingent, and were then pointed out as among the great heroes who had saved the Revolution from Kerensky, and Petrograd from Yudenich. During the anniversary of October the sailors were again in the front ranks, and their re-enactment of the taking of the Winter Palace was wildly acclaimed by a packed mass.

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Is it possible that the leading members of the party, save Leon Trotsky, were unaware of the corruption and the demoralisation of Kronstadt, claimed by him? I do not think so. Moreover, I doubt whether Trotsky himself held this view of the Kronstadt sailors until March, 1921. His story must, therefore, be an afterthought, or is it a rationalisation to justify the senseless "liquidation" of Kronstadt?

Granted that the personnel had undergone a change, it is yet a fact that the Kronstadters in 1921 were nevertheless far from the picture Leon Trotsky and his echo have painted. In point of actual fact, the sailors met their doom only because of their deep kinship and solidarity with the Petrograd workers whose power of endurance of cold and hunger had reached the breaking point in a series of strikes in February, 1921. Why have Leon Trotsky and his followers failed to mention this? Leon Trotsky knows perfectly well, if Wright does not, that the first scene of the Kronstadt drama was staged in Petrograd on 24th February, and played not by the sailors but by the strikers. For it was on this date that the strikers had given vent to their accumulated wrath over the callous indifference of the men who had prated about the dictatorship of the proletariat which had long ago deteriorated into the merciless dictatorship of the Communist Party.

Alexander Berkman's entry in his diary of this historic day reads:—

"The Trubotchny mill workers have gone on strike. In the distribution of winter clothing, they complain, the Communists received undue advantage over the non-partisans. The Government refuses to consider the grievances till the men return to work.

"Crowds of strikers gathered in the street near the mills, and soldiers were sent to disperse them. They were *Kursanti*, Communist youths of the military academy. There was no violence.

"Now the strikers have been joined by the men from the Admiralty shops and Calernaya docks. There is much resentment against the arrogant attitude of the Government. A street demonstration was attempted, but mounted troops suppressed it."

It was after the report of their Committee of the real state of affairs among the workers in Petrograd that the Kronstadt sailors did in 1921 what they had done in 1917. They immediately made common cause with the workers. The part of the sailors in 1917 was hailed as the red pride and glory of the Revolution. Their identical part in 1921 was denounced to the whole world as counter-revolutionary treason. Naturally, in 1917 Kronstadt helped the Bolsheviks into the saddle. In 1921 they demanded a reckoning for the false hopes raised in the masses, and the great promise broken almost immediately the Bolsheviks had felt entrenched in their power. A heinous crime indeed. The important phase of this crime, however, is that Kronstadt did not "mutiny" out of a clear

sky. The cause for it was deeply rooted in the suffering of the Russian workers; the city proletariat, as well as the peasantry.

To be sure, the former commissar assures us that "the peasants reconciled themselves to the requisition as a temporary evil," and that "the peasants approved of the Bolsheviks, but became increasingly hostile to the 'Communists'." But these contentions are mere fiction, as can be demonstrated by numerous proofs—not the least of them the liquidation of the peasant soviet, headed by Maria Spiridonova, and iron and fire used to force the peasants to yield up all their produce, including their grain for their spring sowing.

In point of historic truth, the peasants hated the régime almost from the start, certainly from the moment when Lenin's slogan, "Rob the robbers" was turned into "Rob the peasants for the glory of the Communist Dictatorship." That is why they were in constant ferment against the Bolshevik Dictatorship. A case in point was the uprising of the Karelian Peasants drowned in blood by the Tsarist General Slaschev-Krimsky. If the peasants were so enamoured with the Soviet régime, as Leon Trotsky would have us believe, why was it necessary to rush this terrible man to Karelia.

He had fought against the Revolution from its very beginning and had led some of the Wrangel forces in the Crimea. He was guilty of fiendish barbarities to war prisoners and infamous as a maker of pogroms. Now Slaschev-Krimsky recanted and he returned to "his Fatherland." This arch-counter revolutionist and Jew-baiter, together with several Tsarist generals and White Guardists, was received by the Bolsheviks with military honours. No doubt it was just retribution that the anti-Semite had to salute the Jew, Trotsky, his military superior. But to the Revolution and the Russian people the triumphal return of the imperialist was an outrage.

As a reward for his newly-fledged love of the Socialist Fatherland, Slaschev-Krimsky was commissioned to quell the Karelian peasants who demanded self-determination and better conditions.*

Leon Trotsky tells us that the Kronstadt sailors in 1919 would not have given up provisions by "kindness"—not that kindness had been tried at any time. In fact, this word does not exist in Bolshevik lingo. Yet here are these demoralised sailors, the riff-raff speculators, etc., siding with the city proletariat in 1921, and their first demand is for equalisation of rations. What villains these Kronstadters were, really!

Much is being made by both writers against Kronstadt of the fact that the sailors who, as we insist, did not premeditate the rebellion, but met on the 1st March to discuss ways and means of aiding their Petrograd comrades, quickly formed themselves into a Provisional Revolutionary Committee. The answer to this is actually given by John G. Wright himself. He writes: "It is by no means excluded that the local authorities in Kronstadt bungled in their handling of the situation It is no secret that

* "My Disillusionment in Russia," p. 239.

The Emma Goldman Papers

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Kalinin and Commissar Kusmin, were none too highly esteemed by Lenin and his colleagues In so far as the local authorities were blind to the full extent of the danger or failed to take proper and effective measures to cope with the crisis, to that extent their blunders played a part in the unfolding events"

The statement that Lenin did not esteem Kalinin or Kusmin highly is unfortunately an old trick of Bolshevism to lay all blame on some bungler so that the heads may remain lily pure.

Indeed, the local authorities in Kronstadt did "bungle." Kuzmin attacked the sailors viciously and threatened them with dire results. The sailors evidently knew what to expect from such threats. They could not but guess that if Kuzmin and Vassiliev were permitted to be at large their first step would be to remove arms and provisions from Kronstadt. This was the reason why the sailors formed their Provisional Revolutionary Committee. An additional factor, too, was the news that a committee of 30 sailors sent to Petrograd to confer with the workers had been denied the right to return to Kronstadt, that they had been arrested and placed in the Cheka.

Both writers make a mountain of a molehill of the rumours announced at the meeting of 1st March to the effect that a truckload of soldiers heavily armed were on their way to Kronstadt. Wright has evidently never lived under an air-tight dictatorship. I have. When every channel of human contact is closed, when every thought is thrown back on itself and expression stifled, then rumours rise like mushrooms from the ground and grow into terrifying dimensions. Besides, truckloads of soldiers and Chekists armed to their very teeth tearing along the streets in the day, throwing out their nets at night and dragging their human haul to the Cheka, was a frequent sight in Petrograd and Moscow during the time when I was there. In the tension of the meeting after Kuzmin's threatening speech, it was perfectly natural for rumours to be given credence.

The news in the Paris Press about the Kronstadt uprising two weeks before it happened had been stressed in the campaign against the sailors as proof positive that they had been tools of the Imperialist gang and that the rebellion had actually been hatched in Paris. It was too obvious that this yarn was used only to discredit the Kronstadters in the eyes of the workers.

In reality this advance news was like other news from Paris, Riga or Helsingfors, and which rarely, if ever, coincided with anything that had been claimed by the counter-revolutionary agents abroad. On the other hand, many events happened in Soviet Russia which would have gladdened the heart of the Entente and which they never got to know—events far more detrimental to the Russian Revolution caused by the dictatorship of the Communist Party itself. For instance, the Cheka which undermined many achievements of October and which already in 1921 had become a malignant growth on the body of the Revolution, and many other similar events which would take me too far afield to treat here.

No, the advance news in the Paris Press had no bearing what-

ever on the Kronstadt rebellion. In point of fact, no one in Petrograd in 1921 believed its connection, not even quite a number of Communists. As I have already stated, John G. Wright is merely an apt pupil of Leon Trotsky and therefore quite innocent of what most people within and outside of the party thought about this so-called "link."

Future historians will no doubt appraise the Kronstadt "mutiny" in its real value. If and when they do, they will no doubt come to the conclusion that the uprising could not have come more opportunely if it had been deliberately planned.

The most dominant factor which decided the fate of Kronstadt was the N.E.P. (the New Economic Policy). Lenin, aware of the very considerable party opposition this new-fangled "revolutionary" scheme would meet, needed some impending menace to ensure the smooth and ready acceptance of the N.E.P. Kronstadt came along most conveniently. The whole crushing propaganda machine was immediately put into motion to prove that the sailors were in league with all the Imperialist powers, and all the counter-revolutionary elements to destroy the Communist State. That worked like magic. The N.E.P. was rushed through without a hitch.

Time alone will prove the frightful cost this manoeuvre has entailed. The three hundred delegates, the young Communist flower, rushed from the Party Congress to crush Kronstadt, were a mere handful of the thousands wantonly sacrificed. They went fervently believing the campaign of vilification. Those who remained alive had a rude awakening.

I have recorded a meeting with a wounded Communist in a hospital in *My Disillusionment*. It has lost nothing of its poignancy in the years since:

"Many of those wounded in the attack on Kronstadt had been brought to the same hospital, mostly *Kursanti*. I had an opportunity to speak to one of them. His physical suffering, he said, was nothing as compared with his mental agony. Too late he had realised that he had been duped by the cry of 'counter-revolution.' No Tsarist generals, no White Guardists in Kronstadt had led the sailors—he found only his own comrades, sailors, soldiers and workers, who had heroically fought for the Revolution."

No one at all in his senses will see any similarity between the N.E.P. and the demand of the Kronstadt sailors for the right of free exchange of products. The N.E.P. came to reintroduce the grave evils the Russian Revolution had attempted to eradicate. The free exchange of products between the workers and the peasants between the city and the country, embodied the very *raison d'être* of the Revolution. Naturally "the Anarchists were against the N.E.P." But free exchange, as Zinoviev had told me in 1920, "is out of our plan of centralisation." Poor Zinoviev could not possibly imagine what a horrible ogre the centralisation of power would become.

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It is the idea *fixé* of centralisation of the dictatorship which early began to divide the city and the village, the workers and the peasants, not, as Leon Trotsky will have it, because "the one is proletarian . . . and the other petty bourgeois," but because the dictatorship had paralysed the initiative of both the city proletariat and the peasantry.

Leon Trotsky makes it appear that the Petrograd workers quickly sensed "the petty bourgeois nature of the Kronstadt uprising and therefore refused to have anything to do with it." He omits the most important reason for the seeming indifference of the workers of Petrograd. It is of importance, therefore, to point out that the campaign of slander, lies and calumny against the sailors began on the 2nd March, 1921. The Soviet Press fairly oozed poison against the sailors. The most despicable charges were hurled against them, and this was kept up until Kronstadt was liquidated on 17th March. In addition, Petrograd was put under martial law. Several factories were shut down and the workers thus robbed, began to hold counsel with each other. In the diary of Alexander Berkman, I find the following:—

"Many arrests are taking place. Groups of strikers guarded by Chekists on the way to prison are a common sight. There is great nervous tension in the city. Elaborate precautions have been taken to protect the Government institution. Machine guns are placed on the Astoria, the living quarters of Zinoviev and other prominent Bolsheviks. Official proclamations commanding immediate return of the strikers to the factories . . . and warning the populace against congregating in the streets.

"The Committee of Defence has initiated a 'clean-up of the city.' Many workers suspected of sympathising with Kronstadt have been placed under arrest. All Petrograd sailors and part of the garrison thought to be 'untrustworthy' have been ordered to distant points, while the families of Kronstadt sailors living in Petrograd are held as hostages. The Committee of Defence notified Kronstadt that 'the prisoners are kept as pledges' for the safety of the Commissar of the Baltic Fleet, N. N. Kuzmin, the Chairman of the Kronstadt Soviet, T. Vassiliev, and other Communists. If the least harm is suffered by our comrades the hostages will pay with their lives."

Under these iron-clad rules it was physically impossible for the workers of Petrograd to ally themselves with Kronstadt, especially as not one word of the manifestoes issued by the sailors in their paper was permitted to penetrate to the workers in Petrograd. In other words, Leon Trotsky deliberately falsifies the facts. The workers would certainly have sided with the sailors because they knew that they were not mutineers or counter-revolutionists, but that they had taken a stand with the workers as their comrades had done as long ago as 1905, and March and October, 1917. It is there-

fore a grossly criminal and conscious libel on the memory of the Kronstadt sailors.

In the *New International* on page 106, second column, Trotsky assures his readers that no one "we may say in passing, bothered in those days about the Anarchists." That unfortunately does not tally with the incessant persecution of Anarchists, which began in 1918, when Leon Trotsky liquidated the Anarchist headquarters in Moscow with machine guns. At that time the process of elimination of the Anarchists began. Even now so many years later, the concentration camps of the Soviet Government are full of the Anarchists who remained alive. Actually before the Kronstadt uprising, in fact in October, 1920, when Leon Trotsky again had changed his mind about Machno, because he needed his help and his army to liquidate Wrangel, and when he consented to the Anarchist Conference in Kharkov, several hundred Anarchists were drawn into a net and despatched to the Boutirka prison where they were kept without any charge until April, 1921, when they, together with other Left politicals, were forcibly removed in the dead of night and secretly sent to various prisons and concentration camps in Russia and Siberia. But that is a page of Soviet history of its own. What is to the point in this instance is that the Anarchists must have been thought of very much, else there would have been no reason to arrest them and ship them in the old Tsarist way to distant parts of Russia and Siberia.

Leon Trotsky ridicules the demands of the sailors for Free Soviets. It was indeed naive of them to think that free Soviets can live side by side with a dictatorship. Actually the free Soviets had ceased to exist at an early stage in the Communist game, as the Trade Unions and the co-operatives. They had all been hitched to the chariot wheel of the Bolshevik State machine. I well remember Lenin telling me with great satisfaction, "Your Grand Old Man, Enrico Malatesta, is for our soviets." I hastened to say, "You mean free soviets, Comrade Lenin. I, too, am for them." Lenin turned our talk to something else. But I soon discovered why Free Soviets had ceased to exist in Russia.

John G. Wright will have it that there was no trouble in Petrograd until 22nd February. That is on par with his other rehash of the "historic" Party material. The unrest and dissatisfaction of the workers were already very marked when we arrived. In every industry I visited I found extreme dissatisfaction and resentment because the dictatorship of the proletariat had been turned into a devastating dictatorship of the Communist Party, with its different rations and discriminations. If the discontent of the workers had not broken loose before 1921 it was only because they still clung tenaciously to the hope that when the fronts would be liquidated the promise of the Revolution would be fulfilled. It was Kronstadt which pricked the last bubble.

The sailors had dared to stand by the discontented workers. They had dared to demand that the promise of the Revolution—all Power in the Soviets—should be fulfilled. The political dictatorship

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had slain the dictatorship of the proletariat. That and that alone was their unforgiveable offence against the holy spirit of Bolshevism.

In his article Wright has a footnote to page 40, second column, wherein he states that Victor Serge in a recent comment on Kronstadt "concedes that the Bolsheviks, once confronted with the mutiny had no other recourse except to crush it." Victor Serge is now out of the hospitable shores of the workers' "fatherland." I therefore do not consider it a breach of faith when I say that if Victor Serge made this statement charged to him by John G. Wright, he is merely not telling the truth. Victor Serge was one of the French Communist Section who was as much distressed and horrified over the impending butchery decided upon by Leon Trotsky to "shoot the sailors as pheasants" as Alexander Berkman, myself and many other revolutionists. He used to spend every free hour in our room running up and down, tearing his hair, clenching his fists in indignation and repeating that "something must be done, something must be done, to stop the frightful massacre." When he was asked why he, as a party member, did not raise his voice in protest in the party session, his reply was that that would not help the sailors and would mark him for the Cheka and even silent disappearance. The only excuse for Victor Serge at the time was a young wife and a small baby. But for him to state now, after seventeen years, that "the Bolsheviks once confronted with the mutiny had no other recourse except to crush it," is, to say the least, inexcusable. Victor Serge knows as well as I do that there was no mutiny in Kronstadt, that the sailors actually did not use their arms in any shape or form until the bombardment of Kronstadt began. He also knows that neither the arrested Communist Commissars nor any other Communists were touched by the sailors. I therefore call upon Victor Serge to come out with the truth. That he was able to continue in Russia under the comradely régime of Lenin, Trotsky and the other unfortunates who have been recently murdered, conscious of all the horrors that are going on, is his affair, but I cannot keep silent in the face of the charge against him as saying that the Bolsheviks were justified in crushing the sailors.

Leon Trotsky is sarcastic about the accusation that he had shot 1,500 sailors. No, he did not do the bloody job himself. He entrusted Tuchachevsky, his lieutenant, to shoot the sailors "like pheasants" as he had threatened. Tuchachevsky carried out the order to the last degree. The numbers ran into legions, and those who remained after the ceaseless attack of Bolshevik artillery, were placed under the care of Dibenko, famous for his humanity and his justice.

Tuchachevsky and Dibenko, the heroes and saviours of the dictatorship! History seems to have its own way of meting out justice.

Leon Trotsky tries a trump card, when he asks, "Where and when were their great principles confirmed, in practice at least

partially, at least in tendency?" This card, like all others he has already played in his life, will not win him the game. In point of fact Anarchist principles in practice and tendency have been confirmed in Spain. I agree, only partially. How could that be otherwise with all the forces conspiring against the Spanish Revolution? The constructive work undertaken by the National Confederation of Labour (the C.N.T.), and the Anarchist Federation of Iberia (the F.A.I.), is something never thought of by the Bolshevik régime in all the years of its power, and yet the collectivisation of the industries and the land stand out as the greatest achievement of any revolutionary period. Moreover, even if Franco should win, and the Spanish Anarchists be exterminated, the work they have started will continue to live. Anarchist principles and tendencies are so deeply rooted in Spanish soil that they cannot be eradicated.

★

Leon Trotsky, John G. Wright and the Spanish Anarchists.

During the four years civil war in Russia the Anarchists almost to a man stood by the Bolsheviks, though they grew more daily conscious of the impending collapse of the Revolution. They felt in duty bound to keep silent and to avoid everything that would bring aid and comfort to the enemies of the Revolution.

Certainly the Russian Revolution fought against many fronts and many enemies, but at no time were the odds so frightful as those confronting the Spanish people, the Anarchists and the Revolution. The menace of Franco, aided by German and Italian man power and military equipment, Stalin's blessing transferred to Spain, the conspiracy of the Imperialist powers, the betrayal by the so-called democracies and, not the least, the apathy of the international proletariat, far outweigh the dangers that surrounded the Russian Revolution. What does Trotsky do in the face of such a terrible tragedy? He joins the howling mob and thrusts his own poisoned dagger into the vitals of the Spanish Anarchists in their most crucial hour. No doubt the Spanish Anarchists have committed a grave error. They failed to invite Leon Trotsky to take charge of the Spanish Revolution and to show them how well he had succeeded in Russia that it may be repeated all over again on Spanish soil. That seems to be his chagrin.

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Till delegaterna på IAA:s extraordinarie kongress.

Av EMMA GOLDMAN

Luom den syndikalistiska Internationalens sektioner hn en hel del diskussioner förekommit nngående den spanska syndikalistiska rörelsens uppträdande och taktik under det spanska inbördeskriget. Ganska kritiska röster ha höjts, varvid man särskilt kritiserat CNT:s ståndpunkt till frågorna om regeringsdeltagandet och militariseringen. På IAA:s internntionella kongress i Paris under december månad förra året var detta spörsmål huvudfrågan, varvid meningarna kraftigt bröto sig mot vrandra.

Den internationellt kända mnrkisten Emma Goldman, som för närvarande är CNT:s representant i England, var även närvarande å kongressen. Då hon under olika perioder besökt Spanien och på nära håll studerat förhållandena beslöt kongressen, på förslag av den svenska delegationen, att hon i frågan skulle få säga sin mening. Så skedde även, varvid hon bland annat framhöll:

Livet tvingar oss alla i underliga situationer. För 48 år sedan betraktades jag inom våra led som extremist. En som vägrade att kompromissa med våra idéer eller vår taktik för något som helst syfte — en som alltid yrkat på att anarkismens mål och melodier måste överensstämma, annars nås aldrig målet. Likväl står jag här och försöker förklara våra spanska kamraters aktion för de europeiska opponenterna samt de senares kritiska inställning för kamraterna från CNT—FAI. Med andra ord: efter att hela mitt liv ha stått på yttersta vänstra flygeln, finner jag mig nu, som det förefaller, i centrum.

Jag såg genast från min första ankomst till Spanien i september 1936, att våra spanska kamrater dyka huvudstupa ned i den avgrund av kompromisser, som kommer att leda dem långt från deras revolutionära mål. Efterföljande händelser ha bevisat

att de av oss, som sågo faran framför sig, hade rätt. CNT—FAI:s deltagande i regeringen och eftergifter till det omätliga vidundret i Moskva ha säkerligen *icke* gagnat den spanska revolutionen eller ens kampen mot fascismen. Men vid närmare kontakt med verkligheten i Spanien — med de nästan otroliga hindren för CNT:s och FAI:s strävanden — förstod jag bättre deras taktik och detta hjälpte mig att vara på min vakt gentemot varje dogmatiskt bedömande av våra kamrater.

Jag är benägen att tro att kritiker inom våra led utanför Spanien också skulle vara mindre stela och stränga i sina omdömen, om de också på nära håll fått se CNT:s och FAI:s kamp på liv och död. Inte för att jag inte är enig med deras kritik. Jag tror de ha rätt till 95 procent. Men jag vidhåller att ett oberoende tänkande och rätten till kritik alltid varit anarkismens stoltaste kännetecken. Ja, i själva verket har det varit anarkismens välverk. Svårigheten med våra spanska kamrater är deras utpräglade känslighet för kritik, ja, för råd från varje som helst kamrat utanför Spanien. Om icke så vore, skulle de förstå att dessas kritik icke inspireras av illvilja, utan av deras djupaste intresse för CNT—FAI:s öde.

Den anarkosyndikalistiska och anarkistiska rörelsen i Spanien har ända till helt nyligen framhållit det mest bländande uppfyllande av alla våra drömmar och strävanden. Jag kan därför icke klandra dem av våra kamrater som i de spanska kamraternas kompromisser se ett uppgivande av allt vad de hållit högt under nära sjuttio år. Naturligtvis ha några

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kamrater fattat misstankar och börjat protestera mot den osäkra väg som CNT—FAI slagit in på. Jag har känt dessa kamrater i årtal. De äro bland mina käraste vänner. Jag vet att det är deras revolutionära oförvitlighet som gör dem så kritiska, och icke något annat motiv. Om våra spanska kamrater bara kunde förstå detta, skulle de vara mindre indignerade och icke betrakta sina kritiker som sina fiender.

Jag fruktar också att kritikerna begå en hel del misstag. De äro icke mindre dogmatiska än de spanska kamraterna. De fördöma varje steg i Spanien utan förbehåll. I sin sekteristiska hållning ha de förbisett själva motivet, som i vår tid erkännes t. o. m. av kapitalistiska domstolar. Det är likväl ett faktum att man aldrig kan bedöma människornas handlingar om man icke upptäckt motiven som ligga därbakom.

När jag påpekade detta för våra kritiska kamrater, hävdade de att Lenin och hans grupp också handlade efter bästa motiv "och se vad de ha gjort med revolutionen!" Jag kan icke se ens den avlägsnaste likhet. Lenin syftade att skapa en ofantlig statsapparat — en blodig diktatur. Från första början innebar detta den ryska revolutionens dödsdom — under det CNT—FAI icke syftade däråt, utan i själva verket gav liv åt en frihetlig ekonomisk uppbyggnadsverksamhet. Från det ögonblick de drivit ut fascisterna och militaristerna från Katalonien har denna gigantiska uppgift aldrig lämnats ur sikte.

Det arbete som utförts var utomordentligt, i betraktande av de oövervinnliga hindren. Redan vid mitt första besök var jag förbluffad över att finna så många kollektiver i de stora städerna och byarna.

Jag återvände till Spanien med farhågor på grund av de rykten som nått mig efter majhändelserna, angående kollektivernas likvidering. Det är sant att Lister- och Karl Marx-brigaderna som en cyklon dragit genom Aragonien och delar av Katalonien och förhärjat allt på sin väg; men det är icke desto mindre ett faktum att det mesta av kollektiverna består som om ingen skada hade skett. I själva verket fann jag kollektiverna i september och oktober i bättre organiserat skick och bättre arbetsordning, och detta är när allt kommer omkring det viktigaste resultatet, som man måste hålla i minnet vid varje bedömande av de misstag som begåtts av våra kamrater i Spanien.

Olyckligtvis synas våra kritiska kamrater icke se denna viktiga sida hos CNT—FAI. Och likväl är det detta som skiljer dem från Lenin och hans skara, som långt ifrån att ens försöka ordna den ryska revolutionen genom konstruktiva bemödanden, förstör-

de allting under inbördeskriget och även många år efteråt.

Märkvärdigt nog äro just kamraterna från inbördeskriget i Ryssland, som förklarade varje åtgärd av diktaturen vara en "revolutionär nödvändighet", nu de mest oförsonliga motståndare till CNT—FAI. "Vi ha lärt vår läxa av den ryska revolutionen", säga de — men eftersom ingen lär något av andras erfarenheter måste vi, antingen vi tycka om det eller inte, ge våra spanska kamrater en chans att finna sin tillämpning genom sin egen erfarenhet. Säkert är vårt eget kött och blod berättigat till vår hjälp och solidaritet, som några av oss frikostigt gett våra ärkefiender kommunisterna.

CNT—FAI har icke så orätt då den insisterar på att förhållandena i Spanien äro helt olika dem som möjliggjorde kampen i Ryssland. I själva verket äro de två sociala resningarna tydligt skilda från varandra.

Den ryska revolutionen kom bland ett av krig utmattat folk med alla de sociala förhållanden som äro kännetecknande för Ryssland — landet som stått fjärran från yttre inflytanden. Alla de faror, som hotade under inbördeskriget, kommo helt och hållet från det egna landet. Till och med den hjälp som lämnades interventionisterna av England, Frankrike och Polen var sparsam. Inte för att dessa länder icke voro redo att krossa revolutionen med hjälp av väl utrustade arméer, men Europa var alltför underminerat. Det hade varken soldater eller vapen tillräckligt för att sätta de ryska kontrarevolutionärerna i stånd att förstöra revolutionen och dess män.

Revolutionen i Spanien var resultatet av en militär och fascistisk sammansvärjning. Den första trängande nödvändighet, som mötte CNT—FAI, var att driva ut rebellerna. Den fascistiska faran måste mötas med nästan tomma händer. I denna process kommo de spanska arbetarna och bönderna snart att förstå att deras fiender inte bara voro Franco och hans moriska horder. De funno sig snart belägrade av ofantliga arméer och en modern krigsapparat, som levererades av Hitler och Mussolini till Franco, jämte hela det imperialistiska bandet som spelade sitt dunkla spel bakom kulisserna. Med andra ord: medan den ryska revolutionen och det ryska inbördeskriget utkämpades på rysk mark och av ryssar, så har den spanska revolutionen och kriget mot fascismen dragit in alla Europas makter. Det är ingen överdrift att säga, att det spanska inbördeskriget spritt sig långt utanför sina gränser.

Som om detta icke vore nog för att tvinga CNT—FAI att hålla sig uppe med alla medel, hellre än att se revolutionen och massorna drunkna i det blodiga

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krig som förberetts av Franco och hans allierade, ha våra kamrater också haft att kämpa mot det internationella proletariats slöhet och överksamhet. Också här ligger den tragiska skillnaden mellan den spanska revolutionen och den ryska.

Den ryska revolutionen hade mött ett nästan omedelbart svar och obegränsat stöd bland arbetarna i alla länder. Detta följdes snart av revolutionen i Tyskland, Österrike och Ungern. De engelska arbetarna generalstrejkade och vägrade att lasta in vapen, avsedda för kontrarevolutionärerna och interventionisterna. Detta åstadkom myteriet på Svarta Havet och lyfte arbetarna överallt till höjdpunkten av entusiasm och självupppoffring.

Den spanska revolutionen å andra sidan blev — just därför att dess ledare äro anarkister — omedelbart en tagg i ögat inte bara för bourgeoisin och de demokratiska regeringarna, utan också för hela skolan av marxister och liberaler. Den spanska revolutionen sveks i själva verket av hela världen.

Det har påståtts här, att våra kamrater i alla länder bidragit frikostigt med folk och pengar till den spanska kampen och att man endast borde ha vädjat till dem.

Nåväl, kamrater, vi äro medlemmar av samma familj och vi äro bland oss själva. Vi behöva därför inte krypa bakom något. Det sorgliga faktum är att det inte finns någon anarkistisk eller anarkosyndikalistisk rörelse av någon betydelse utanför Spanien och i mindre grad Frankrike, med undantag av Sverige. Allt vad som finns av anarkistiska rörelser i de övriga länderna består av små grupper. I hela England till exempel finns ingen organiserad rörelse. Bara ett fåtal grupper.

Trots den ivrigaste önskan att bistå revolutionen i Spanien voro våra kamrater i utlandet varken tillräckligt talrika eller materiellt starka för att vända tidevattnet tillbaka och funno sig stå inför en hård mur. CNT—FAI var nödsakad att stiga ned från sin traditionella höjd och nedlåta sig till kompromisser åt höger och vänster. De måste delta i regeringen, göra alla slags förödmjukande erbjudanden åt Stalin och visa en övermänsklig tolerans gentemot hans bödlar, som öppet konplotterade och intrigerade mot den spanska revolutionen.

Av alla de olycksaliga eftergifter som våra kamrater gjort, tyckte jag att deras inträde i ministärerna var den minst sårande. Nej, jag har icke ändrat min hållning gentemot regeringen såsom ett ont. Liksom i hela mitt liv anser jag fortfarande att "staten är ett kallt odjur" och att den uppslukar envar som kommer inom dess räckhåll. Om jag inte visste att det spanska folket i regeringen ser bara ett

övergående ont som man kan sparka överbord när man vill, att det aldrig låtit lura- eller korrumpiera sig av den parlamentariska myten, så skulle jag kanske vara mer orolig för CNT—FAI:s framtid. Men med Franco vid Madrids portar kan jag knappast klandra CNT—FAI för att välja det minst onda av två onda ting — deltagande i regeringen hellre än diktatur, det mest dödliga onda som finns.

Ryssland har mer än nog bevisat detta odjurs natur. Efter tjugo år frodas det alltjämt på sina skapares blod. Dess förkrossande tyngd förnimmes inte bara i själva Ryssland. Sedan Stalin började sin invasion i Spanien, sprida också hans bödlar död och fördärv efter sig på sin väg. Likvidering av talrika kollektiver, införande av tjekan med dess snygga metoder att behandla politiska motståndare, häktande av tusentals revolutionärer och mord mitt på ljusa dagen. Allt detta och mera har Stalins diktatur gett Spanien, då han sålde vapen till spanska folket i gengäld för gott guld. Okunnig om "vår avhållne kamrat Stalins" jesuitiska trick, kunde CNT—FAI icke i sina vildaste drömmar föreställa sig de skrupelfria avsikter, som dolde sig bakom den skenbara solidariteten i erbjudandet av vapen från Ryssland.

Deras behov att mäta sig med Francos militära utrustning var en fråga om liv eller död. Det spanska folket hade icke ett ögonblick att förlora; om det inte ville förintas. Undra på om det då i Stalin såg räddaren i kriget mot faseismen! Sedan dess har det fått lära sig att Stalin hjälpte till att skydda Spanien för faseisterna bara för att göra det säkrare för sina egna sylten.

De kritiserande kamraterna ha icke alls orätt när de säga, att det icke tycks vara mödan värt att offra ett ideal i kampen mot faseismen, om det bara innebär att man bereder väg för kommunismen. Jag är helt och hållet av deras uppfattning — att det icke är någon skillnad mellan dem. Min enda tröst är att sovjetkommunisismen med alla sina koncentrerade kriminella bemödanden dock icke lyckats få fotfäste i Spanien. Jag vet vad jag talar om. Vid min senaste visit i Spanien hade jag gott tillfälle att övertyga mig om att kommunisterna ömkligt misslyckats i sina försök att vinna massornas sympatier — resultatet har blivit raka motsatsen. De ha aldrig varit så hatade av arbetarna och bönderna som just nu.

Det är sant att kommunisterna sitta i regeringen och ha den politiska makten och att de begagna denna sin makt till skada för revolutionen, den antifascistiska kampen och CNT—FAI:s prestige. Men hur märkvärdigt det än kan synas, är det likväl ingen överdrift när jag säger att CNT:s vinst i moraliskt avseende är omätlig. Jag skall ge några bevis härpå.

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S. A. C.'s MEDDELANDEN

Sedan majhändelserna har madridupplagan av CNT:s tidning nästan fördubblat sitt prenumerantantal, medan de båda kommunistiska tidningarna i denna stad endast ha 26,000 abonnenter. "CNT" ensam har 30,000 abonnenter i Madrid och i hela provinsen Kastilien 100,000. På samma sätt har det gått med vår tidning "Castilia Libre" (det fria Kastilien). Dessutom ha vi "Frente Libertario" med en upplaga på 100,000.

Ett mera betydelsefullt faktum är att när kommunisterna sammankalla ett möte, blir det dåligt besökt. Men då CNT—FAI hålla sina möten, äro lokalerna överfulla med folk. Jag har haft tillfälle att själv övertyga mig om att så förhåller sig. Jag for till Alieante tillsammans med kamrat Frederica Montseny, och fastän mötet hölls på förmiddagen och det regnade starkt så voro de båda lokalerna likväl alldeles fyllda. Det är högst förvånansvärt att kommunisterna kunna härska över någon, men detta är en av de många motsägelserna i den spanska situationen.

Om våra kamrater begingo ett misstag när de tilläto kommunistiska invasionen i Spanien, så var det bara därför att de ensamma äro fascismens oförsonliga motståndare. De voro de första — inte bara i Spanien, utan i hela världen — som drevo tillbaka fascismen och de äro fast beslutna att förbli de sista på slagfältet ända tills odjuret är besegrat. Denna yttersta beslutsamhet ställer CNT—FAI i en särställning i historien om de mest okuvliga förkämpar för friheten som världen någonsin sett. I jämförelse härmed framträda dess kompromisser i ett mindre grällt ljus.

Visserligen var våra spanska kamraters samtycke till militariseringen en våldsam brytning med deras anarkistiska förflutna. Men hur allvarlig den än var, måste den dock ses i ljuset av deras ytterliga ofärdighet i militära saker. Icke endast deras utan också vår egen. Vi ha alla talat ganska lättsinnigt om antimilitarismen. I vår iver och avsky mot krig ha vi förlorat den moderna krigsföringen ur sikte och visste ingenting om den ytterliga hjälplösheten hos otränade och outrustade män som ha att mäta sig med arméer och män, rustade till tänderna för krig på land, till sjöss och i luften. Jag känner alltför samma avsky för militarismen, dess omänsklighet och brutalitet och dess förmåga att förvandla människor till automater. Men min kontakt med våra kamrater på de olika fronterna under mitt första besök 1936 övertygade mig om att en viss träning säkert är nödvändig, om våra milismän icke skulle uppoffras som nyfödda barn på krigets altare. Våra kamrater inspireras av ett högt ideal, de visa stort

mod och besjålas av en järnvilja att besegra fascismen. Allt detta betyder mycket för uppehållandet av deras moral. Luftbombardemang mot städer och byar och all annan omänsklighet kan icke hejdas av andliga värden. Så mycket större skada att vi på vår sida inte voro förberedda eller ägde fysiska möjligheter att tävla med de outtömliga förstärkningar som strömma till Francos sida.

Men det är sant att tiotusentals gamla och unga frivilligt gått till fronten sedan den 19 juli, — de gingo med flygande fanor och det fasta beslutet att besegra Franco på kort tid. De hade ingen föregående militär utbildning eller erfarenhet. Jag såg en stor mängd milistrupper då jag besökte Durruti och fronterna vid Huesca. De voro alla besjålade av sina ideal — av hat mot fascismen och en passionerad kärlek till friheten. Utan tvivel skulle detta ha fört dem en lång väg, om de bara haft rebellerna emot sig, men då började Tyskland och Italien skicka dit hundra- och tusentals soldater och massor av krigsmateriel och våra milismän voro mycket handikappade. Om det var inkonsekvent av CNT—FAI att samtycka till militariseringen, så var det också inkonsekvent av oss att ändra vår hållning gentemot kriget, vilken några av oss halt hela sitt liv. Vi ha alltid fördömt kriget såsom en tjänare av kapitalismen och inget annat ändamål, men när vi insågo att våra hjältemodiga kamrater i Barcelona nödgades fortsätta den antifascistiska kampen, slöto vi genast upp på deras sida, vilket utan tvivel var en avvikelse från vår tidigare ståndpunkt till kriget. Så snart vi insågo att det är omöjligt att möta välbeväpnade fascisthorder så kunde vi icke undvika nästa steg, som var militarisering. Liksom så många andra aktioner av CNT—FAI, vilka utan tvivel stått i motsättning till vår filosofi, men de ha icke själva fått välja eller bestämma dem. De påtvingades dem av kampens utveckling, vilken — om den ej fördes till ett lyckligt slut — skulle utrota CNT—FAI, förintä dess konstruktiva prestationer och framkalla ett bakslag för den anarkistiska tanken och idén icke endast i Spanien utan i hela den övriga världen.

Kära kamrater, det är icke en fråga om att rättfärdiga allt vad CNT—FAI har gjort. Det är bara ett försök att förstå de krafter som drevo och driva dem — om till seger eller nederlag beror till en stor del på hur mycket vi kunna väcka det internationella proletariatet och förmå det att komma till undsättning i kampen i Spanien, och om vi inte kunna skapa enhet bland oss själva, så förstår jag inte hur vi skola kunna vädja till världens arbetare att ena sig i sina ansträngningar att besegra fascismen och rädda den spanska revolutionen.

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S. A. C.'s MEDDELANDEN

5

Det är ett underverkens underverk, att vårt folk alltjämt är i elden, mera segervisst än någonsin. Jag kan endast tro att våra kamraters utbildning i militärskolorna komma att göra dem mera stridsdugliga och ge dem mera styrka. Jag har stärkts i denna tro genom mina samtal med unga kamrater i militärskolorna — med en del av dem på Madridfronten och med medlemmar av CNT—FAI, som inneha höga militära ställningar. De försäkrade mig alla att de vunnit mycket genom sin militära utbildning och att de kände sig mera kompetenta och säkrare på sig själva att möta fiendens krafter. Jag glömmer icke faran av militarisering i ett förlängt krig. Om en sådan kalamitet skulle inträffa, så kommer det inte att bli många av våra präktiga milisinän kvar, som vända tillbaka från kriget. Jag hoppas ivrigt att fascismen snart blir besegrad och att våra kamrater kunna återvända från fronten i triumf, tillbaka dit där de kommit ifrån: kollektiverna på landsbygden och i industrin. För närvarande är det ingen fara för att vi skola bli kuggar i det militära maskineriet.

Alla dessa faktorer, som leda CNT—FAI:s kurs, böra tagas i betraktande av våra kritiserande kamrater, vilka när allt kommer omkring äro fjärran från kampen och därför icke heller i en sådan ställning att de kunna se hela det tragiska dramat genom de stridandes ögon.

Jag vill inte ha sagt att jag icke också skulle kunna komma i oenighet med CNT—FAI:s ståndpunkt. Men så länge fascismen inte är besegrad, vill jag inte höja min hand mot dem. För närvarande är min plats vid de spanska kamraternas sida i deras stora kamp mot en hel värld.

Kamrater, CNT—FAI befinner sig i ett brinnande hus — lågorna slå upp genom varje öppning, elden kommer allt närmare våra kamrater. I detta kritiska

ögonblick och med bara några få människor som försöka rädda vårt folk från den förtärande branden, förefaller det mig vara ett brott mot solidariteten att hålla ut er kritiks frätande syra över deras brända kroppar. Vad mig beträffar, så kan jag icke vara med er om detta. Jag vet att CNT—FAI har avlägsnat sig långt från sin och vår ideologi. Men detta kan icke förmå mig att glömma deras revolutionära traditioner från sjuttio års kamp. Deras härliga kamp, alltid jagade och alltid drivna till yttersta, alltid riskerande längelse och landsflykt. Detta kommer mig att tro att CNT—FAI i stort sett har förblivit densamma som förut och att den tid icke är långt avlägsen, då de återigen komma att visa sig som symbolen — den inspirerande kraften — vilket de spanska anarkisterna och anarkosyndikalisterna alltid varit för den övriga världens anarkister.

Eftersom jag haft förmånen att besöka Spanien två gånger och vara nära kamraterna, nära deras härliga uppbyggande arbete — eftersom jag varit i stånd att se deras osjälviskhet och beslutsamhet att bygga upp ett nytt liv i sitt land, så har min tro på dessa våra kamrater fördjupats till en stark övertygelse om att de trots all inkonsekvens likväl komma att återvända till sin ursprungliga princip. Prövade i det antilascistiska krigets och revolutionens eld, kommer CNT—FAI att återvända oskadad. Därför står jag på deras sida, utan hänsyn till något. Jag ville tusen gånger hellre stanna i Spanien och riskera mitt liv i deras kamp än återvända till den så kallade säkerheten i England. Men då detta var omöjligt, så ämnar jag anstränga varje muskel och varje nerv för att så långt min penna och min röst når vittna om CNT—FAI:s stora moraliska och organisatoriska styrka samt om våra spanska kamraters tapperhet och hjältemod.

P. M. angående bidrag från ABF:s stödfond.

ABF:s stödfond avser att lämna ekonomiskt stöd till studieverksamheten bland ödemarksfolket och andra ekonomiskt sämre ställda befolkningsgrupper, som icke från annat håll kunna erhålla anslag.

Anslag ur fonden kan erhållas till såväl korrespondenskursavgifter och lärararvoden som läroböcker och annan litteratur, vilken är nödvändig för cirkulernas arbete.

Enligt av förvaltningsnämnden fastställda grunder utgår anslaget i regel med 50 proc. av totalkostnaderna. Cirkeln skall alltså själv bidraga med den andra hälften.

Förutsättningen för att ansökan om anslag skall upptagas till behandling är att cirkeln rapporterats till ABF. Har detta icke skett bör förrapport bifogas ansökan.

Närmare upplysningar erhållas från ABF:s centralbyrå, Stockholm C.

Skandinaviska tidningsmärken.

Under sept. månad utgav Skandinaviska Samarbetskommittén ett litet vackert tidningsmärke. Det överskott som inkommer på dessa tillfaller den syndikalistiska pressen i Danmark och Norge. I dessa två länder arbeta kamraterna under oerhörda svårigheter för att hålla sina

tidningar uppe och är det för att hjälpa dem därmed som märket utgivits.

Frivillig försäljning inom LS och klubbar. Märkets pris är 50 öre och är det avsett att inklistras i medlemsboken eller medlemskortet.

Uppmana varje medlem att insätta minst ett märke i sin bok eller i sitt kort. Märkena böra beställas samtidigt som ordinarie märken rekvideras. Detta för att nedbringa portokostnaderna.

Gör således edert bästa för att stödja den syndikalistiska pressen i Skandinavien.

Med hälsning

Skandinaviska Samarbetskommittén.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Preface] / Emma Goldman.— pp. 7-17 ; 22 cm. In Camillo Berneri: *pensieri e battaglie*. — Paris : Editore a Cura del Comitato Camillo Berneri, 1938.
Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

DELLO STESSO AUTORE

In italiano :

LE TRE CITTA'.
UN FEDERALISTA RUSSO : PIETRO KROPOTKIN.
LA DONNA E LA « GARÇONNE ».
LO SPIONAGGIO FASCISTA ALL'ESTERO.
MUSSOLINI NORMALIZZATORE.
OPERAIO LATRIA (presso il Comitato Camillo Berneri).
IL LAVORO ATTRAENTE (presso Carlo Frigerio, Case
Stande 128, Ginevra - Sulsse).
MUSSOLINI ALLA CONQUISTA DELLE BALEARI.
PENSIERI E BATTAGLIE.

In ispanuolo :

EL DELIRIO RAZISTA.
EL TRABAJO ATRAYENTE.
MUSSOLINI GRAN ACTOR.
MUSSOLINI A LA CONQUISTA DES BALEARES.

In francese (presso il Comitato Camillo Berneri) :

LE JUIF ANTISEMITE.
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Camillo Berneri, idealista sublime, cantore della rivolta, amante dell'umanità, fu bassamente assassinato in Barcellona, il 5 maggio 1937. Per la sua audace opposizione alle attività insidiose dei sicari di Stalin in Spagna, era incorso nell'ira del Torquemada sovietico, epperò doveva morire. L'orribile storia della sua fine è riferita nei tributi pagati dai vari scrittori al nostro martire e uno dei quali figura alla fine di questo libro.

Non è necessario quindi ch'io vi insista. Desidero parlare piuttosto dei miei ricordi, delle mie impressioni su Camillo Berneri, e della nostra fraternità in Barcellona quando noi lavoravamo insieme per aiutare i nostri compagni nella lotta per la rivoluzione spagnuola e contro il fascismo.

Prima ch'io l'incontrassi in Parigi, avevo udito parlare molto del professor Berneri, della sua fine personalità e del suo spirito elevato. L'incontro fu molto fugace : potemmo appena barrattare qualche parola. Mi bastò, comunque, a darini una impressione netta dell'uomo e delle sue aspirazioni. Fui colpita soprattutto dal suo volto intensamente espressivo e dal fascino dei

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suoi modi. Ci promettevamo di ritrovarci ancora, allorché avremmo tempo per conoscerci veramente. Né l'uno né l'altro presagì che ci saremmo incontrati in Spagna sì presto e saremmo stati uniti nel nostro appassionato desiderio di venire in aiuto ai compagni spagnuoli.

Il compagno Berneri mi aveva preceduto in Spagna di due mesi. Al mio arrivo, in settembre 1936 lo trovai di già nel cuore della mischia : al fronte di Iluesca, quale delegato della colonna italiana. Al suo ritorno dal fronte, ogni sua ora presa in vari compiti o in discussioni con giovani compagni fino all'alba.

Fragile, e certo affaticato dallo sforzo intenso dei suoi lavori, Camillo tuttavia rispondeva generosamente ad ogni appello alle sue energie. Estremamente sensibile, com'egli era, intuiva gli altrui bisogni, spesso immaginari bisogni appena degni dello sciupio di forze del nostro compagno. Non era incoercito di come talora si profittasse della sua innata gentilezza, ma egli sempre continuò ad essere prodigo della sua inesaurita fonte di simpatia e di pietà.

Mirabile cosa era per me che Camillo Berneri, sebbene si trovasse sempre nel mezzo delle folle, potesse tenere alta la sua integrità e l'indipendenza del suo spirito. Giammai esitò a farle valere quando qualcuno tentò d'invasare quella ch'egli considerava la parte più sacra del suo essere. Come riuscisse, egli lo spiega in una delle belle lettere alla moglie :

Del resto è bene che mi tenga lontano dai potenti di oggi ; dato il mio carattere indipendente non potrei che spiacerli loro. Vari compagni mi vogliono bene e il tenermi fuori dalle beghe mi permette di rendermi utile. Sono nella situazione di essere in buoni rapporti con persone che si detestano reciprocamente appunto perché non chiedo niente, non aspiro a nessun grado e non complotto contro alcuno. Non faccio paura, ma non faccio ombra. E quando ho qualcosa da dire la dico, senza timore di Giove. La situazione di qui è migliorata per me, dato che mi tengo fuori da tutte le « storie della colonna » ed ora che me ne sto fuori tutti vorrebbero che me ne occupassi. Accade sempre così. Se crepassi chissà quali qualità mi scoprirebbero ! Magari anche quelle che non ho.

Domani mattina debbo occuparmi di un povero diavolo. Sono come un medico che vorrebbe occuparsi d'istologia e che non può fare a meno di occuparsi di colerosi. Per isolarsi completamente in una situazione come questa bisognerebbe non aver cuore.

In tutte le circostanze egli mostrava acuto senso nel cogliere il lato comico della vita e comprensione delle piccole e futili cose che paiono così grandi alla gente dappoco. La molteplicità delle occupazioni che pesavano sul nostro compagno, egli le espone in un'altra lettera alla famiglia :

Non è possibile scrivere cose di Spagna per il momento. Passo dal Comitato regionale a quello di guerra, dal Comitato d'investigazione al Consiglio di economia : qui per fare avere un documento, là per presentare un tecnico, altrove per avere un colloquio necessario.

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E' fantastico quest'ambiente. In una mezz'ora mi capitano fra i piedi : un bulgaro che mi parla della militarizzazione, un giornalista svizzero che cerca documentarsi, uno spagnolo che cerca pallottole del calibro della sua rivoltella, un inventore che vuole spiegarmi il suo « siluro volante », un commerciante che vuole esportare le arance, ecc., ecc.

Io vidi le sue giornate sopraccariche di lavoro ed esitai a diventare uno dei molli che gli stavano tra i piedi.

Fu lui, di ritorno dal fronte, a cercarmi, allorché io tornavo da un giro di ispezione alle industrie e alle fattorie collettivizzate. Come già ho detto, Camillo Berneri mi aveva preceduto in Spagna di due mesi. Epperò la sua esperienza della situazione rivoluzionaria fu per me inestimabile.

D'altro canto io non parlavo lo spagnolo. Egli lo parlava come il francese (oltre l'italiano, sua lingua materna). E quindi mi fu di grande aiuto.

I nostri scambi di idee erano rispondenti alle mie speranze e ai miei timori per l'avvenire della rivoluzione e lo sforzo ininterrotto della C.N.T. e della F.A.I. Presto ci accorgemmo che ci univano le stesse ansie. Noi facemmo risuonare così una corda armoniosa, e non eravamo stati assieme che un'ora. Fui commossa dalla premura che Camillo aveva per i miei bisogni e dal pensiero di offrirmi il suo aiuto per trovarmi alloggio confortevole e qualsiasi altra cosa che io potessi abbisognare. Ciò maggiormente mi colpiva perché egli stesso, che viveva nel modesto albergo, fa-

ceva i suoi passi nel più povero dei ristoranti proletari.

Questa dolce solidarietà e gentilezza ravvivarono in me il ricordo di uno che io aveva cercato durante il primo tormentoso conflitto dopo il mio arrivo in Russia : Massimo Gorki. Era stato l'idolo della mia giovinezza, egli, il poeta tumultuoso ; poeta che aveva espresso le tragedie delle più basse profondità, che era stato lo squillo di tromba nello spaventoso silenzio della Russia prerivoluzionaria. Egli comprenderebbe il mio interno tormento, le incongruenze rivoluzionarie che mi turbavano la veglia e il sonno. Andai a lui per avere luce nel buio orizzonte dell'inesorabile regime bolscevico. Massimo Gorki mi guardò con occhi che non vedono. Non comprese la mia ricerca. Egli era diventato un dente della macchina sovietica. Del suo primitivo se stesso non gli restava più niente da dare.

Pensavo a questo episodio discorrendo con Camillo dei contrasti fra la rivoluzione spagnola e quella russa, e dei contrasti fra i protagonisti di entrambi questi avvenimenti mondiali. In cuor mio confrontavo anche i due uomini : Massimo Gorki e Camillo Berneri. Fra i due c'era tutto un mondo.

Il giorno più importante della mia camaraderie con Camillo Berneri mi è rimasto vivamente impresso nel ricordo. Fu il 7 novembre 1936, diciassettesimo anniversario della rivoluzione rus-

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sa. Barcellona era in festa. Vaste masse di lavoratori sfilavano lungo le strade ; la C.N.T., F.A.I. e la Gioventù Libertaria costituivano la parte più grande. Fiere portavano la bandiera rossa e nera e l'aria intorno risuonava del loro grido trionfante: C.N.T., F.A.I. / C.N.T., F.A.I. / C.N.T., F.A.I. /

In queste lettere i lavoratori rivoluzionari spagnuoli han messo tutte le loro aspirazioni, tutti i loro sogni di un mondo nuovo ch'essi avevano cominciato a costruire il 19 luglio.

Ispirati dal ricordo della rivoluzione russa, dai valorosi operai, contadini, soldati e marinai che soli avevano creato l'evento che sconvolse il mondo, i nostri compagni di Barcellona parteciparono con gioia ai festeggiamenti. Essi, per fortuna, ignoravano che la celebrazione della rivoluzione russa organizzata dai vassalli di Stalin era un travestimento della rivoluzione.

In verità essa fu precipitata dal suo sublime vertice nei primi giorni del 1917, calpestata dall'esperimento di Lenin finché sanguinò da mille ferite. Il colpo finale che conchiuse l'agonia della rivoluzione russa fu lasciato a Stalin. E di quest'uomo si dovevano esaltare la virtù e il merito in un canto di gloria il 7 novembre 1936, nella Spagna rivoluzionaria. Invero, un travestimento ! Noi della sezione straniera e in particolare i russi che avevano assistito alla lenta morte della rivoluzione russa, naturalmente non fummo tratti in inganno. Per noi il 7 novembre

fu un giorno di lutto. Noi soffrimmo della partecipazione dei nostri compagni spagnuoli a tale avvenimento. Alcuni condannavano perfino la C.N.T., F.A.I. per aver rinnegati i compagni russi che languivano nei campi di concentrazione sovietici.

Il mio cuore era pieno di tristezza ; tuttavia io non potei ergermi a giudice dei nostri compagni della C.N.T., F.A.I. Franco e le sue orde lentamente strisciavano fino alle porte di Madrid. Abbisognavano armi, disperatamente. Era questione di vita o di morte. Nel loro alto idealismo e nella loro tradizione di morale rivoluzionaria, gli anarchici spagnuoli accettarono in buona fede la mano profferta da Stalin. E mai supposero che con le armi egli invierebbe anche quelle benedizioni che avevano fatto della Russia una valle di lacrime e inondato il suolo con fiumi di sangue.

Camillo Berneri venne a vedermi. Portava seco una dichiarazione ch'egli aveva redatta e che trattava dei difficili problemi di fronte ai quali noi ci trovavamo. Non conosceva l'italiano e nel mio eterno muovermi da un luogo all'altro non mi era stato possibile seguire la vita e l'opera del nostro compagno.

Il documento, fortunatamente in francese, fu il primo scritto di Camillo ch'io lessi. Attraverso conversazioni numerose ero giunta ad apprezzarne la chiarezza intellettuale e la lucidità nell'esporre il suo pensiero, ma la sua forma

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serilla era ancor più suggestiva e convincente. Dalla dichiarazione emergeva sopra tutto la purezza dei motivi della critica ai compagni dirigenti della C. N. T., F. A. I. Essa brillava come una luce attraverso ogni riga : ciò e la lunga discussione che seguì, quando ebbi letta la sua critica, mi fecero sentire il nostro compagno ancor più vicino e come uno dei veri grandi spiriti delle nostre file e fra i più capaci della nostra generazione. La lettera a Federica Montseny, che trovasi in questo volume, venne fuori dalla dichiarazione che avevo letta il 7 novembre 1936.

Al lume degli avvenimenti ulteriori del maggio '37 — la distruzione di alcune realizzazioni costruttive della C.N.T., F.A.I., la persecuzione politica di veri rivoluzionari — Camillo Berneri si mostrò sorprendentemente eliaroveggente ; profeta, vorrei dire. Non che fossi d'accordo con lui su quanto egli scriveva del declinare della rivoluzione spagnuola. So bene che la rivoluzione aveva ricevuto una scossa dall'intesa delle forze antifasciste con il loro alleato russo. Certo essa avrebbe potuto rimanere uccisa dai satrapi di Stalin, così come era stata distrutta la rivoluzione russa, se non fosse stata la persistente forza morale della C.N.T., F.A.I., e il fatto che gli aderenti di Mosea si erano sopravvalutati. Essi avevano fatti i conti senza i loro ospiti.

Se Camillo Berneri fosse vissuto, avrebbe visto, come io ho visto, in occasione della mia seconda visita in Spagna, che la rivoluzione è an-

cora molto viva e che l'acereseito lavoro costruttivo avanza ad onta di ogni ostacolo. Di più v'è l'indistruttibile qualità del popolo spagnuolo e la sua risolutezza di lottare fino all'ultimo. Su queste cose Camillo ed io eravamo in disaccordo, ma ci sentimmo profondamente all'unisono per tutto quanto riguardava la Spagna, ed eravamo risolti a servire la rivoluzione ed il popolo fino all'ultimo limite.

Fra i tanti orrori che la guerra mondiale portò con il suo scatenarsi — aceresiuti poi dal fascismo, dal nazismo e dal bolscevismo — è la caccia, la caccia all'uomo, dei rifugiati politici. Essi sono, invero, gli Assueri moderni — indesiderati ovunque, sospinti da frontiera a frontiera, spesso verso la morte.

Camillo Berneri non sfuggì al tragico fato del rifugiato politico. Le sue lettere che descrivono la persecuzione, gli arresti, i trattamenti brutali, la prigionia alla quale egli era stato sottoposto in ogni paese, sono una severa accusa al mondo del dopo guerra mutato in fortezza per quelli che non vogliono piegarsi agli ordini dei dittatori o diventare complici dei loro delitti.

Le sofferenze che Camillo Berneri aveva sopportate avevano indebolito la sua salute, ma non riuscivano in nulla ad intaccare il suo spirito. Attraverso tante esperienze terribili il suo zelo rivoluzionario e il suo fiammante ideale ardevano intensi. Né il suo ricco humour mai lo ab-

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bandonò. La storia del poliziotto del quale Camillo addolcì il cuore per brevi istanti scoprendo la figura di Voltaire, scolpita sulla pipa del funzionario, ed altro episodio (invito al poliziotto, inviato a sorvegliare la sua casa, a prendere un vero caffè all'italiana, forte e caldo, per preservarlo dal freddo). provano il senso di umanità del nostro compagno.

Camillo Berneri, professore di filosofia, anarchico pericoloso, che mostra gentilezza e compassione ad un funzionario inviato per sorvegliarlo giorno e notte — come dovrebbero i poveri di spirito e gli aridi di cuore, comprendere che furono precisamente l'amore di Camillo Berneri per l'umanità e la sua sensibilità per ogni umana sofferenza che fecero di lui l'anarchico che egli era.

Le sue lettere alla famiglia sono commoventi nella loro bellezza e devozione. Egli adorava la moglie, idolatrava le due figliuole e portava riverente amore alla madre. E sempre più apriva loro il suo cuore amante. Esse erano la pupilla dei suoi occhi, tuttavia il suo supremo amore era il suo ideale. Spesso a Camillo fu penoso lo scegliere per il dolore che poteva procurare ai suoi, ma egli mai esitò o indugiò sul cammino che conduceva al suo ideale. Questo occupava la vetta suprema del suo spirito e la completa dedizione alla causa era la sua più potente ed impellente forza. In una lettera alla figlia afferma che se potesse salvare Bilbao a prezzo della sua vita, egli la darebbe con gioia.

Chiunque conobbe Camillo non potrebbe mai dubitarne. Ahimè ! non fu dato al nostro compagno di offrire la sua bella vita come egli voleva. Arrestato arbitrariamente con il suo compagno Barbieri, fu assassinato freddamente la notte del 5 maggio. I loro corpi furono trovati crivellati di palle il giorno seguente davanti al palazzo della Generalità.

Non è tanto come si muore che conta nella valutazione definitiva dell'uomo ; è come si vive. E la vita di Camillo Berneri risplende di tutta la sua intima forza e della sua radiosa bellezza.

Londra, marzo 1938.

Emma GOLDMAN.

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JANUARY, 1938

MANI

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POLITICAL PERSECUTION IN REPUBLICAN SPAIN

Los Angeles

On my first visit to Spain in September, 1936, nothing surprised me so much as the amount of political freedom I found everywhere. True it did not extend to Fascists; but outside of these deliberate enemies of the Revolution and the Emancipation of the workers in Spain, everyone of the Anti-Fascist front enjoyed political freedom which hardly existed in any of the so called European democracies. The one party that made the utmost use of this was the P.S.U.C., the Stalinist party in revolutionary Spain. Their radio and loud speakers filled the air. Their daily marches in military formation with their flags waving were flaunted in everybody's face. They seemed to take a special pleasure in marching past the House of the Regional Committee as if they wanted to make the C.N.T.-F.A.I. aware of their determination to strike the blow when they will attain to complete power. This was obvious to anyone among the foreign delegates and comrades who had come to help in the Anti-Fascist struggle. Not so our Spanish comrades. They made light of the communist brazenness. They insisted that this circus clap trap could not decide the revolutionary struggle, and that they themselves had more important things to do than waste their time in idle display. It seemed to me then that the Spanish comrades had little understanding of mass psychology which needs flagwaving, speeches, music and demonstrations—that while the C.N.T.-F.A.I. however, were concentrated on their constructive tasks, and fighting on the various fronts, their communist allies made hay while the sun shone. They have since proved that they knew what they were about.

During my stay of three months I visited many of the collectivized estates and factories, maternities and hospitals in Barcelona, and last but not least, also the "Modelo" prison. This is the place that had harbored some of the most distinguished revolutionaries and anarchists in Catalonia. Our own heroic comrades Durruti and Ascaso, Garcia Oliver and many others had been cell neighbors of Companys, the new President of the Generalitat. I visited this institution in the presence of a comrade, a physician who had made a special study of criminal-psychology. The Director gave me free access to every part of the prison, and the right to speak to any of the Fascists without the presence of guards. Among the few hundred admirers of Franco were officers and priests. They assured me in one voice of the decent and just treatment they were receiving from the management in charge of the place, most of whom were C.N.T.-F.A.I. men.

The possibility that Fascists would soon be replaced by revolutionists and anarchists was far removed from my mind. If anything, the high water mark of the revolution in the Autumn of 1936 held out hopes that the stain of prison would be wiped out once Franco and his hordes were defeated.

The report of the foul murder of the most gentle of anarchists, Camillo Berneri and his room-mate, the anarchist Barbleri, was followed by wholesale arrests, mutilation and death. They seemed too fantastic, the change in the internal political situation, too incredible to be true. I decided to go back to Spain to see for myself how far the new found freedom of the Spanish masses had been annihilated by Stalin's henchmen.

Once again I arrived on the 16th September this year. I went straight to Valencia and there discovered that 1,500 C.N.T. members, comrades of the F.A.I. and the Libertarian Youth, hundreds of the P.O.U.M. and even members of the International Brigade were filling the prisons of Valencia. During my short stay there, I left no stone unturned to get

permission to visit some of our comrades, among them Gustel Dorster whom I had known in Germany as most active in the Anarcho-Syndicalist movement before Hitler ascended to power. I was assured that I would be given permission; but at the last moment, before my return to Barcelona, I was informed that foreigners were not allowed to see the Prison. I soon discovered that this same situation was repeated in every town and village I visited. Thousands of comrades and other genuine revolutionaries were filling the prisons under the Negrin-Prieto and Stalinist regime.

When I came back to Barcelona in the early part of October, I immediately sought to see our comrades in the Modelo prison. After many difficulties, comrade Augustin Souchy succeeded in obtaining permission to have an interview with a few of the German comrades. Much to my surprise I found on my arrival there, that the same Director was still in charge. He too recognized me and he again gave me full entry to the prison. I did not need to speak to the comrades through the hideous bars. I was in the hall where they foregather, surrounded by German, Italian, Russian and Spanish comrades, all trying to speak at once and tell me of their conditions. I discovered that no charge whatever that would stand in any Court, even under Capitalism, had been preferred against them, except the idiotic charge of "Trotskyism."

These men from every part of the globe had flocked to Spain, often begging their way across, to help the Spanish Revolution, to join the ranks of the Anti-Fascist, and to lay down their lives in the struggle against Franco were held captive. Others again had been picked up on the street and had vanished without leaving any traces behind. Among the many was Reis, son of the internationally known Russian Menshevik Abramowitch.

This most recent victim is Kurt Landau, a former member of the Executive Committee of the Austrian Communist Party, and before his arrest, on the Executive Committee of the P.O.U.M. Every effort to find him has met with failure. In view of the disappearance of Andres Nin of the P.O.U.M. and scores of others it is reasonable to conclude that Kurt Landau met with the same fate.

But to return to the Modelo prison. It is impossible to give all the names, because there are so many incarcerated there. The most outstanding is a comrade who, in a high responsible position before the May events, had turned over millions of pesetas to the Generalitat found in Churches and Palaces. He is held under the ludicrous charge of having embezzled 100,000 pesetas.

Comrade Helmut Klose, a member of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. He was arrested on the 2nd July. No charge has been made up to this date, neither was he brought before a Judge. Comrade Klose was a member of the FAUD in Germany (German Anarcho-Syndicalist Organization). After having been arrested several times, he emigrated to Yugoslavia in the summer of 1933. Expelled from there in February, 1937 because of Anti-Fascist activity. He came to Spain in March. He joined the frontier service of the F.A.I. in the "De la Costa" Battalion. After the dissolution of this Battalion, in June he took his discharge, and entered the service of the Agricultural Collective of San Anores. In compliance with the request of his Group he later undertook the reorganization of the Tailors' Collective of the Emigrants' Committee. The charge made by the Cheka of his having disarmed officers while in the Frontier Service at Figueras is entirely without foundation.

Comrade Albert Kille. He was arrested on September 7th. No reason was given. In Germany he had belonged since

1919 to the Productive Supply Union. Besides this he was a member of the Communist Party. In 1933 he emigrated to Austria. After the February events he fled to Prague; but later returned to Austria, whence he was expelled and left for France. Here he joined the German Anarcho-Syndicalist Group. In August, 1936, he went to Spain, where he at once proceeded to the front. He was wounded once. He belonged to the Durruti column right up to the time of the militarization. In June he took his discharge.

I also visited the P.O.U.M. Section. Many of these prisoners are Spaniards, but among them there are also a large number of foreigners, Italian, French, Russian and German. Two members of the P.O.U.M. approached me personally. They said little of their own suffering, but begged me to take message to their own wives in Paris. They were Nicolas Sundelewitsch—this son of the famous Menshevik who has spent the longest part of his life in Siberia. Nicolas Sundelewitsch certainly did not give me the impression of being guilty of the serious charges made against him of "having given the Fascists information" among the many other charges against him. It takes the perverted communist mind to hold a man in prison because in 1922 he had illegally left Russia.

Richard Tietz was arrested as he came out of the Argentine Consulate in Barcelona where he had gone on behalf of his wife, previously arrested. When he demanded to know the grounds of his arrest the Commissar nonchalantly said "I consider it just." That was evidently enough to keep Richard Tietz in the Modelo since July.

As far as prison conditions can be humane the Modelo is certainly superior to the Cheka prisons introduced in Spain by the Stalinists according to the best party examples in Soviet Russia. The "Modelo" still maintains its traditional political privileges such as the rights of the inmates to free mingle together, organize their committees to represent them with the director, receiving parcels, tobacco, etc., in addition to the scanty prison fare. They can also write and receive letters and reading material. Besides, the prisoners have little prison papers and bulletins which they can paste in the corridors where they all foregather. Both in the section of our comrades and the P.O.U.M. I found such prison papers, posters and photographs of the heroes of the two parties. The P.O.U.M. had even a very fine drawing of Andres Nin and a picture of Rosa Luxemburg, while the anarchists had Ascaso and Durruti on their wall.

Most interesting was the Durruti cell which he had occupied in Barcelona until released by the 1936 elections. I was left intact as it had been while Durruti was its involuntary lodger. Several large posters of our gallant comrade made the cell very much alive. The strangest part is however that the Durruti cell is in the Fascist section. In answer to my question as to how Durruti's cell comes to be in there I was told by the guard "as an example of the living spirit of Durruti that will destroy Fascism." I wanted very much to have the Durruti cell photographed; but permission had to be obtained from the Minister of Justice. I gave up the idea. I had never in my life asked favours of Ministers of Justice, much less would I ask for anything from the counter-revolutionary government, the Spanish Cheka.

My next visit was to the women's prison, which I found better kept and more cheerful than the Modelo. Only six women politicals were there at the time. Among them Katia Landau the wife of Kurt Landau, who had been arrested several months before him. She was like the old time Russian Revolutionists, utterly devoted to her ideas. I already knew of her husband's disappearance and possible end; but I did not have the heart to disclose this fact to her. This was in October. In November I was informed by some of her

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comrades in Paris, that m. Landau had begun a hunger strike on the 11th November. I have just received word that as a result of two hunger strikes Katla Landau has been released.

A few days before my departure from Spain I was informed on good authority that the old dreadful Bastille—Montjulch was again being used to house political prisoners. The infamous Montjulch, whose every stone could tell of man's inhumanity to man, of the thousands put to death by the most savage methods of torture, or driven mad or to suicide. Montjulch, where in 1897, the Spanish Inquisition had been reintroduced by Canavos Del Casatillo, then Premier of Spain. It was at his behest that 300 workers, among them distinguished Spanish anarchists, had been kept for months in underground damp and dirty cells—repeatedly tortured and denied counsel. It was in Montjulch that Francisco Ferrer was murdered by the Spanish Government and the Catholic Church. Last year I visited this terrifying fortress. Then it held no prisoners. The cells were empty. We descended into black depths with torches guiding our way. I almost seemed to hear the agonised cries of the thousands of victims who had breathed their last in the ghastly holes. It was a relief to get to the light again.

History does repeat itself after all. Montjulch again serves its old ghastly purpose. It is overcrowded with ardent revolutionaries who had been among the first to rush to the various fronts. Militias of the Durruti column freely giving their health and strength but unwilling to be turned into military automatons—members of the International Brigade who had come to Spain from every land to fight Fascism, only to discover the harsh differentiation between them, their officers and the political commissars, and the criminal waste of human lives due to the military ignorance and for party purpose and glory. All these and many more are incarcerated in the fortress of Montjulch.

Since the world slaughter and the continued horror under dictatorship, red and black, human sensibilities have been atrophied; but there must be a few left, who still have a sense of justice. True Anatole France, George Brandes and so many great souls whose protests saved twenty two victims of the Soviet State in 1922 are no longer with us.

Still there are the Gides, the Silones, Aldous Huxley, Havlock Ellis, John Cowper Powys, Rebecca West, Ethel Mannin and others, who would surely protest if made aware of the political persecutions rampant under the Negrin, Prieto and Communist regime

At any rate I cannot be silent in the face of such barbarous political persecutions. In justice to the thousands of our comrades in prison, I have left behind, I will, and must speak out.

Emma Goldman

(The manuscript of the above article was forwarded to us by our Contemporary "L'Adunata Del Refrattari.")

EDITOR

had examined, the Commission states:
In speaking also of the escaped-victim witnesses it
January, 1937, were frame-ups.
conclusion that the trials of August, 1936, and
previous conclusions, lead the commission to the
All these considerations, in connection with its
stated:

In exonerating Leon Trotsky and Leon Sedov, the
Commission of Inquiry headed by Prof. John Dewey

Marxian State Justice On Trial

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Staying Power of a Myth / Emma Goldman.— p. 3 ; 22 cm. In Spain and the World [London]. — (Jan. 5, 1938).
Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

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wheel of the Soviet machinery. Nor
was it Stalin who had shorn the

quite recently driven to suicide —
no doubt preferring it to execution.

ots," "counter-revolutionists" and
other such fancy "denominations"

The Staying Power of A Myth

Soviet Trade Unions of their plu-
mage. It was Lenin who in the
famous controversy in that year
about the functions of Trade Uni-
onism under the Dictatorship had
declared that the only function of
the Trade Unions was to be a
school for communism. One of his
many opponents among the old
Marxists at the time was Rozanov.
He insisted that Trade Unionism
must continue to safeguard the
rights of the workers. For giving
expression to such "heresy" he was
promptly suspended from all parti-
cipation in the Soviet Trade Uni-
ons.

A year later Lenin—yes, and
Trotsky—upraided in no mistaken
terms the first Labour opposition
led by Kolontay and Shliapnikov.
Their opposition was mainly
against the bureaucracy, particu-
larly in the Soviet Trade Unions.
As punishment for this offence,
Shliapnikov as a "peeved Com-
missar" (the actual term used by
Lenin in regard to him) was exiled
to the Caucasus for a "cure," while
Kolontay was at first put under
"house arrest" and subsequently
given a diplomatic job outside of
Russia, as likely to render her less
troublesome than if she were al-
lowed to stay on in the so-called
socialist Republic. The rank and
file of that pioneer opposition were
among the first of the Bolsheviks
to begin the weary tramp to the
newly created concentration camps.

After Lenin's death, Stalin con-
tinued the process of emasculation

Numerous other champions of the
principle of Independence for the
Soviet Trade Unions suffered the

by
Emma Goldman

same fate. Since then all life has
been squeezed out of the trade
unions, till they became a mere
corpse, a shadow of their former
selves, only to be revived and
trailed out for show on those oc-
casions when Trade Unionists from
other countries come on a visit to
the Soviet Republic.

As far as the Socialist Republic
itself is concerned, however, the
Trade Unions have to all intents
and purposes ceased to exist.

Is it possible that Messrs. Jou-
haux, Citrine and the rest are un-
aware of this state of affairs in
regard to the Russian Trade Uni-
ons. Or can it be that they have
become a party to this outrageous
deception as to the condition of
the Trade Unions in Soviet Russia?
Whatever it is, Messrs. Jouhaux,
Citrine and the others have, it
would appear, fallen into Stalin's
trap. He will tie them to the
"corpse" and will not let them go
until the whole of the Trade Union
ranks is infested with its putrid
odour.

The "pact" is supposed to aim
at the workers' unity against War
and Fascism. Very commendable

compared with Stalin's brazen re-
versal of all revolutionary values
worth? On top of the betrayal of
the Russian Revolution, the savage
extermination going on continuous-
ly of the old Bolshevik guard now
follows the sacrifice of the Spanish
Revolution and the Anti-Fascist
struggle, and last but by no means
least, the sacrifice of his own care-
fully built up Chinese Communist
Army. The calumny and lies about
a few trade union leaders is mere
child's play — Stalin knows what
he is about: in making the Cit-
rines, Jouhaux, the Schevenels and
Unions in Soviet Russia still have
living fibre, he hopes eventually to
get these leaders to act as recruit-
ing agents not merely against Ca-
pitalist wars but also of the "holy"
war in defence of his Empire and
bloodstained Dominion which can
well compare with Hitler's and
Mussolini's.

A myth has tremendous staying
power. For twenty years the Rus-
sian myth has benumbed the minds
and blunted the sensibilities of the
intelligentsia and many of the
workers. The corpse that has now
been propped up to appear as a
living body is an additional proof
that the myth goes on. All the
more reason to cry out against the
deception and to show it up as the
delusion and snare which is Soviet
Russia. Only when the workers in
every country will realise this, will
real unity be achieved — real unity
in the struggle against every shade
of Fascism and for the only war
worth fighting for—the Defence of
the Social Revolution.

altogether inaccessible to him. His 488 full pages of text might
have contained a wonderful scholarly *resumé* of the early
Russian materials unearthed by Kornilov, Polonsky and others,
of the 1848-49 materials as lately studied by Nikolayewski,
etc., of the socialist and internationalist materials copiously

ifo of Bakunin

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] The Betrayal of the Spanish Workers / Emma Goldman.—
pp. 1, 3 ; 29 cm. In Spain and the World [London]. — (Jan. 14, 1938).
Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

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would receive nothing, except some income from doubtful taxation.

The above two illustrations indicate more eloquently than any editorials the true state of affairs. However, the direct attacks of the reactionary parties upon the achievements of the Revolution have their advantage: the Proletariat now sees more clearly as to who

interests are identical with those of the CNT. It now remains for us to wait and see how far and for how long the leaders of the C.P. will continue this new line of tactics, which after all is the only correct line if one is chiefly concerned about the real interests of the people and not merely the present political situation.

The latter months of 1936 when naval orders and oil contracts made large demands on the iron and steel industry.

This has been eased somewhat by her imports of iron ore from Spain, which have risen from 33,000 tons in 1936 to nearly 180,000 last year, and by scrap from Spain which has increased

to declare that German intervention has proved a costly failure, but there is more to these ports than meets the eye.

First, the 1937 list carefully omits figures of import from Spanish Morocco;

Secondly, the rich iron ore deposits in the north of Spain were not under Franco's control until the last half of 1937;

Thirdly, the German import that decreased the most was fruit, due to the fact that in 1937 the fruit districts were in the hands of the Valencia Government, who sold their crops almost exclusively to Russia.

On the trade which Franco controls, such as Rio Tinto pyrites, however, German imports increased from £417,000 to £580,000.

RICH ECONOMIC REWARDS

It is not a peculiar coincidence that the nations both in the East and in the West now engaged in "beating Bolshevism" are fighting on territory rich with economic rewards.

Although Great Britain seems to take the view that in the event of a Franco victory the Spanish Nationalist Government will be forced to turn to England for a loan, thus enabling her to cut Germany and Italy out of the picture, this may easily be doubted.

During the past year Great Britain has been able to sell Spain only 40 per cent. of the goods which she sold her in 1935, the last year before the war. One of the most significant drops occurred in goods listed under motor-cars, locomotives, ships and aircraft.

If Franco can continue to force British companies to supply him with the necessary sterling for foreign credits, it is not unlikely that he will continue to develop his trade with Italy and Germany along "barter system lines."

The Betrayal of the Spanish Workers

London, 14th January, 1938.

THE meeting held at Conway Hall, London, this evening, under the auspices of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. London Bureau presented a complete analysis of the betrayal of the Spanish workers by the democracies—including Soviet Russia.

Emma Goldman, who was speaking for the first time since her recent visit to Spain, outlined in considerable detail the despicable role played by the fascist powers, Italy and Germany; she spoke of the preparations, two years previously, between Mussolini and Franco; of the strategic importance of Spain to Italy in her ambitions in the Mediterranean ("Mussolini openly declared that the Mediterranean is an Italian sea") and the importance of Spain's raw materials for Hitler's vast rearmament programme.

The attitude of open intervention on the part of the Fascist States was only to be expected. "But what is less apparent" she continued, "is the betrayal of the Spanish people by the ultra-democratic France and by England, who also claims democracy even if in Monarchical disguise." And yet once again British and French interests in Spain determined their stand towards the workers' struggle, for the Rio Tinto Company, Vickers-Armstrong, Lerou and de Wendel are but a few of the large

concerns vitally interested in Spain's mineral wealth.

Emma Goldman, however, did not stop there. "More heinous than this crime" she added "is the despicable part played by the man at the helm of the Socialist Republic. His treachery against the Spanish people and against the Revolution far outsweeps the crime of all the other countries." (Amid the general applause that followed this remark were heard the protesting voices of a few Communists who, not content in shouting such epithets as "liar" and "Fascist," were obviously trying to break up the meeting. Emma Goldman was quite unmoved, for as she herself remarked later, she was quite accustomed to this kind of interruption ever since 1918. "They do not even wait for proofs," she continued, and, as if to add emphasis to her previous remarks, added that "no amount of talk will do away with the fact that Stalin has sabotaged the Spanish Revolution.")

SOVIET PRESS AND SPAIN

"During the first 3½ months of the anti-Fascist struggle and the

Revolution, the Soviet Press paid scant attention to the world stirring Spanish events. But even their colourless reports were enough to rouse the Russian masses on behalf of their comrades in Spain. There were mass demonstrations, and collections in factories, mines and shops poured forth in aid of the Spanish Revolution. For some unknown reason this all came to a sudden stop. Yet the reason was not far to seek. Stalin was too busy liquidating the Old-Bolshevik guard and impressing the Russian workers with the infamy of these old Revolutionaries to permit any reawakening of the Russian Revolution inspired in the Russian masses by the Revolution in Spain."

If then Franco failed to overrun the whole of Spain during those early months, thanks were not due to Stalin and the "democratic" governments but to the unparalleled courage of the C.N.T.-F.A.I., the revolutionary minded section of the U.G.T. and the P.O.U.M. "When Soviet Russia finally made up its mind to send arms to the anti-fascists it was by no means out of class conscious solidarity. It was because it had awakened to the importance of a strong foothold in Spain for its (continued on page 4, column 3)

The Emma Goldman Papers

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tive Capitalists in Parliamentary lobbies! A genuine Workers' Front will consist of Labour itself in every workshop, factory and farm throughout the length and breadth of the country — all federated in syndicates, educated and equipped to take over the whole management of industry and to co-ordinate the complex processes of production, and geared, too, to secure equitable distribution. That's the only kind of Workers' Front that Revolutionary Socialists should seek.

Brockway knows what the workers — without political leadership — accomplished in Barcelona in July a year ago; they repulsed the Fascists and collectivised industry! He knows equally well the reverses that the workers have since suffered with every advance in political control! He would maintain, of course, that this was due to the wrong kind of political control. We agree that it is the wrong kind of political control — but, we go further, and maintain that any kind of political control, even the so-called Dictatorship of the Proletariat, is inevitably bound to result in Centralisation, and Centralisation necessarily implies a curbing of individual freedom and initiative, and a tendency towards the domination of man over man. And so the vicious circle completes itself. In other words, one of the principal capitalist evils which Revolutionary Socialists set out to remove now re-appears as a progeny not of Capitalism but of Centralisation.

The thesis is simple and clear-cut. Political control, even in the hands of a benevolent and enlightened hierarchy of Socialist Revolutionaries, would beget the same kind of evils as Capitalist control. So let us, therefore, direct our energies not along any political front but along a genuine Workers' Front — with the objective of workers' control. Let our Socialist Revolutionaries, who have the genuine interest of the workers at heart, have a little more faith in the workers themselves, and a little less faith in the fallacious efficacy of politics.

In spite of this criticism, however, we cordially recommend Brockway's book as a clear exposition of political tendencies and motives at the present time.

J.H.

Betrayal of the Spanish Workers

(Continued from page 1)
foreign policy. And not less important, to lay its hands on the gold which the central Government for Russian arms." (This was foisted in Valencia offered to pay in return followed by further demonstrations on the part of the Communists. The interrupters were temporarily silenced, however, when Emma Goldman pointed out that when the French Communist Party charged the Blum Government with the betrayal of the anti-fascist cause Blum had only to tell them that Soviet Russia was the first to sign the non-intervention pact!)

ARMS FROM RUSSIA

"The young and ardent, but hopelessly blind communists in the world could not be expected to know all the crooked back-stage acrobatic stunts of world diplomacy." These youths had been brought up to hail every act of Stalin as worthy of emulation. They hailed the arrival of Russian arms in Spain as the greatest demonstration of Communist solidarity. These arms, the speaker continued, had been sent only when Stalin had been assured of the approval of France and England, who respected neutrality no more than Hitler and Mussolini and allowed just as many arms to be sent to Spain as suited their purpose. The Communist Press knew all this, just as they knew that every cartridge sent to Spain had been paid for in gold. Yet, "Stalin's International propaganda machine worked day and night to make known that their master had saved the Spanish anti-fascists. The world was yet to learn that in addition to the arms, though never quite profuse, Stalin sent his Communist "blessing: his G.P.U. and Cheka methods to extort confessions."

The speaker cited a few of the tragic consequences of Russian gangster methods in Spain: the destruction of the Aragon collectives by the Lister Brigade; the assassination of Rein, Landau, Nin, Berneri, Barbieri, and so many other true revolutionaries. Before Stalin's intervention there was complete unity on the Spanish anti-fascist front. There existed freedom of speech, press and assembly for all anti-fascist forces. Collectivization was begun immediately after 19th July. The workers of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. were indefatigable in their efforts to prove to the world that Revolution need not always mean destruction, while at the front the workers' militias were demonstrating what courage and valour could do. The Communists

had destroyed in part this constructive work; they had been responsible for the sabotage of the Aragon front, because it was held by men of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. and the P.O.U.M. Emma Goldman concluded her brilliant lecture on "The Betrayal of the Spanish people" with the words: "I charge the Soviet Government with having outstripped the Biblical Judas and all the democratic Judases in its betrayal of the Spanish people and the Spanish Revolution."

COMMUNIST DEMONSTRATORS FRUSTRATED

The general reaction to Emma Goldman's lecture was one of complete approval. The professional Communist Party demonstrators defeated their own ends. They were unable to break up the meeting and prevent the speakers from exposing Stalin's betrayal of the Spanish workers. They were not forcibly removed from the hall and so were unable to accuse the Anarchists of not allowing opposition at their meetings. In fact, after Emma Goldman's lecture they were allowed to ask questions. It was by their puerile remarks, by their intolerance towards the speakers that the Communist Party representatives allied themselves with the Fascist gangsters of Italy and Germany, who in their rise to power adopted the same methods. Their disturbance served only to make the vast majority of the people present imagine what freedom of speech would be like under a Communist regime (the Russian model) if this is what happens before they get power!

J. McNAIR, ETHEL MANNIN

Other speakers were John McNair of the Independent Labour Party, who on behalf of the I.L.P. saluted the comrades of the CNT as being splendid revolutionary fighters, and of whose valour he had witnessed on the Madrid front, and Ethel Mannin, who stated that though she was billed to speak as a representative of the I.L.P. she was in fact speaking for herself. She was 100% for the CNT, and that if it were possible to achieve the Social Revolution without passing through a Marxian dictatorial period, she would certainly not oppose that.

Ethel Mannin concluded by introducing to the meeting the new organization which had been formed in this country: the S.I.A. (International Anti-fascist Solidarity), and her appeal for funds resulted in £75 being collected.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Emma Goldman e l'anarchismo spagnolo [Emma Goldman and Spanish anarchism. In Italian] / Emma Goldman. — p. 5 ; 42 cm. In L'Adunata Dei Refrattari [New York]. — Vol. 17, no. 3 (Jan. 15, 1938).

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ANNO XVII 4° 3

Edato 15 Gennaio 1938

L'ADUNATA DEI REFRATTARI

5

EMMA GOLDMAN E L'ANARCHISMO SPAGNOLO

"Il Risveglio" ha pubblicato tre interviste — gli intervistati sono Emma Goldman, Gioacchino Lucero e Souchy — sull'attitudine del movimento nostro nella Rivoluzione Spagnola.

Le dichiarazioni di Emma Goldman hanno una importanza particolare. Essa è delegata della CNT in Inghilterra, ed in tale carattere venne a Barcellona nell'epoca in cui fu intervistata. Essa ha studiato coscienziosamente la situazione presente e l'attitudine del nostro movimento, e data anche la sua personalità, una sua opinione è degna di tenersi in conto.

Deigna di tenersi in conto, però, non da accettarli ad occhi chiusi. "Le sue conclusioni non hanno bisogno di chiarificazione". Così sarà per l'intervistatore, il quale nell'altra intervista ad Agostino Souchy non oppone nessun argomento all'intervistato, ma si limita a giustificare il suo dissenso con una questione di "temperamento". Chi invece crede che i problemi non si studiano col nervi, ma colla testa, constata in primo luogo la tendenziosità delle domande che furono rivolte alla Goldman. Dopo che essa ha semplicemente constatato un cambiamento di situazione senza punto mettere in causa la tattica del nostro movimento, l'intervistatore le domanda se "malgrado gli errori cui tu alludi, ecc.", quando invece la Goldman non ha ancora parlato di nessun errore. E ciò svela lo spirito magnificamente imparziale che ispirano le domande.

Fra queste domande ve n'è una che, con la sua risposta, merita un commento: "Non credi che fu grave errore la partecipazione degli anarchici al governo?" E la Goldman risponde che "non può approvare e sanzionare la contraddizione e l'incoerenza in merito alle idee che le sono care".

E nessuno può approvare e sanzionare tale incoerenza. Però bisognerebbe capire una buona volta che non si tratta di dimostrare che la collaborazione governativa è "coerente" con le nostre idee. Ciò non lo sostengono neppure i compagni spagnoli, i quali si limitano a protestare che nel momento tragico in cui decisero di consentire alla collaborazione governativa, non trovarono altra soluzione. E qui è necessario ricordare che in quel momento tragico Emma Goldman si trovava in Spagna. I compagni spagnoli, i quali non accorsero all'elemento al governo, ma discussero lungamente la situazione, accettarono la collaborazione dopo che una riunione plenaria di delegati di tutte le Federazioni Regionali della CNT non potette trovare nessuna altra via d'uscita. Ciò non ostante consultarono tutti i compagni più conosciuti, e fra essi Emma Goldman. Ed Emma Goldman, dopo aver lungamente riflettuto e preso cognizione di tutto ciò che in quel momento bolliva in pentola, rispose: "Andate al Governo!" Ed è la Goldman in persona che ha reso pubblico, in un articolo prodotto anche da "L'Adunata" questo episodio.

Orbene, è "errore" ciò che si fa per forza maggiore? Se è "errore" l'attitudine assunta dalla CNT in quell'istante, ciò significa che in quell'istante era possibile altra soluzione. Ecco perché si è dimenticato di domandare ad Emma Goldman "che si sarebbe dovuto fare nel Settembre 1937, invece di quel che si fece".

V'è ancora un punto degno di commento. La Goldman dice: "Sono profondamente persuasa, sincerissima, che se la CNT-FAI avendo tutto in mano e alle loro dipendenze avessero bloccate le banche, sciolte ed eliminate guardie d'assalto e guardie civili, messo i catenacci alla Generalità invece di entrarci dentro per collaborare, dato un colpo mortale a tutta la vecchia burocrazia, spazzato via gli avversari vicini e lontani, oggi, sta sicuro, non subiremmo la situazione che ci unifica e ci ferisce".

Ora, se la nostra compagna si è espressa davvero con queste parole, a costo d'essere sgarbato, devo dire che ha detto una sciocchezza inconcepibile — a mio modo di vedere — per una mente come la sua. "Se in Luglio avessimo fatto l'Anarchia, non ci troveremmo in questa situazione". Ecco la sostanza delle sue parole. Ed a tutte le cose che secondo la Goldman si dovevano fare, io alla Goldman avrei opposto una domanda: "In qual modo?" Ma le domande più importanti per una giusta impostazione del problema spagnolo sono proprio quelle che non si fanno.

Del resto, non credo che lo spirito di Emma Goldman nei confronti del nostro movimento siano quelli che si ripete nell'intervista che ho citato. Essa conosce benissimo i fattori che hanno operato contro i migliori propositi dei compagni spagnoli.

Emma Goldman è profondamente preoccupata per il problema del nostro movimento di Spagna. Da essa non si può attendere un'apologia del governamentalismo o del ministerialismo. Durante la sua ultima visita a Barcellona, le feci rivolgere, per iscritto, una serie di domande, alle quali anch'essi rispose per iscritto. Domandato a quali cause attribuisce le difficoltà contro le quali lotta la CNT-FAI, non mi rispose né di ministerialismo né di

governamentalismo: Ecco letteralmente la sua risposta:

"L'influenza russa è stata una tragedia per la rivoluzione in Spagna. Se fosse stato necessario acquistare armi dalla Russia, quanto più logico sarebbe stato comprarle con chiare condizioni commerciali come a qualunque altro stato, e non compromettere la nostra azione e la libertà d'azione del nostro movimento".

E qui essa colpisce giusto. Le armi della Russia hanno deciso molte cose in Spagna. Ma bisogna osservare, inoltre, che il naufrago non mette condizioni a chi gli offre un salvavita, e più ancora, che non è stata la CNT-FAI a comperare e ricevere tali armi. Ad un giornale comunista che accusava la CNT d'ingratitudine verso la Russia, "Solidaridad Obrera" rispondeva poco fa che la CNT non ricevette "né un fucile, né un centesimo". Ed il giornale comunista non smentì!

A proposito di collaborazionismo, feci domandare alla Goldman la sua opinione. Ecco le sue testuali parole:

"Ho la convinzione che devono unirsi le forze della CNT con le forze della UGT. Mi riferisco solo alle forze della UGT, proletarie, ma senza i comunisti".

Dunque la Goldman non è contraria ad una collaborazione fra i diversi settori. Fa solo delle riserve. Orbene: se le forze della CNT e della UGT devono unirsi (e si badi bene che la CNT non ha mai proposto alla UGT alcuna unificazione o fusione, ma solo un patto di "non aggressione") come escludere i comunisti? O si fa tale unione con la UGT così com'è, o non si fa. Impossibile pretendere che essa escluda i comunisti, quanto lo sarebbe, da parte della UGT, pretendere che la CNT escluda gli anarchici.

E giacché si tratta di porre in luce il vero pensiero di Emma Goldman sul nostro movimento spagnolo, ecco altre sue opinioni:

Da Madrid, ad un amico da Barcellona: "Nessuno poteva sperare di trovarsi in presenza di tanta grandezza. I nostri compagni creano, costruiscono e sperano, in mezzo alla rovina ed alla morte. Questo opprime il cuore. To lo dico: tutti dovrebbero poter venir qui ad informarsi di ciò che succede in Madrid. NON GIUDICHEREBBERO TANTO FACILMENTE E NON CONDANNEREBBERO CON TANTA DISINVOLTURA QUALCHE PICCOLO ERRORE. D'altronde non v'è grandezza senza errori. La posterità giudica, non per gli errori commessi, ma per i grandi atti... Non è miracoloso vedere un popolo creare e marciare avanti nel suo lavoro gigantesco, e costruire sotto il ferro ed il fuoco? E questo è giustamente ciò che fanno i nostri compagni!"

Ma questo esortazioni di Emma Goldman, mi fanno ricordare che si è presa una certa abitudine a distinguere i compagni della CNT-FAI in lottatori o "governanti", in eroi ed in opportunisti. Tale distinzione è ingiusta, per non dir peggio. Parliamoci del collaborazionismo o no, tutti combattono, perché tutti sanno che la rivoluzione è in questa lotta. Per nessuno il governamentalismo è "l'essenziale". E non dimentichiamo, che nelle giornate più tragiche per Madrid, nel settembre 1937, il ministro Oliver entrava nella città eroica alla testa dei suoi "Agulluchos", e che la Ministressa Montseny, invece di seguire il governo a Valenza, restava a Madrid al fianco di Miaja, di Durruti e Cipriano Mera.

Da Madrid, Emma Goldman mandò al periodico "Freje Arbeiter Stimme" di New York (che la pubblicò il 22 ottobre) una lettera ove dice: "Almeno venissero molti amici nostri qui! Almeno, vedrebbero il lavoro straordinario che qui si progotta e si realizza. ALLORA VEDREBBERO CHIARAMENTE CHE DI FRONTE A QUESTI GRANDI REALIZZAZIONI, GLI ERRORI E PERSINO CERTE DEBOLEZZE PERDONO IL LORO SIGNIFICATO".

E ancora: "Però, pur non essendo capace di descrivere dovutamente l'eroismo del popolo spagnolo e soprattutto lo spirito valente dei nostri compagni, in cambio sono sicura che MAI SI SVEGLIERA NEL MIO CUORE IL DESIDERIO DI CRITICARE I LORO ERRORI E LE LORO DEBOLEZZE. Poiché, che valore hanno questi errori e queste debolezze di fronte alla forza dei nostri compagni, alla loro fede radicata e la loro assoluta abnegazione per la causa?".

Barcellona, 24-XI-37.

ALDO AGUZZI

Difendere, ancora oggi, l'andata al governo degli anarchici è forse peggio che l'esservi stati, perché dimostra preoccupazione di fare, di un passo compiuto "con l'acqua alla gola", un sistema.

L'andata al potere degli anarchici non si giustifica, non si può giustificare. Gli indul-

genti si limitano a dire che fu un errore necessario. Ma se fu un errore necessario, perché persistere nel difenderlo?

Oggi, poi, è molto più difficile che non fosse nell'inverno del 1936-37, insistere sulla necessità di quell'errore. In che consiste tale necessità? Dare armi al fronte d'Aragona? No, perché si sapeva anche prima dell'andata al governo che Largo Caballero, presidente del Consiglio dei ministri non voleva dare armi alle milizie del fronte d'Aragona. No, perché si sa oggi che il fronte d'Aragona non ha ricevuto armi durante la permanenza degli anarchici al governo della Repubblica. Controllare l'opera del governo? Era illusione sperarlo. In ogni modo, i ministri anarchici non esercitarono alcun controllo sul governo perché se l'avessero esercitato si sarebbero coperti d'infamia consentendo che il governo lasciasse inerte il fronte d'Aragona, permettesse il tradimento di Malaga, i mercanteggiamenti moseoviti e l'organizzazione, su tutta la Spagna repubblicana, della Ceka, che inaugurò proprio durante la loro presenza al ministero, le sue gesta contro-rivoluzionarie.

Necessario, o non, quell'errore fu trattato con grande indulgenza da quanti lo condannavano come un capovolgimento dei metodi e dei principi dell'anarchismo, appunto in considerazione di quanto di grande e di profondo la rivoluzione popolare aveva compiuto. Ma la discrezione di coloro che cercavano di vedere lo sconvolgimento spagnolo nel suo insieme, negandosi ad imbastire sull'episodio meschino dell'entrata al governo una speculazione polemica, non deve incoraggiare alcuno a procedere ora alla sua teorizzazione.

In altre parole, se si vuole dar vita, in base al precedente spagnolo ad un anarchismo di governo, si esca dall'equivoco, si esponano le ragioni; magari i sofismi, con cui si vuol giustificare, ma non lo si imponi su quello che si definisce, che si senta, anzi, come un errore più o meno necessario.

Questo, e senza entrare nei casi particolari della Goldman, perché le idee anarchiche si sono sempre sforzate di poggiare sulla verità, mai sull'errore.

M. S.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[The liberation of women. In Swedish.] Kvinnans frigörelse / Emma Goldman. — 21 cm. In Arbetaren [Stockholm]. — (Feb. 7, 1938).

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... om en del av de första som be-
traktade den allmänna upp-
lysningen som en förberedelse
för den verkliga kampen mot
den sociala orättfärdigheten.

Vi kvinnor böra göra vad vi kunna för
att detta mål, förverkligas. Ty utan stu-

... och det psykiska livet.

dier och kunskap komma vi icke att vinna
några framgångar.

H. J.

ADRESSÄNDRINGAR:

KARLSTAD: Fru Elvira Fröding, Långgatan 49.
RIDDARHYTTAN: Fru Anna Larsson, Box 99.
LÖÖS: Fru Ester Friberg, Grävbyn.
UPPSALA: Fru Karla Fällgren, Vårskvarns-
gatan 22 B.

... begränsad liten bransch som t. ex. lek-
saksindustrin, och ett bestämt lack av
denna, nämligen docktillverkningen, voro
arbetarna genast överens om att alla
klassgränser måste bort. Nu vet man väl
(Forts. på sjunde sidan.)

... ankeman, med tv
hushåll, vilka
sköta hemmets tr
Svar sändes
rekommendation
adress Box 631, A

Kvinnans frigörelse.

Det är en del år sedan Emma
Goldman skrev nedanstående arti-
kel om kvinnans frigörelse. De där
främsta synpunkterna ha dock
alltjämt gällit och härtill i
någon mån varit skäl till att vi här
hennes artikel, så starkt präglad av
personlighetens djup och äkthet.

För många år sedan utkom ett verk
av den briljanta ryska skriftställar-
innan Anna Marbom som he-
tades "Kvinnans en karaktärsteg-
ning".

Det var en av de första som be-
traktade den allmänna upp-
lysningen som en förberedelse
för den verkliga kampen mot
den sociala orättfärdigheten.

rika Eleonora Duse, den stora ma-
tematikern och skriftställarinnan
Sonja Kowalewskaja, den stora konst-
närinnan och poetiska naturen Marie
Baschkirzeff, som dog så ung. Och
genom denna beskrivning av dessa
kvinnors liv, löper den klart märk-
bara färan av en otillfredsställd läng-
tan efter ett helt, avrundat, fullstän-
digt och skönt liv, och genom saknad
av detta framgår ensamhetens oro.

Dessa mästerligt utförda psykolo-
giska skisser kunna icke underlåta att
visa, att ju högre en kvinnas själslig-
a utveckling har stigit, desto mera
sällan är det henne möjligt, att möta
en vanlig kamrat, vilken i hennes icke
endast är "medfuret", utan också
stark individualitet, vilken icke skall
eller får förkora ett enda drag av sin
karaktär.

Genomsnittsmänniskan, med sin all-
mänhet, är för henne överaktning.

och allt välvilliga beskydd gentemot
det kvinnliga könet, är en omöjlighet
för kvinnor, som Laura Marholm visar
oss i sina studier. Men likaså omöj-
ligt är det för den manskaraktär, som
i henne ser och finner ingenting an-
nat än hennes själ, hennes intelligens,
hennes genialitet, och som underlåter
att i henne uppväcka kvinnonaturen.

Rik intelligens, en fin känsla, det
är egenskaper som i allmänhet anta-
gas vara outhärliga för en skön och
innehållsrik personlighet. Men beträf-
fande den moderna kvinnan tjäna
dessa egenskaper det oaktat, som ett
hinder för hennes väsens fria utveck-
ling. Redan för över hundra år se-
dan, blev den gamla äktenskapsfor-
men, grundad på den "heliga skrift"
— endast döden fick skilja de båda
makarna — dömd som en institution,
vilken representerade mannens över-
herravälde över kvinnan, hennes full-
ständiga underkastelse under hans
lynnas och befallningar, hennes bero-
ende av hans namn och understöd.

Ständigt i av som bevis anför, att
de gamla äktenskapsformerna för
kvinnan voro liktydiga med en ställ-

ning som mannens tjänstepiga och
hans barns mor. Det oaktat finna vi
många emanciperade kvinnor, vilka
föredraga äktenskapet, med all dess
ögonskenliga otillgänglighet och tryc-
kande trånghet framför den ogifta
tillvaron; trång och ofördraglig just
därför, att moralens och den sociala
fördomens fjättrar skrämma henne
och hålla hennes natur omklamrad och
bunden.

Orsaken till denna inkonsekvens
från de framstegsvänligt sinade
kvinnornas sida är att söka i den om-
ständigheten att de aldrig förstått
kvinnoemancipationsbegreppet sanna
betydelse. De tänkte, att allt, vad som
felade dem, var oavhängigheten från
det yttre tyranniet. De inre tyranner-
na bortglömde de; dessa som bjudas
oss i form av etiska, sociala och kon-
ventionella böger, och äro långt far-
ligare och förstörande för livet än yt-
terverldens tyranner. — Dessa inre ty-
ranter överlätt man alldeles åt sig själ-
va. De ha verkligen också tagit väl
vara på sig; de tyckas finna sig kan-
niballiskt välmående i det aktiva kvin-
noskapspostharnas huvud och hjärtan.

alldeles såsom de
de i våra far- och
och hjärtan.

Dessa inre, int
rädslan för den
eller i hänsyn till
tutioner; denna
människa själen
lät dem, i deras
diga bävande frå-
saga därom? Och
har lärt att be-
ranner, och att
punkt starkt och
nående av oins-
handlingar och i
turens röst — må
största kostbar-
mannen eller he-
gium, att kunna
vet — icke förr.
som emanciperad
ciperade kvinnor
tillstå det, att de
med full makt i
lande och för-
Om kärleken, in-
ga, utan någon
ning, då de de

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gjorts för att utsträcka arbetsförmågan, som gjordes obligatorisk för allv flickor som pojkar i juni 1936, men som inte kunnat ordnas obligatoriskt för flickor, vilket delvis beror på dess impopularitet. Alltför många flickor ha fått en liten

James Goldsmith

6. 1944

The Emma Goldman Papers

Swiss Government Seizes Funds Destined for S.I.A. / Emma Goldman. — p. 4 ; 24 cm. In S.I.A. Bulletin [London]. — Vol. 1, no. 2 (March-April, 1938).

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SWISS GOVERNMENT SEIZES FUNDS DESTINED for S.I.A.

Switzerland once boasted of its political hospitality and great liberalism. Indeed, it claimed to be the asylum for all political refugees driven from their lands by tyranny. Not only has the Swiss Government gone back on its liberal traditions. But it actually has turned into the vassal of the modern despots who far outstrip in brutality their old colleagues.

A case in point is the outrageous blockade of the fund of the famous Anarchist paper "LE REVEIL" in Geneva that had been contributed by Swiss workers for the victims of Franco. The following correspondence that passed between the Post Office Director in Geneva and "REVEIL" speaks for itself.

We tried to enlist a protest from some Liberal papers in London in the hope that it might have an effect on the Swiss postal authorities in releasing the money that rightfully belongs to the starving women and children in anti-Fascist Spain. We forgot that British liberalism too, had become hoary with age.

The Swiss newspaper "Reveil" organ of the Swiss Anarchist Movement, has published the following letter in its issue of January 15th, 1938:—

Newspaper "Le Reveil,"
Rue des Savoises 6, Geneva.

Dear Sir,

We have the honour to inform you that by decree of August 14th, 1936, the Federal Council has ordered that by no means can the hostilities in Spain be favoured throughout Swiss territory; only such collections, of beneficial character, will be tolerated by the Federal authorities. Notwithstanding and to make quite sure that the collected funds are destined for relief purposes and to treat all those using the postal service with equality, it has been decided to block the funds which are reaching the interests by way of postal cheques, until an agreement has been established between the titular to whom the postal cheques are addressed, the Federal Authorities and our Administration.

Considering the appeal you made in "Reveil Anarchiste," No. 986 of November 29th, 1937, in favour of the revolutionary libertarian fighters in Spain, and applying the preceding, we have to inform you that all the funds deposited on Postal Cheques No. 14662, will be blocked until further notice.

Consequently, we ask you to please inform us in detail, and as soon as possible about the destiny of the funds in question, addressing your information to the Direction of the Post Office in Bern, with a view to finding a decision in regard to the said funds.

We want to add that "L'Ouvreur" Swiss for the Workers' help, Honggerstrasse 80, Zurich, has already gotten into contact with the authorities about its collections in favour of the Spanish Government party. Considering that your beneficial collection is destined to this party, the simplest would be if you deposited your own funds with the postal cheques of "L'Ouvreur" No. VIII 24359, which would meet the wishes of the donors as to the destiny of their donations.

Awaiting your information, we greet you attentively,

The Post Office Director
Maire.

15th February, 1938.
The Post Office Director,
Geneva, Switzerland.

In the name of the above Society, who are outstanding men and women in British letters, I protest against the blocking of the funds for Anti-Fascist Spain gathered by "Le Reveil." It is rather astonishing that Switzerland, who until very recently has stood out as ultra-democratic and liberal, should suddenly deny its great traditions and hold up the contributions for orphan children in Anti-Fascist Spain. You are probably not aware that the money collected by "Le Reveil" comes from the poorest of the poor, workers who deny themselves many necessary things in order to help the tens of thousands of victims of Franco and his allies, the German and Italian Fascist Governments.

From your letter to "Le Reveil" of January 15th, you presume to decide where the money collected by this old and reputable paper should go. That is rather strange for a Government which claims neutrality and still insists, in theory at least, on its liberal tenets. No attempt whatever has been made by the British Government to block funds collected for Anti-Fascist Spain, nor has His Majesty's Government presumed to say how that money should be used or to whom it should be sent. We therefore protest most emphatically against the arbitrary measure on the part of your Government which is depriving "Le Reveil" of the right to continue its splendid help for Spanish evacuated women and children.

Yours truly,
EMMA GOLDMAN.

To the English Press.
Sir,

Enclosed you will find copy of a letter sent to the Editor of "Le Reveil" published for many years in Geneva.

This paper has been doing splendid work for Anti-Fascist Spain. It has collected a great deal of money, coming from the generous contributions of workers primarily. As you will see the Swiss Government has held up the funds for Spain.

I have been asked to communicate this breach of Democratic Institutions, particularly claimed by the Swiss Government, in depriving the unfortunate victims of Franco of the generous contributions made by the workers in Switzerland.

I am therefore writing to you to ask whether you would mention this in your paper, or send a protest to the Post Office Director.

Yours truly,
EMMA GOLDMAN.

AN APPEAL OF THE S.I.A

Cont. from Page 2 col 2

In the present war we are all equally victims. All equally in need of defence. Modern science in the service of crime has paradoxically turned all of us civilians into passive combatants, and solidarity is the only effective defence left against the savagery which has been let loose upon us.

Only Solidarity can soften pain, if to him who has lost all, it holds out the warm embrace of fraternal arms.

We must transcend all the limits of egoism and live in others. We must feel ourselves to be the brother of the fallen and the father of the orphan. We must be conscious that the mingling of anti-fascist blood in the trenches, compels us to share our joys and sorrows with everyone to welcome them and be welcomed by them—no body should remain indifferent. The people forcibly withdrawn from their homes the grief-stricken caravans which are to be seen along our highways, thousands and thousands of families broken up; homes reduced to ashes, neglected children, all cry out for solidarity. Not the narrow and niggardly charity of yesterday but that of the finest human quality. A solidarity that comforts the sorrow-laden, that reunites shattered families inside the great family of humanity, that rebuilds destroyed homes and gives the warmth of parenthood to abandoned children. Obviously this would be a vain work and a useless expenditure of energy to leave all this to private enterprise. It must be organized on a basis of solidarity.

The groups of the S.I.A. can do this with complete efficiency. Let all true and genuine anti-fascists in loyal Spain and in the rest of the world avail themselves of their proper groups to engender that fraternity which alone makes the concentration of all energy possible.

S.I.A. provides organized help for those who have left their homes and for the victims of the bombardments. It sets up popular dining rooms and night-shelters for passers by.

S.I.A. gives an affectionately warm welcome to the orphans of our fighters and has instituted children's protection homes, where the little ones may forget the horrors they have been through in an atmosphere of loving care.

S.I.A. looks to the replenishment of besieged towns with its organization of food caravans.

In a word, personal initiative is brought to its highest possible pitch of efficiency and utility by the unifying efforts of the S.I.A.

Comrades, if there is no International Anti-fascist Solidarity group in your district, try to create one. Ask us for details, for propaganda material and whatever information you want. Common interest demands this. We are, each one of us, to-morrow's potential victims. Do not stint your co-operation. You must keep nothing back for yourself while there is a comrade in need.

But you must not work in isolation or your energies will be dissipated and your labour in vain. Search for the comrades to help you and start an S.I.A. group in your neighbourhood.

NATIONAL COUNCIL S.I.A.,
BARCELONA.

Emma Goldman and the Alliance Proposals

SHORTLY after July, 1936, the National Confederation of Labour began a campaign for the unity between the CNT and the UGT. It considered it of the most imperative necessity to bring these two large syndicalist bodies together in order to strengthen the anti-fascist front without which the chances of victory over Fascism were rather precarious. The CNT has gone out of its way in its willingness to make all kinds of concessions to bring about this amalgamation. All through this time the disciples in Spain of Stalin have stooped to the most despicable methods to proclaim to the workers of Spain and of the rest of the world that it was the CNT which was undermining the united anti-Fascist front. Day after day there were scurrilous attacks on the CNT in the Communist Press trying to make it appear that it was entirely the CNT which refused to co-operate with the UGT and that therefore it was not entirely sincere in its protestation against Fascism.

It was only after the Communist Party together with other reactionary forces had well-nigh brought about the collapse of the anti-Fascist forces, that it finally realised the necessity which the CNT have propagated for eighteen months. Particularly was this the case after the C.P. had penetrated into the UGT, had bored from within and had filtered through this organisation by its own Communist venom against the CNT. Now it has come forward with a number of propositions as stated in the negotiations published in *Spain and the World*. The readers will be able to judge for themselves how far the present state of the UGT can be called revolutionary, communist or truly democratic. The demands they make are a negation of all the revolutionary achievements of the CNT in the workers' control of the industrial and agrarian collectivisation. It is therefore sad that the CNT should be willing to concede many of the demands of the UGT. There is only one explanation for this; it is the fact that the CNT has set its heart and has concentrated all its strength and power to crush Franco and his German and Italian hordes. It is for this reason and no other that the CNT is willing to comply with many of the reactionary demands made by the UGT. There is, however, a gratifying aspect in the concessions and compromises of the CNT, and that is their insistence on workers' control even in those industries nationalised by the Government. The CNT is by no means deceived in the good intentions of democracy as now presented by the Negrin Government; but it is face to face with the open intent on the part of the so-called democratic governments outside of Spain to work in favour of Franco and to turn over anti-Fascist Spain to the tender mercies of Hitler and Mussolini.

The CNT more than the other anti-Fascist sectors, are only too well aware that the struggle in Spain has ceased to be a civil war, from the moment Germany and Italy began to back Franco. They have seen clearly that the so-called democratic governments had no

intention to permit the anti-Fascist forces to win. Actually they have shown that they are more willing for Franco to become the ruling power in Spain than the National Confederation of Labour. The latter has been a bone in the throat of all the powers, including Soviet Russia. They have knowingly and deliberately misrepresented the actual issue. They have made it appear that it is a struggle between Fascism and Communism. They conveniently ignored the fact that though the Spanish communists are in the Negrin Government they have never at any time taken root in the Spanish soil or in the Spanish people. But the real force in Spain is the National Confederation of Labour with a membership of 1,700,000, the Anarchist Federation of Iberia and the Libertarian Youth, all of whom constitute an organised body of nearly 2,500,000. Moreover the powers outside of Spain have either not been aware of the moral force of the ideas these organisations have propagated, or have remained blind to the fact that the masses themselves, peasants and industrial workers, are deeply imbued with Anarchist thought and ideas — hence will never content themselves with a democratic regime which is to usher in the old capitalist cowardly gang that ran to cover on the 19th July. This is borne out by the stand taken by the Anarchist Federation of Iberia as represented in the statement below.

I therefore feel that regrettable as the concessions imposed on the CNT by the betrayal of the Spanish people by all governments, including the Spanish Republic, there is no reason to fear that the CNT will be lost in the meshes of concessions and compromises. Our faith in the CNT and the FAI continues to be as ardent as before.

English workers will probably be surprised to read of the concessions the CNT is making to the UGT. It is therefore necessary to point out that people in a burning house cannot stop to consider theories. They must use the best methods at hand to save themselves from being burned alive. It is therefore the bounden duty of the English workers to come to the rescue of their comrades in Spain who have so gallantly fought Fascism for eighteen months. It is their duty not merely to talk or listen to the fine speeches of their leaders and M.P.'s, but to act directly to force their government to discontinue its Fascist methods to destroy Spain and to rush England into a war of extermination. Certainly the last events in the National Government prove its Fascist tendencies. Not that Mr. Eden has not contributed considerably to involve the situation. If he resigned, it is only because the intention and methods of his Premier have gone even beyond his political feanings. In the last analysis it is of no importance what either Mr. Chamberlain or Mr. Eden decide. The battle is on the economic field and the soldiers in that field are the working class. It is therefore essential for the workers of England to wake up from their lethargy and

A F.A.I. Basis For The Workers' Alliance

(Continued from page 3)

All comrades will have noticed that the document the "Basis" put forward by the UGT is from beginning to end a recapitulation of the Government's point of view. Every problem, from agrarian reform to the prosecution of the war is treated in the same spirit of unconditional support of the Government's decisions.

According to this view, the CNT and the UGT are to write to support the Government, taking a very secondary position themselves and undertaking to carry out the more disagreeable and difficult tasks.

They are to undertake the fulfillment of the mobilisation order, to further the construction of fortifications, roads, refuges, etc., to undertake increased production, and in general to enforce co-operation on the workers.

A Superior Economic Council is to be created but participation in this Council by the syndicates is specifically excluded.

Thus, the UGT has prepared a programme for the workers which involves their 100 per cent. support of the Government, without any share in direct responsibility. This is obviously only one more trick to make it impossible for the CNT to co-operate in the so-called point programme, and to obviate the possibility of a real workers' alliance which the CNT has always proposed, to consolidate the achievements of the Revolution.

This is a real tragedy for the Iberian proletariat and a very dangerous situation for our movement! In spite of our goodwill and the genuine revolutionary spirit of large masses of the UGT, their leaders have worked out this mean policy of shifts and tricks to widen rather than close the breach between the two organisations and to lead the workers away on a policy of reactionary reformism.

The fact that this programme has been pre-

their acquiescence to the reactionary methods of their leaders and misleaders. It is imperative that they should begin to see that the Spanish anti-Fascist struggle is not only to save Spain from Fascism. It is to save the whole world from the spread of the blackest scourge of modern times. Surely the workers who in '21 came to the rescue of the Russian Revolution and have recently acted deliberately against Japan and on behalf of China, will not continue to content themselves with a few large meetings in Albert Hall or some tins of milk for the Spanish children, necessary as the latter may be.

The time has come, even if it is the eleventh hour, to organise direct action; demonstrations before the House of Commons. The determined refusal to load ships with anything going to Franco. In other words with an organised, concerted, direct movement to break the conspiracy of the British Government against the anti-Fascist struggle. This and the lesson which the stand of the National Confederation of Labour is giving, might prepare the workers of England for the coming battle between capital and labour which is bound to come much sooner than anyone comfortably fixed is willing to admit.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

sented so late in the day was not due to negligence!

The proper atmosphere had just to be created. The Government press and the organs have continually discussed the supposed failures of the syndicates and the necessity of submitting all economic activity to the direction of the Government. Contributions to the syndicates were forbidden a systematic offensive conducted against workers' collectives.

The ground having been thus prepared, UGT presents its policy, asking us in name of fraternal collaboration, to renounce our last substantial rights and achievements.

This piece of cheap Machiavellianism is characteristic of our present rulers, but it put the libertarian movement in a strait position.

On the one hand it was impossible to accept the UGT policy, on the other, undesired to give the impression that it was our unity that could not be achieved!

The document published by the CNT product of the double necessity, that of demonstrating our will to co-operation, and of maintaining our principles. In it we made every concession consistent with the letter and with the defence of our revolutionary conquests.

The CNT has again demanded co-operation and representation in the anti-fascist Government, particularly in the departments of Agriculture, Industry, Commerce, Finance, and Economics, by demanding the creation of an under-secretariat for those ministries which representatives of the syndicates be included, and further by the creation of a National Council, representing all anti-fascist organisations, for the control of the forces and by the inclusion of the syndicates on the National Economic Council.

On the other hand the CNT have a the nationalisation of the war industries, ways, banks, telegraphs, etc., and have many concessions, only reserving the power of syndical representation on the go councils of these organisations.

In making these compromises the CNT have gone as far as it is able, but it is very full if the politicians directing the UGT able to accept that position. Even when words are being written the leaders two organisations are meeting and soon know. In the case of a breakdown, we must expect attacks to be made, and no doubt the politicians will effort to fix the blame for the failure to achieve unity on the CNT.

We shall have to act firmly and intelligently against the manoeuvres prepared us, and must be prepared to explain proletarian the meaning of our apparent promises.

We shall maintain the most cordial relations with the workers of the UGT, giving to them the reasons behind the to achieve unity. In no circumstances the workers of the UGT and those CNT become hostile. We shall continue policy of unity in the syndical field, ing the responsibility to extend that a wider field, to the politicians.

THE ENTHUSIASM OF JULY MUST BE RECAPTURED

(Continued from page 2)

the conduct of the war, of economy of politics. Once this is achieved, we shall recover confidence and enthusiasm.

The people, who work and sacrifice themselves most, can still do more. And they will, beyond doubt, when they know quite clearly why they do it.

And so, we shall fight side by side, united, and all united against the anti-fascists, in the certainty

day, was complete victory. The workers do not understand: they never will understand nor tolerate, the smugness which nullifies and sterilizes the greatest effort made in workers' history. Unless we recapture in all its fullness the enthusiasm of July, all our words, all our proclamations, all our attempts to stir up people will be vain and empty.

The spirit of July, revived by long experience, and backed by the latest facts of collective resistance

TO THOSE READERS WHO HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO THE ORPHANS FUND

WE ask all comrades and friends who have given so generously to the Orphans Fund to continue and intensify their activity on behalf of the Spanish Orphans.

We hope to be able to announce shortly that we will

OUR BALANCE SHEET

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SUBSCRIPTIONS:

Detroit, Mich.: (per E. Vivas) 11 subs. at 2/6, 10 at 4/- — £3/7/6; Milford, Ill.: H. Mathewson 4/-; Barnett: T. Bard 4/6; London: G. Foster 2/6; Patna, India: R. P. Lakhayer 2/6; Beaconsfield: H. Read 4/6; Seattle: O. Weik 4/6; Palestine: per J.T. 5 subs. at 2/6 — £12/6; London: I. Schnelderman 2/6; London: D.E. 9. 4/6; Dover: A. McKenzie 4/6; Greenock: S. Marletta 4/6; Calford: G. Priest 2/6; Bournemouth: H. Binns 2/6; London: G. Leach 2/6; Birmingham: M. Smith 4/6; Essex: C. Cole 2/6; Washington: M. Kitchin 4/6; L. Kishuk 1/-; Marseilles: Fla.: per A. Coniglio, £1/6/9; Ill.: p.p. Social 18th Dec. per 11/10/0; Mareeba, Austr. Noselli 6/-; Detroit, Mich.: I. tari 1/15/7; Glasgow: D. Mc. Providence, R.I.: Libertarinn C. J. Spagnuolo 1/1; Bristol: J. 1 1/-; Newark, N.J.: Ateneo de clon Social (per D. Prnda) 12 don: J. E. Dobson 5/-; Barnett: 5/6; Bristol: C. Lewis 1/6; P. J.T. 3/6; London: T. Brown £9/1/2.

Total Income £26/1/4

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The Emma Goldman Papers

Preface [to, Camillo Berneri: pensieri e bataglie] / [Emma Goldman].— [1938 March?, draft].— 7 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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P R E F A C E .

Oh! that the founts of my heart may never dry up, so that I may continue to love my fellow-men just as they are, with all their weaknesses and all their waywardnesses, like children or sick persons who need to be extricated from the state of barbarism or who need to be cured. May my heart ever sense the flow of the world's tears, even during the moments of radiant joy which cause one to be indifferent to the sorrow of others. May there be no false will-o'-the-wisps obscuring the golden rays of the sun and the glories of the sunset!

Oh! that the distance of the solar city does not cause me to abandon the historic city. Were I to shut myself thus within an ivory tower I could become a fervent devotee of Thought and Knowledge. But such a fate can only come to him who is illumined by the light of genius. Numerous, far too numerous, are those who have no eyes, or who do not open their eyes sufficiently to see the truths of Thought and Science. Too many slaves are there who have need of a Brutus or a Spartacus; too great are the multitudes who demand to see Christ actually on the Cross before they can be made to realise that divinity comes to man through sacrifice, that civilisation advances along thorny paths, or else goes back.

Oh! that my heart may not become over-elated by its beauties, that the flight of my imagination does not cause me to attempt heroic deeds of which I am incapable, that my will-power be steeled by sustained and continual efforts.

Oh! that my heart be strong without becoming cold and hard, that it may learn to reconcile the cruelty of the combatant with the tenderness of the husband, the father and the son; that it may spare unnecessary suffering to my fellow-men!

Oh! that the desires of the flesh do not disturb my imagination, that they may not alienate me from her who is enshrined within my soul as my one and only lady, that I may not pursue chimeras which cause a man to become insatiable and brutal.

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Oh! that during intimate intercourse the soul may not become extinguished and that the sin may be purified by the gift of voluptuous pleasure which alone excludes all vice and alone appeases the unappeasable.

Oh! that I may rid myself of absurd fears and false shame that overcome me whenever I desire to be nude, which prevent my being absolutely sincere, being myself, I who love truth better than my own self.

Oh! that I may rid myself of the sense of excessive pity, which for fear of hurting a fellow creature causes him spiritual suffering; or which causes one to be moved to pity by tears and other facial contortions of those who suffer least and who are least deserving of pity.

Oh! that I may bring to perfection my self-discipline for work and life, so as to enable me to save my energies, my time and my means and to guide my will-power along the paths of the missionary rather than of the writer and the politician.

Oh! that by my own sadness I may not impart sadness into the heart of her who is my companion, and that while being alone with my sorrow I may yet know how to seek her advice and comfort.

Oh! that my beloved one may be proud of me as I am proud of her; that a sense of dissatisfaction with myself may forever urge me on and fill me with the anxious desire to become stronger and less impure; that my daughters and my friends, when thinking of me, may be inspired towards everything that is good; that when my time comes to die I may not be too discontented with my life; that I may ever be prepared to die a death worthy of the life of a just man.

The "Credo" of Professor Camillo Berneri.

Camilo Berneri, lofty idealist, sweet singer of revolt, lover of all mankind, was foully murdered in Barcelona, May 7th, 1937. By his daring opposition to the insidious activities in Spain of Stalin's henchmen, Camilo had incurred the wrath of the Soviet torquemada and so he had to die. The gruesome story of his end is related in the tributes paid our martyred comrade by several writers, now gathered with some of his letters in this book. There is no need therefore

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for me to elaborate on it. I want rather to write of my recollections and impressions of Camilo Berneri, of our camaraderie in Barcelona when we both worked almost side by side to help our comrades in their struggle for the Spanish Revolution and against Fascism.

I had heard much about Professor Berneri, his fine personality and his gentle spirit, before I met him in Paris. The meeting was very fleeting; we could but exchange a few words. It was enough, however, to give me a definite impression of the man and his aims. I was particularly carried away by the sensitiveness of his face and the charm of his manner. We promised each other to meet again soon when we would have time really to get acquainted. Little did either one of us dream that we would meet so soon in Spain and be joined in our passionate desire to help our Spanish comrades.

Comrade Berneri had preceded me to Barcelona by two months. On my arrival there in September, 1936, I already found him in the thick of the struggle; at the Huesca front as the delegate of the Italian column - every hour taken up with various tasks on his return from the front - discussing with young comrades until daybreak. That and many other things kept our comrade busy and absorbed.

Frail and evidently worn from the strain of his labours, Camilo yet responded generously to every call on his energies. Extremely sensitised as he was, he easily sensed the needs of others, often imaginary needs hardly worth the waste of our comrade's strength. He was not unaware of the advantages taken of his gentle nature, but he continued to give out of his rich fount of sympathy and compassion.

The amazing thing to me was that though always in the midst of crowds, Camilo Berneri could yet hold aloof his own integrity as well as his independence of mind. He never hesitated to bring both into play the moment anybody attempted to encroach upon what he considered the most sacred part of his being. How he did it, he explains in one of the beautiful letters to his wife:

".... Further it is as well that I should keep away from the powerful ones of to-day; seeing my independent character this can only give them displeasure. Many comrades like me and by keeping out of their little rows it allows me to be of some use. I am in the position of having good relations with people who have a reciprocal hatred for one another, just because I do not ask anything from them, neither do I aspire to a high position and I do not conspire against anyone. I do not frighten but I do not get in the way of anyone. And when I have something to say I say it without

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fearing Jove. The situation here, as far as I am concerned, has improved, because I keep out of all the 'stories in the column'. And now that I do not mix myself in these matters all would want me to worry myself about them. It always happens like that. If I were to 'pass out' I wonder how many qualities they would discover in me! Perhaps even those which I do not possess."

"March, 1937.

"To-morrow I must attend to some poor devil. I am like a doctor who would like to attend to histology and who cannot but attend to cholera cases. To isolate oneself completely in a similar situation, one would have to be devoid of a heart."

In this as in many other circumstances Camillo Berneri proved his keen sense of the comic side of life and the understanding of the small and trifling affairs that loom so high to little people.

The multitude of jobs imposed upon our comrade are also set forth by him in another letter to his family:

".... I cannot write on matters concerning Spain for the present. I go from the Regional Committee to the War Committee, from the Investigating Committee to the Economic Council; here to obtain a document, there to present a technician, elsewhere to have a necessary talk with someone ..."

"The atmosphere here is amazing. In an half hour I had to deal with a Bulgarian who talked to me of his militarisation, a Swiss journalist who wants to obtain information, a Spaniard who is looking for cartridges of the same calibre as his revolver, an inventor who wants to explain to me his invention, a business man who wants to export oranges."

I saw his crowded days and I hesitated to become one of the many who dogged his steps. It was he who sought me out when back from the front one day, and I had returned from my tours of inspection of collective industries and farms. As I have already stated, Camillo Berneri had preceded me to Spain by two months. His experience of the heights and depths of the revolutionary situation was therefore invaluable to me. In addition was the fact that I was inarticulate in Spanish. He spoke that language as well as French, outside his own Italian, and he was therefore of great help to me.

Our exchange of thoughts were grateful to my hopes and fears for the future of the Revolution and the continued strength of the C.N.T. and the P.A.I. We soon found that we shared these fears. In fact

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we struck up a harmonious chord before we had been together an hour. I was touched by Camilo's concern in my needs and his thoughtfulness of offering help to find me comfortable quarters and anything else I might want. This was the more moving because he himself, while living in the same hotel with me, was taking his meals in the poorest of proletarian restaurants. This sweet solidarity and kindness revived the memory of one whom I had sought out during the first agonised conflict after my arrival in Russia - Maxime Gorki.

He had been the idol of my youthful days - he, the poet of the Song of the Falcon and the Snake, and so many other stirring songs. Gorki who had articulated the tragedies of the lower depths, who had been the clarion voice in the dreadful silence of the pre-revolutionary Russia, more stifling even under the Dictatorship. He would understand my inner turmoil, the revolutionary incongruities that haunted my waking and sleeping hours. I went to him for some light in the dark horizon of the inexorable Bolshevik régime.

Maxime Gorki regarded me with unseeing eyes. He did not understand my quest. He had become a cog in the Soviet machine. He had nothing left of his former self to give.

I thought of this episode while talking with Camilo about the contrasts between the Spanish and Russian Revolutions, the contrasts, too, in the protagonists of both world events. In my own mind I also contrasted the two men, Maxime Gorki and Camilo Berneri. There was a whole world between them.

The most outstanding day of the camaraderie with Camilo Berneri remained vividly in my mind. It was the 7th of November, 1936 - the eighteenth anniversary of the Russian Revolution. Barcelona was in festive attire. Vast masses of workers marched through the streets; the C.N.T.-F.A.I. and the Libertarian Youth represented the largest contingent. Proudly they carried the red and black banner and the air resounded with their triumphant cry: "C.N.T.-F.A.I! C.N.T.-F.A.I! C.N.T.-F.A.I!" In these letters the Spanish revolutionary workers have put all their aspirations, all their dreams of the new world they had begun to build on the 19th of July.

Inspired by the memory of the Russian Revolution, by the valiant workers, peasants, soldiers and sailors who alone had brought about the world-stirring event, our comrades in Barcelona joyously participated in the festivities. They were blissfully ignorant of the fact that the celebration of the Russian Revolution organised by Stalin's vassals was a travesty of the Revolution.

In point of truth it had been hurled from its lofty zenith in the early days of 1917, kicked about by Lenin's experiment until it bled from a thousand wounds. The final thrust that ended the agony of the Russian Revolution was left to Stalin. It was this man whose virtue and desert were to be expressed in a paeon song, November 7th, 1936, in revolutionary Spain - a travesty indeed.

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We of the foreign section and especially the Russians who had witnessed the slow death of the Russian Revolution, were of course not deceived. For us the 7th of November was a day of mourning. We resented the participation of our Spanish comrades in this event; some of them even condemning the C.N.T.-F.A.I. as having gone back on their Russian comrades languishing in Soviet concentration camps. My heart was heavy with sadness, yet I could not sit in judgment over our comrades of the C.N.T.-F.A.I.

Franco and his hordes were slowly creeping up to the gates of Madrid. Arms were desperately needed. It was a matter of life and death. In their own high idealism and revolutionary ethical traditions, the Spanish Anarchists accepted Stalin's proffered hand on its face value. It never occurred to them that along with arms he will also send his blessings that had turned Russia into a vale of tears and had covered her soil with rivers of blood.

Camilo Berneri came to see me. He brought with him a statement he had prepared dealing with the many puzzling questions confronting us all. Not reading Italian and on the eternal move from place to place and country to country, I had been unable to follow the life and work of our comrade. In point of truth the statement which fortunately was in French was the first piece of writing by Camilo I had read. Through our numerous talks I had come to appreciate the clarity of his mind and the lucidity in presenting his thoughts, but his written form was even more impressive and convincing. Above everything else the statement contained the purity that motivated his criticism of the leading comrades in the C.N.T.-F.A.I. It shone like a light through every line. This and our long discussion after I had read his criticism brought our comrade near to me as one of the truly great souls in our ranks, as well as one of the ablest of his generation.

The letter to Federica Montseny in this volume grew out of the statement I had read on the 7th of November, 1936. In the light of subsequent events in May, the destruction of some of the constructive achievements of the C.N.T.-F.A.I., the political persecution of real revolutionists, Camilo Berneri proved himself astonishingly prophetic-clairvoyant, I would say. Not that I agreed with him in what he wrote about the decline of the Spanish Revolution. I am only too aware that the Revolution had received a jolt through the alignment of the anti-Fascist forces with their Russian ally. True, it might even have been done to death by Stalin's satraps as the Russian Revolution had been destroyed, were it not for the continued moral strength of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. and the fact that the adherents of Moscow had overreached themselves. They had counted without their hosts, they had overlooked the Spanish people and their libertarian ideas woven into the very texture of their being.

Had Camilo Berneri lived he would have seen as I have, on my second visit to Spain, that the Revolution is still very much alive and that the increased constructive work goes on regardless of all

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obstacles. Moreover there is the indestructible quality of the Spanish people and their determination to fight to the bitter end. These were the matters Camilo and I differed on, but for the rest we felt deeply in everything concerning Spain, and we too were determined to serve the Revolution and the people to the uttermost.

Among the many horrors the world war brought in its wake and increased by Fascism, Nazism and Bolshevism, is the man-hunt of political refugees. They are indeed the modern Ahasuerus - nowhere wanted, driven from nation to nation - often into death. Camilo Berneri did not escape this tragic fate of the political refugee. His letters describing the persecution, the arrests, the brutal treatment, the imprisonment to which he had been subjected in every country, are a scathing indictment of the post-war world turned into a fortress for those who will not bend their knees to the dictators' commands or become a party to their crimes.

The sufferings Camilo Berneri had endured had impaired his health. It failed utterly to affect his spirit. All through his terrible experiences his revolutionary zeal and flaming ideal burned like red-white heat. Even his rich humour never left him for long. The story of the policeman whose heart Camilo softened for a brief moment by his detection of the picture of Voltaire on the officer's pipe, and another story, bear witness to Camilo Berneri's humanity. It is when he invites the policeman sent to watch his house to have real, strong, hot Italian coffee to save him from the cold. Camilo Berneri, Professor of Philosophy, dangerous Anarchist, showing kindness and compassion to an officer who had been sent to watch him day and night - how should the dull of mind and the empty of heart know that it was precisely Camilo Berneri's love for mankind and his feeling with all human suffering that made him the anarchist he was.

Camilo Berneri's letters to his family are moving in their beauty and their devotion. He adored his wife, he idolised his two daughters and he revered his mother. Again and again he pours out his loving heart to them - to Liliane, his 12-year-old, and Maria Louise, the elder one. They were the very apple of his eye. Yet his supremest love was his ideal. That had first call on him. Often Camilo found it painful to choose because of the pain his choice might cause his loved ones, but he never wavered or stopped in the path that led him to the fulfilment of his ideals. It was uppermost in his mind, and the complete dedication to it his strongest, most compelling force. In one of his letters to his wife he assures her that if he could save Bilbao with his life he would give it gladly. No one who knew Camilo could possibly doubt this. Alas, it was not given to our comrade to lay down his beautiful life as he willed. Instead he was murdered in cold blood; arbitrarily arrested on the night of 6th May together with his comrade, Barbiero. Their bodies were found riddled by bullets on the following morning in front of the Generalidad.

It is not so much how one dies that counts in the ultimate evaluation of one's worth. It is how one lives; and the life of Camilo Berneri stands out in all its inner strength and radiant beauty.

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La persecución en la España republicana sigue como en sus peores días

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La persecución en la España republicana sigue como en sus peores días

era de este socialismo la nuestros compañeros a llevar como pueden, en en que sólo el fascismo o y en que la mayor parte fascistas vive bajo el peso eno engañado, sería locura la victoria inmediata y a aquel núcleo de valientes tienen a su lado ni el de propios hermanos. bandera vencerá, aunque que confirmarnos por ahora victoria o sea y parcial. que ser fatalistas ni en el La situación es grave. nos pues: esa bandera da otro modo la humillación a una muerte tre gases venenosos e a tud de ellos bajo el telón el Estado totalitario, dueños y de los espíritus.

SE DIERON FASCISMO

ha de ser radical y eficaz. No se podrá de grandes propietarios sus nadie se le ha de permitir las colectividades que respetar a los Comités de socialización de la, y al mismo tiempo la nacionalización de los servicios donde convenga. La política de España ha de ser.

nuestros postulados. Pero tiempo son lo carácter la Revolución Española, comenzó antes de 1931 y una serie decisivas se está actualmente. La defensa de acciones económicas y sociales particular a nosotros en oponer al fascismo o, esto, nuestra lucha es, al por la proletaria.

al principio de una nueva Historia. Si gana el fascismo, vencen el Estado la Economía nacional a la esclavización del proletario ganamos nosotros, triunfo principio de libertad a en la Política, como en a. aremos la lucha, y profunda. aparecen ya. trae victorias. as lo que se decidirá en



EMMA GOLDMAN
ESPECIALMENTE PARA 'LA PROTESTA'
TRADUCIDO DE 'LA ADUNATA'

LA PERSECUCION EN LA ESPAÑA REPUBLICANA SIGUE COMO EN SUS PEORES DIAS

En mi primera visita a España, en setiembre de 1936, nada me asombró tanto como la amplia libertad política que había en todas partes. Los fascistas, esto es cierto, no gozaban de ella, pero con excepción hecha de estos enemigos abiertos de la Revolución y de la emancipación de los trabajadores ibéricos, en la órbita del Frente Antifascista todos disfrutaban de una cierta medida de libertad política, que no existe en ninguno de los países de Europa que se dicen democráticos. El único que biciera el uso máximo de tal libertad era el P. S. O. C., el partido estalinista de la España revolucionaria. Su radio y sus altoparlantes atronaban el aire, sus desfiles diarios, en formación militar, con flamear de banderas, no pasaba desapercibido a ninguno. Parece que los componentes de este partido bailaran un placer extraordinario en desfilar ante la casa del Comité Regional, como al antaño elvisar a la C. N. T. de su determinación de dar el golpe en cuanto tuvieran fuerza suficiente.

Esto aparecía claro a todos los extranjeros y a todos los compañeros que del extranjero habían llegado a llevar su ayuda en la lucha contra el fascismo. No lo veían así nuestros compañeros españoles, los que no daban ninguna importancia al desdoro comunista. Decían que estas payasadas no podían cambiar la suerte de la revolución y que ellos tenían tareas mucho más importantes por hacer. Que tardar el tiempo en ociosas demostraciones de fuerza. A mí me parecía, entonces, que los compañeros españoles no tenían una justa comprensión de la psicología de la masa, que tiene necesidad de ver banderas, de discursos,

de música y de demostraciones y que mientras la C. N. T. y la F. A. I. se concentraban en el trabajo constructivo y en la lucha sobre los varios frentes, sus aliados comunistas se aprovechaban conquistando afiliados. Estos demostraron luego que seaban lo que querían.

La Cárcel Modelo

Durante los tres meses de esta visita he ido a ver muchas colectivizaciones rurales e industriales, hospitales y asilos de maternidad en Barcelona, y no menos importante, también la Cárcel Modelo. En esta institución han sido hospedados algunas de las personalidades más destacadas del movimiento revolucionario y anarquista de Cataluña. Nuevos valerosos compañeros Duruti, Ascaso, García Oliver y muchos otros bien sido allí compañeros de celda de Companys, el nuevo presidente de la Generalidad. Visité la Cárcel Modelo junto con un compañero médico que había hecho un estudio especial de la psicología criminal. El director me permitió ir a cualquier lugar de la prisión y hablar allí, sin estar presente ningún guardián. Entre los centenares de admiradores de Franco, había oficiales y curas. Todos me aseguraron que eran tratados con justicia y con decencia por la dirección, formada en gran parte por hombres de la C. N. T. y F. A. I.

Revolucionarios a La Modelo

La posibilidad de el lugar ocupado por los fascistas sería pronto ocupado por revolucionarios y anarquistas en breve tiempo, me amantillaba la

cabeza con insistencia. Al culminar la revolución contra la benda de los piratas, en el otoño del 1936, era grande la esperanza de que dejaría do haber cárceles, y yo presentía que la vergüenza de los presidios sería borrada en cuanto Franco y sus hordas fueran derrotadas. La noticia de que el más gentil de los anarquistas, Camilo Berneri, había sido bárbaramente asesinado junto con su compañero Giovanni Berberio, oeguido por otras noticias de detenciones en masa, mutilaciones, asesinatos, parecía demasiado fantástico, el cambio de la situación política interior demasiado increíble para ser cierta. Así, decidí volver a España, a fin de ver con mis propios ojos hasta qué punto la conquistada libertad de las multitudes españolas hubiese sido abatida por los sicarios de Stalin.

Vuelta a España

Llegué a territorio español el 16 de setiembre de 1937 y me dirigí directamente a Aviñón, donde encontré, en las cárceles, 1.500 compañeros de la C. N. T. junto a miembros de la F. A. I., de la Juventud Libertaria, centenares de miembros del P. O. U. M. y también miembros de la Brigada Internacional. Durante mi permanencia en esta ciudad hice todo lo posible para obtener el permiso de visitar a alguno de nuestros compañeros, entre los cuales Gustel Dorster, que había conocido en Alemania antes de subir al poder Hitler, como militante activísimo del movimiento Anarco-Sindicalista. Se me aseguró que había obtenido el permiso deseado; pero, poco antes de volver a Barcelona, me informaron que los extranjeros no podían ser autorizados a visitar prisioneros. No tarde en descubrir que el mismo estado de cosas existía por doquier en todas las ciudades y aldeas que he visitado. Bajo el régimen de Prieto, Negrín-Staliniano, millares de compañeros y de otros revolucionarios auténticos llenan las cárceles de la República.

Con Souchy

Cuando volví a Barcelona, a principios de octubre, traté en seguida de ver a los compañeros encerrados en la Cárcel Modelo. Luego de muchas dificultades, el compañero Agustín Souchy consiguió obtener para mí el permiso de ver a algunos compañeros alemanes.

Llegada a la cárcel descubrí no sin sorpresa, que el director era el mismo de antes. El también me reconoció y me admitió con la máxima libertad. No tuve necesidad de hablar con los compañeros a través de las rejas, sino en una sala, donde habían sido reunidos anticipadamente los compañeros alemanes, italianos, búlgaros, rusos y españoles, ansiosos de hablarme de sus condiciones. Supe, entonces, que ninguna acusación pesaba sobre ellos, posible de ser sostenida ante un tribunal burgués; nada, a no ser la estúpida acusación de "trotskismo".

Odisea del sacrificio

Durante meses, estos hombres llegados a España de todas partes del mundo con sacrificios indecibles, para ayudar a la Revolución Española, entrando en carácter de antifascistas y ofreciendo la vida misma en la lucha contra Franco, desde hacía meses estaban encerrados en la prisión. Otros habían sido detenidos en la calle y habían desaparecido sin de-

SOLIDARIDAD INTERNAC. ANTIFASCISTA DENUNCIA UNA ARBITRARIEDAD EN SUIZA

El S. I. A. nos envió un manifiesto informando que el gobierno suizo comunicó al órgano anarquista "Le Revcl" que no debe seguir enviando dinero a España no siendo por intermedio de la Cruz Roja, y el mismo tiempo la Dirección de Correos hace saber que el dinero enviado por giro o cheques postales han sido bloqueados hasta nuevo aviso.

Es una nueva medida más en favor de Franco que toma un pale sedicente libre y democrático. Es otra ayuda que bajo cuerda obtienen los fascistas con el cuento de la "no intervención". Es otra infamia que toleran los demócratas de todo el mundo.

ABLAR LA LUCHA AL FASCISMO JO ESE DESPOTISMO TRIUNFAL

olucionario actuó frente as del despotismo burraacción, del fascismo, decidió la suerte de la a. La revolución triunfó los obstáculos, la antraña viva de las fuerza moral invencible, que es el secreto de los liagros" de las insurrecciones, alentó y dió ca:ha.

oral revolucionaria co: de todas sus acciones, a ido siempre a la vic:bién la historia en ma:ún es rica an enseñan: en laa qua aparecen impotencia, en todo el

tierra y libertad

dramatismo de sus incontables derrotas, los pueblos sacrificados vencidos, ahogados bajo las más abyectas de las dictaduras, por haber rendido culto a la teoría suicida del colaboracionismo, por haber carecido de esa fuerza moral,

que se prepara en mil luchas para la revolución, y que en el momento preciso desencadena toda la potencia del pueblo an raballón entablando combate por la liberación definitiva.

Dea posiciones antagónicas de su agrupación en organizaciones de clase. El anarquismo, con Bakunin, situó el problema an el plano ra-

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adversarios españoles no tenían una
comprensión de la psicología
que tiene necesidad de
de discurso.

Revolucionarios a La Modelo

La posibilidad de el lugar ocupado
por los fascistas sería pronto, ocupa-
do por revolucionarios y anarquistas
que se amartillaba la

do lo posible para obtener el perm-
so de visitar a alguno de nuestros
compañeros, entre los cuales Gustel,
Dörster, que había conocido en Ale-
mania antes de subir al poder Hitler,
como militante activísimo del movi-
miento Anarco-Sindicalista.

SOLIDARIDAD INTERNAC. ANTIFASCISTA DENUNCIA UNA ARBITRARIEDAD EN SUIZA

El S. I. A. nos envió un manifiesto informando que el gobierno suizo
comunicó al órgano anarquista "Le Revell" que no debe seguirse enviando
dinero a España no siendo por intermedio de la Cruz Roja, y al mismo
tiempo la Dirección de Correos hace saber que el dinero enviado por giro
o cheques postales han sido bloqueados hasta nuevo aviso.

Es una nueva medida más en favor de Franco que toma un país sedi-
tante, libre y democrático. Es otra ayuda que bajo cuerda obtienen los fas-
cistas con el cuento de la "no intervención". Es otra infamia que toleran
los demócratas de todo el mundo.

misó debarco; pero para volver a Barcelona, me informaron
que los extranjeros no podían ser au-
torizados a visitar prisioneros. Ne-
tarde en descubrir que el mismo es-
tado de cosas existía por doquier en
todas las ciudades y aldeas que he
visitado. Bajo el régimen de Prieto-
Negrín-Staliniano, millares de compa-
ñeros y de otros revolucionarios au-
ténticos llenan las cárceles de la Re-
pública.

Con Souchy

Cuando volví a Barcelona, a prin-
cipios de octubre, traté en seguida
de ver a los compañeros encerrados
en la Cárcel Modelo. Luego, de mu-
chas dificultades, el compañero Agus-
tín Souchy consiguió obtener para
mí el permiso de ver a algunos com-
pañeros alemanes.

Llegada a la cárcel descubrí no sin
sorpresa, que el director era el mis-
mo de antes. El también me recono-
ció y me admitió con la máxima li-
bertad. No tuve necesidad de hablar
con los compañeros a través de las
rejillas, sino en una sala, donde ha-
bían sido reunidos anticipadamente
los compañeros alemanes, italianos,
húngaros, rusos y españoles, ansiosos
de hablarme de sus condiciones. Su-
pe, entonces, que ninguna acusación
pesaba sobre ellos, posible de ser
sostenida ante un tribunal burgués;
nada, a no ser la estúpida acusación
de "trotskismo".

Odisea del sacrificio

Durante meses, estos hombres lle-
gados a España de todas partes del
mundo con sacrificios increíbles, pa-
ra ayudar a la Revolución Española,
entrando en carácter de antifascistas
y ofreciendo la vida misma en la lu-
cha contra Franco, desde hacía me-
ses estaban encerrados en la prisión.
Otros habían sido detenidos en la
calle y habían desaparecido sin de-
jar rastros. Entre éstos no pocos des-
aparecidos, estaba Reina, hijo de un
intelectual menchevique internacio-
nalmente conocido, Abramowitch. La
víctima más reciente era Kurt Lan-
deu, ex miembro del comité ejecu-
tivo del Partido Comunista Austriaco,
y, antes de su detención, miembro
del Comité Ejecutivo de P. O. U. M.
Todas las tentativas para hablar a
Landau fueron infructuosas. Dada la
desaparición de Andrés Nin, Secre-
tario General del P. O. U. M., y de
otras decenas más, es razonable lle-
gar a la conclusión de que Landau
corrió la misma suerte que ellos.

Víctimas verdaderas

Volviendo a la Cárcel Modelo, no
es posible dar el nombre de todas
las víctimas, porque son demasiadas
en esa cárcel. El caso más sintomá-
tico es aquel de un compañero que,
hallándose en una posición muy im-
portante, antes de los sucesos de
mayo, había entregado millones de
pesetas a la Generalidad, dinero que
había sido hallado en iglesias y re-
lucios. Este compañero es retenido
en la cárcel bajo la absurda acusa-
ción de haber estafado 100.000 pe-
setas.

(Concluye en el próximo número)

PLAR LA LUCHA AL FASCISMO ESE DESPOTISMO TRIUNFAL

ario actuó frente
despotismo bur-
ción, del fascismo,
lló la suerte de la
revolución triun-
los obstáculos.
traña viva de las
moral invencible,
el secreto de los
de las insurrec-
alentó y dió ca-

evolucionaria co-
das sus acciones,
siempre a la vic-
a historia en ma-
rica en enseñan-
as que aparecen
cia, en todo el

Tierra y Libertad

dramatismo de sus incontables de-
rrotas, los pueblos sacrificados
vencidos; ahogados bajo las más
abyectas de las dictaduras, por ha-
ber rendido culto a la teoría sul-
cida del colaboracionismo, por ha-
ber carecido de esa fuerza moral,

que se prepara en mil luchas para
la revolución, y que en el momento
preciso desencadena toda la poten-
cia del pueblo en rebelión sta-
bilizando combate por la liberación
definitiva.

Dos pasiones antagónicas de su
agrupación, en organizaciones de
clase. El anarquismo, con Bakunin,
situó el problema en el plano re-
volucionario. El anarquismo fué, en
consecuencia con sus interpretacio-
nes revolucionarias, el más con-
stante propagador del método acti-
vo, intrasigente, educador, que
tendía a crear en el pueblo las
condiciones morales y los organi-
smos de lucha apropiados para la
revolución.

La tragedia de la humanidad en-
tera ha sido el predominio de la
tendencia reformista, que apagó en
el proletariado las llamas fecundas
de la pasión y de la voluntad revo-
lucionaria, encarrilándolo hacia la
trampa en que aún están apriso-
nados millones y millones de obre-
ros. Y la "civilización" que engen-
dró los monstruos de la guerra mo-
derna, que está al borde de una
nueva guerra mundial, sigue rei-
nando en casi todo el mundo, por-
que el proletariado no ha compren-
dido la gran verdad, el dilema de
vida o muerte que le impone lu-
char contra la barbarie y el cri-
men por un mundo nuevo, o servir
como esclavo a los designios de
los que manejan el timón de las
grandes potencias burguesas.

Hoy como ayer, el dilema es el
mismo: ofrecer la lucha al fascismo
en todo el mundo, o ahogarse bajo
su triunfal despotismo.



criminal acción que desarrolla la aviación fascista
en las ciudades de España

The Emma Goldman Papers

Emma Goldman Appeals for Support of S.I.A. / Emma Goldman. — p. 2 ; 29 cm. In Spain and the World [London]. — (March 18, 1938).
Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

D THE WORLD, MARCH 18th, 1938

W TRIAL

was going to save him. Tuchachevsky's wife denounced her husband. The son of General Poutna has been placed in an orphan's home. We must allow for nervous strain. For more than ten years all these men have been fighting a desperate struggle against humiliation and the restrictions exercised by the police, party discipline and their own consciences. During these ten years they have sacrificed their better selves in order to exist and to serve the party. In prison, they were eventually broken.

* * *

The fundamental reasons for the extermination of the old Bolsheviks are evident. For roughly ten years, Stalin alone has held absolute power. He is alone responsible for the successive coups d'état which abolished all political life in the party. He alone carries the terrible responsibility for the ten black years which followed 1927. Forced collectivisation, expropriation, deportation and the death of several million agriculturists (kulaks), the destruction of livestock (which has fallen by 50%), the famine of the years 1930/35, which was so bad that it produced cases of cannibalism, chaotic industrialism, inhuman and costly, put into operation by terrorism, the wholesale executions of technicians, workers and peasants, the law of August 7th 1932, which punished by death the theft of a sheaf of corn; the disorganisation of transport, and the peasant uprisings; the establishment of the largest concentration camps in the world; for all this, the responsibility is on Stalin.

How can he escape this responsibility? Feeling himself hated, he has set himself to suppress all those who have any real popularity and who, in favourable circumstances, might have put themselves at the head of the forces of change.

* * *

The slaughter will not cease un-

CORRESPONDENCE

Emma Goldman Appeals for Support of S.I.A.

To the Comrades of "Spain and the World."

You will be interested to know that the English Section of the SIA (International Anti-Fascist Solidarity) was organised in London. Among the sponsors are some of the most outstanding men and women in letters. We have already started a fund for the purpose. At our meeting on January 14th we collected £75. Since then we have received many contributions. We have organised an Exhibition which is held at the office of the SIA at 21 Frith Street, London, W.1, and we are organising a literary and musical affair at the Friends House, on April 1st for the same purpose.

The SIA organised in Spain only six months ago has already met with remarkable results. In Spain itself it has a membership of 100,000. The French section has members in every part of the country. Its members contribute a certain amount a month to the SIA voluntarily of course. Speakers canvas France from one end to another on behalf of International Solidarity.

In the United States the American

section also meets with great success. The same in Holland and Sweden. We hope that we will soon be able to say the same thing about England. We are certainly trying our utmost to make the English section as successful as in other countries. That it may not be a mere boast we need your help, co-operation and generous contribution. We want membership and anything you can give out of the fullness of your heart to the SIA.

If you do not yet know we wish to inform you that the SIA is covering tremendous ramifications in the way of succour and support to the thousands of thousands of refugee women and children, and to the care of our heroic fighters at the front and to the wounded at the rear. Surely a commendable undertaking. Will you respond? If so please send us contributions to the English section of the SIA.

We beseech you comrades and friends to do your utmost in your efforts for the SIA.

Fraternally,

EMMA GOLDMAN.
March 1938.

The Situation in Palestine

Editor,
SPAIN AND THE WORLD.
Dear Comrade,

Owing to my absence from England I have only just received your issue of February 2nd and note your invitation for "comments" on Almoni's *Facts Concerning Palestine*.

It seems indeed strange to read in an Anarchist paper an article which is in effect a defence of governmental terrorism. Nobody who has even read the daily papers and the Parliamentary debates can doubt the fact that Palestine has been subjected to a régime comparable to that of Hitler and Mussolini, and that the object of that terror has been to maintain British rule in defiance of the known demand of the Arabs for democratic self-government.

Democracy is to our minds an inadequate demand and we may even doubt the sincerity of those who most loudly demand it. But surely those who have seen fit, in

crees — naturally enough, for our fascist dictators only copied where British Imperialism had shown the way for nearly 200 years.

This is not a justification of Arab anti-Semitism any more than it is a justification of the fascist ideas which have spread among the Arabs since the working-classes of Britain, France and Spain made it clear that "democracy" was a European product and not for export. But if we want to trace the cause of anti-Semitism among the Arabs then we must ask how it came about that Jews and Arabs once lived together peaceably in Spain and other countries and cannot do so to-day in Palestine. The answer is, because it is and has been the avowed intention of the Zionists to make Palestine a Jewish country with the help of British imperialism and in spite of the wishes of the Arab population, which is still the majority population of the country. Such a policy could only be pursued by the dic-

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SPANISH REVOLUTION

A BULLETIN PUBLISHED BY THE UNITED LIBERTARIAN ORGANIZATIONS

Vol. II, No. 11

NEW YORK, MARCH 21, 1938

Price Five Cents

INTERNATIONAL DIRECT ACTION WILL SAVE SPAIN

Premier Negrin flew to Paris to enter a desperate plea for arms.

Premier Negrin is a socialist and so is Leon Blum, the head of the newly formed government of France. Both are members of the Socialist International whose avowed aim is to throw the weight of the organized strength of the international working class back of any struggle for socialism and democracy.

Leon Blum knows that nowhere is such help needed as much as in Spain. He knows that not since the epic struggles of the Russian workers and peasants in 1918-1920 has the need been so great for vigorous action on the part of the international proletariat as during the last twenty months of desperate fighting in Spain.

Leon Blum knows it, and so does every class conscious worker in France. Hundreds of workers' delegations visited Spain during those twenty months and by now their reports have penetrated the farthest corner of proletarian France. And regardless of one's particular interpretation of events and tendencies, the average socialist and trade union member of the working class of France knows that the Spanish workers and peasants are struggling against fascist reaction in the name of a new social order which they are now realizing amid great difficulties, dangers and hardships.

The workers, peasants and liberals comprising the Popular Front of France know even more than that. They realize that not only is the future of socialism involved in the struggle taking place in Spain, but the very existence of democracy itself. No intelligent man and woman of France who can read a geographic map or follow up the daily papers with a glimmer of understanding, can fail to realize the extent of the danger held out to France by the Nazi-fascist conquest of Spain, which will turn the Mediterranean into a fascist lake, will create a powerful base for invading France and will sever the life line of French communications with the colonies.

And still the socialist Premier of France, backed up by a powerful socialist movement, by a huge trade-union organization, by the liberal public opinion,—wavers, hedges about, fritters away the most valuable time in consultations, conferences, while the triumphant hordes of Germany and Italy sweep on. Premier Negrin—shriek the semi-fascist telegraphic agencies—was rebuffed.

What is the cause of this suicidal irresolution, of the rankest betrayal of international solidarity?

Months ago we were told that England was back of it, that England kept the French government from a more resolute policy in regard to Spain. But the British policy of buying off the Nazi-fascist bloc by concessions collapsed in the most shameful manner. No one with the least grain of intelligence can see any justification for this policy even from the narrow, selfish point of view of national interests. "Concessions" such as the swallowing up of Central Europe and the conquest of Spain by Hitler and Mussolini will reduce France to a third rate power, to a dependency, will hamstring it even more effectively than the loss of colonies or provinces.

Whatever aims British foreign diplomacy is pursuing, they are not so subtle as to keep spell-bound the statesmen of the French Popular Front after the dismal failures of the last few weeks. Leon Blum is not the prisoner of British diplomacy; he is the prisoner of his past, the prisoner of the accumulated traditions of the Second International which substitutes parliamentary activity for vigorous action along the lines of direct

EMMA GOLDMAN ON SPAIN

*A Record of Direct Observations and Impressions
of The "Most Heroic Country in The World"*

I have been back in England for some time, but it has been impossible to settle down to writing an account of my findings and impressions on my second visit to Spain. I am sure that the comrades everywhere will want to know what is happening in the most heroic country in the world to-day, and I want to try to give what I myself have seen and have experienced.

1936-1937.

Always I shall remember the deep impression made on me on my first visit when I arrived at Port Bou, the French-Spanish border, late on the 17th of September, 1936. I presented my British passport which was scorned by the border guards. I then took out my C.N.T.-F.A.I. credentials, and the stern faces lit up with enthusiasm and friendliness. I was led off by these comrades to the headquarters of the C.N.T.-F.A.I.

and received as much affection and solidarity as if they had known me all their lives. The same attitude I met everywhere in my extensive travels while I was in Spain in 1936. I soon convinced myself that the generous hospitality extended to me was no exception. Everyone who came to Spain at that time who could show that his sympathies were with the anti-fascist struggle and that he was interested in the great revolutionary constructive work, was

greeted as a comrade and given every opportunity to gather material at first hand.

All this was changed after the May events in 1937. The events in that month were really the motive for my return to Spain. The various rumors afloat in England of what had happened during the early May days and the attempt by the C.P. to annihilate the revolutionary achievements of our comrades of the C.N.T.-F.A.I., determined me to go back to Spain.

The comrades of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. thought it unwise for me to re-enter Spain by way of Port Bou. The friendly border guards of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. had been replaced by their Communist allies and the police, and they made it difficult—even well-nigh impossible—for anyone known

(Continued on page three)

SPANISH UNIONS SIGN MUTUAL PACT

Tucked away among the disquieting news of the fascist advance on the Aragon front, there appeared the brief report of a formal agreement concluded between the two great unions of Spain—the anarcho-syndicalist C.N.T. and the socialist-communist U.G.T.

The news is of much greater importance than the space allocated to it in the daily dispatches from Spain would lead us to believe. It really amounts to a new significant turn in the inner policies of revolutionary Spain. And while the exact terms of the agreement are not known yet, we can state, on the basis of the proposals and counter-proposals advanced by both organizations, that it promises to be

alleed have much more powerful means of impressing upon their die-hard government their sympathies with the Spanish working class than the fatuous interpellations of the parliamentary leaders of the Labor Party. A wave of strikes, direct action along revolutionary lines would have deprived Mr. Chamberlain of the freedom of action in the international field which he has been enjoying in order to betray the democracies of the world.

Revolutionary Spain can be saved. It can be saved by the vigorous action of the international proletariat which must once for all realize that occasional gifts, money collections and Red Cross activities of any kind count very little in the epic struggle now assuming international proportions.

Arms for Spain—this slogan must become the rallying cry of every labor organization throughout the world. Every means at the disposal of those organizations should be used in order to enforce this demand: from mass meetings, demonstrations to general strikes embracing vital industries.

It was those methods that in the past insured the most essential victory for the working class and it will be the same method of direct action that will force the official democracies of the world to fulfill their elementary duty toward the Spanish struggle for liberty.

beginning of the end of the fustious and half-hearted attempts to restore the old capitalist economy persistently made by the Negrin government ever since it came into power

C.N.T. Conference

A Turning Point

The pact was preceded by a long period of negotiations, newspaper discussions and programmatic declarations. And all that started immediately after the grand conference of the C.N.T. unions held in the month of January with the view of laying down the basic lines of the new economy.

The impression produced by this conference representing close to two millions of workers in the key industries and agricultural collectives was tremendous. In face of the challenge held out by the very fact of a realistic economic program of revolutionary reconstruction being discussed and adopted at this conference, it became difficult to hide any longer under the shady and suspicious formula, "let us win the war first and then we shall see."

(Continued on page four)

Read the "Spanish Revolution"

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

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SPANISH REVOLUTION

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EMMA GOLDMAN ON SPAIN

(Continued from page one)
as an Anarchist to pass the frontier. Besides that, the comrades also feared the possible danger to me who am known by the Communists as their "arch" enemy. The C.N.T. arranged for me to fly from Barcelona.

The Unconquerable Will to Fight

On my arrival in Barcelona I proceeded to the Via Durruti without anybody being the wiser who I was or about my quest. There I met all my dear comrades with whom I had been associated on my first visit for three months. They were all very happy to see me, and of course I delighted in seeing them again still safe, still imbued with their fire of conquering Fascism and building a new social world.

On the 16th of September, 1937, I had my first experience of the horrors of bombardment. On that day Franco sent down German and Italian bombs which resulted in the mutilation and death of many children and adults and the wounding of a large part of the population of a suburb called Barcelonnette. The day of my reunion with the comrades was therefore sad and painful owing to the dreadful sacrifice of mostly women and innocent children.

The same night we went by auto to Valencia. Comrade Augustina Souchy was my escort. Among the many things I found was the lack of petrol and the lack of care, the Government having commandeered both for the needs of the war. As a result we travelled thirteen hours from Barcelona to Valencia, a journey which ordinarily should not have taken more than six hours.

Reconstruction Work Goes On

Among the most interesting institutions in Valencia was the Agricultural Department which we visited for several days in succession. The change in that department from a year before was extraordinary. In 1936 it was impossible to get any definite idea of the workings of the collective farms, not to speak of any statistics. Everything was in its beginning. Nothing worked regularly or with any efficiency. This time I found the institution in perfect order with dozens of departments for every phase of agriculture. In one year the scientists and specialists who joined the work of agriculture of

the C.N.T. had achieved great experimental results, such as the method of getting the utmost value out of rice, the preserving of dried tomatoes which can be kept for years without injury, and need but to be put into hot water to regain their natural size and flavour. These and over so many other experiments have been carried on within the framework of the established Agricultural Institute in Valencia. I came to know that similar institutions had been built in Madrid and in Barcelona. I will speak of them later.

What Workers Can Do

In addition to the fascinating work our comrades were doing in the agricultural department in Valencia, we also had a chance to see the effect of the resourcefulness of C.N.T.-F.A.I. members in the textile industry. An old monastery was turned into a modern workshop, employing large numbers of men, women and girls on the basis of mutual aid and co-operation. A group of unemployed workers of the same trade had undertaken the task of creating this new collective. It was all done by voluntary agreement, without one single worker having been coerced into it. While the venture had not yet reached perfection, the workers connected with it knew exactly what they wanted, and were pressing ahead in spite of all obstacles and the imminent danger from bombardments. This collective factory was not merely for the production of things, but planned as a place for the physical and cultural life of those co-operating in the scheme. A dining-room was in the midst of building, a dispensary, a lecture hall and reading room and ever so many other plans were already under way. We found a radio installed with connections to the shops where, while the women and girls were working, they could listen to the news, to good music or to their own moving song called "The Son of the People", altogether a very remarkable undertaking by the workers themselves as a demonstration of what they will be able to do once Fascism is crushed and the road made free to the realization of the Revolution.

C.N.T. Fighters In The Army

The same day we had a long

interview with Comrade Avellano Entralgo of the Council of Defence. We learned that the number of fighters in the Popular Army who belong to the C.N.T. amount to 35 per cent. of its total strength. A distinction must be made between the brigades entirely composed of members of our organization and the mixed brigades. We have 100,000 men in our own brigades and 250,000 who are serving in the mixed brigades. From the military schools more than 5,000 officers have been trained who belong to the movement, the said schools also belonging to the C.N.T. The latter brigade also has C.N.T. members in its ranks. From these figures the reader will be better able to appreciate the outrageous charges of cowardice against our comrades made by the wretched capitalist and communist press.

Last, but not least, I had occasion to talk to comrades of the F.A.I., young militia boys who were in the Military Training College. They told me much of the attempt on the part of the Communist allies of the anti-Fascist front to impose their dictatorship on them. The C.N.T.-F.A.I. Press was forbidden in the training school, but after a hard struggle and many threats of strikes, our young military students succeeded in establishing their right to be themselves and to read whatever publications appealed to them most.

Anti-Militarists At Heart

I was particularly anxious to know the reaction of these young comrades to militarization. They were of course opposed to it, but explained that, Spain being attacked not only by the Fascists but also by the imperialist countries calling themselves democracies, they felt that the voluntary militia were neither numerous enough nor sufficiently trained and equipped to offer successful fight against that formidable international array against anti-Fascism. These young people assured me that our comrades at the front have in no way changed through militarization and that they were determined to gain whatever knowledge and experience they could, not merely to conquer Franco and his hordes, but for the purpose of defending their revolution.

**MORE THAN EVER
THE SPANISH WORKERS
NEED IMMEDIATE AID!**

tionary gains in the rear. It was very refreshing indeed, and encouraging, to see these young comrades, their enthusiasm and their faith in the ultimate triumph of their ideal.

The Miracle of Madrid

We left Valencia in the afternoon for Madrid, but had to go very slowly and carefully owing to the fact that one road leading to the Fascist front, the other to Madrid, were so intertwined that we might just as well have made the wrong turn and paid an unexpected visit to Franco's Go-men and Italian friends. It does not require much imagination to know just the kind of reception we would have been given. We were lucky in having a comrade, a first-rate chauffeur, who brought us safely to Madrid and to the hospitable quarters of the National Confederation of Labour. The comrades there received us kindly and insisted that we must stop with them during our stay in their city.

The following day we went to visit Comrade Val, the Secretary of the Centre Committee of Regional Defences, one of the live wires among the active comrades in Spain. He at once offered to take us all through Madrid to let us see the havoc left by constant bombardment from Fascist planes. No one who has not seen the terrific destruction wrought by the constant bombardment can possibly realize the fortitude of the Madrid people who have withstood the frightfulness of Franco for eighteen months.

I have described my impressions before, which appeared in nearly our entire press, so I will not repeat the story. I can only say that never in my wildest fancy did I imagine such a miracle possible as the one that met me in Madrid at every step.

Slanders and Reality

I learned the amazing fact that the C.N.T.-F.A.I. have 56,000 men at the Madrid front; besides the large numbers in the mixed divisions. The Capitalistic and Marxist Press have fed the world on lies and misrepresentations of the C.N.T. and F.A.I. They have dared to charge them with running away from the front. The correspondent of the New York "Nation," Mr. Louis Fisher, stands out as the most dishonest of his pro-

of the C.N.T. union of theatrical workers. It was escorted by a strong body of police, and once in possession of the headquarters, it behaved as if it conquered the place. At the same time all the theatres, movie houses and other amusement places were occupied by the police upon orders from the "communist" Minister of Economy.

"The answer of the workers to this provocation was immediate. On the same evening all the performers were stopped, and an energetic protest made to the Catalan government, which, incidentally, was not apprized by Comorera of his move.

Government Backs Down

"The conflict threatened to assume serious proportions, the great mass of Barcelona workers having been aroused to a high pitch of

emotion, for it was he who wrote in the New York "Nation" last year that on the 6th and 16th of November, 1936, the Anarchists took flight and ran away from the Madrid front." This was the more reprehensible because he must have known that Buenaventura Durruti was then still alive and in charge of the column which stood its ground in repelling the first attack of Franco and his hordes. But that is beside the point. It is impossible to meet all the malignity sent out to the world by the vicious war correspondents. We have more important work to do.

Peasant Collectives in the Central Province

Our next attention was devoted to the Centre Federation of Passadota. It is housed in the private palace of a Count and is serving a much better purpose than when he was in possession. We collected a tremendous amount of data which Comrade A. I. is adding to his already monumental material on collectivization to form a book. I can only give a brief outline of the information given us by the Secretary of the Federation.

We learned that 700 syndicates and 300 collectives are affiliated with this Federation. The membership of the Federation is 100,000. In view of the fact that the Federation had begun its work only a short time ago, it was amazing to see the amount already achieved. Thus the Federation has departments of statistics, propaganda, interchange and sections dealing with oil, wine and all other kinds of provisions. We were taken into the scientific laboratory which, though not yet completed, already gave promise of an important and unique institution. The main stress laid there is on chemical and agricultural experiments and analyses. It is done with a view to improving and increasing the quality and quantity of output. In connection with this an experimental school for agricultural engineers was organized. The turnover from the 15th of July to the 15th of August, 1937, amounted to 11 million pesetas. This sum we were assured does not represent the full economic strength of the Federation because the local and territorial federations interchange among themselves and turn over to the Federation only the surplus of their products.

The Federation consists of two sections, labourers and small landowners. The syndicates are very hospitable to the owners because they feel that eventually they will realize the superior method of working the land in the collective way than by individual drudgery. So much more could have been gathered from the interesting account of the Secretary, had we but the time to remain long and make a thorough study of every detail of the ramifications represented by the Centre Federation of Peasants.

(To Be Continued in next issue of "Spanish Revolution")

by the police, ordered the release of the previously arrested union committee and the evacuation of the theatres by the police. At the same time a committee was formed to settle the conflict. It was made up of representatives of the C.N.T., U.G.T. and the Catalan government.

WORKERS THWART TOTALITARIAN ATTEMPT

Theatre and movies are viewed by every totalitarian government as important tools of propaganda. Hence the rigid program of "coordination" pursued by them in regard to this form of cultural activity.

In loyalist Spain the totalitarian elements within the government manifested the same tendency toward silencing the theatre as an

organ of free cultural expression. But since theatres belong to the unions, most of whom are affiliated with the anarcho-sindicalist C.N.T., the struggle for totalitarianism took the form of attacks against union management in the name of "supreme interests of the state."

The reactionary, war-fascist nature of this struggle and the effective resistance shown by the work-

ers who fully realize its larger social implications, was fully brought out in the recent conflict deliberately brought about by the communist Councillor of Economy, Juan Comorera, and thwarted by the vigorous action of the Barcelona workers.

We quote the following from the German Bulletin of the C.N.T.-F.A.I.

A Fascist Decree

Catalonian Stalinists) issued a decree placing all the collectivized of the union controlling those socialized enterprises was affiliated

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

Emma Goldman Greets Vanguard Group / Emma Goldman. — p. 10 ; 29 cm. In Vanguard [New York]. — (April 1938).

Obtained from Shields Library, the University of California, Davis. Institutional Location: Department of Special Collections.

It is the Church that educates and tells the people how they may vote. It is the Church which sanctions the open, French Nationalist, anti-English, anti-Jewish, propaganda of Adrian Arcand, leader of the Quebec Fascists, only a left wing minority in the government, however, and without anything like the public support that rumor says. It is the Church that says to Duplessis, "Pass a Padlock Law." Duplessis, Adrian Arcand, and Cardinal Villeneuve are close friends and co-operators, but the Cardinal is "God the father" in this trinity.

And why has the Church been condoning the Fascist talk and action? There are a number of reasons.

Firstly, because labour intimidation and repression are always on the order of the day in Quebec. Secondly, because nationalist legislation and talk of separatism for French Canadians strengthens the bargaining position of Quebec in federal affairs. Quebec needs to bargain because big finance, behind the federal government, is more a power over than a power in Quebec. The Church probably owns half the real estate in the province, but the railways, commercial institutions, banks and factories are predominantly under the control of English speaking and not French Canadian citizens. Thirdly, the Roman Catholic Church, in its press and on its radio programs, shows a violent emotional disturbance over events in Spain. The church sees red not because there is much red in Quebec to see but because there has been in Spain.

Moreover, the Padlock Law can be used not only against "Reds" but against anything not Catholic or French Canadian. The law forbids the propaganda of anything the authorities might consider as Communism. Duplessis has said that a definition of Communism was deliberately omitted from the Act "because Communism can be felt."

Enough has been said to show that Roman Catholicism is behind events in Quebec. Outside of the province Catholic pressure on Canadian governments is also marked. The Federal Radio Commission, for instance, lets them boss the Canadian radio. Father Lamplier, the Father Coughlin of Toronto, is given broadcasting facilities to support Franco, Mussolini, the bombing of Guernica and everything reactionary, but the Protestant Rev. Mr. Zeidman is barred from using the radio for political talks of the most mildly democratic kind. In return for the vote it controls the Catholic Church demands big payment from the politicians it seats, which the rest of the population divided in all directions, religious and otherwise, cannot do. Nearly half the population of Canada is Catholic. Catholics multiply rapidly so that a Catholic majority is not far off. Catholic influence is the most likely rallying force for Fascism in Canada. What are the forces for opposition to Fascism or for that matter Capitalism in any form?

In the parliamentary arena are the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation and the Communist Party avowing a socialistic objective. The C.C.F. has three or four members in the Federal parliament, an odd member or two in several provinces, and, together with the Socialists, a larger sprinkling in British Columbia. The Communists have one member in the Manitoba Provincial Parliament and an odd representative in the municipal field, including two Aldermen in the City of Toronto. If parliaments are any barometer of how people think, it must be admitted that the combined C.C.F. and Communist voting strength hardly constitute the Communist menace that Hepburn and Duplessis fear so much. Nor can it be said that the menace is represented by the fact that, in the prairie province of Alberta, the electors put into office a government dedicated to a plan to distribute purchasing power by means of a futile Social Credit scheme. Perhaps the menace is to be found in the economic organizations of the workers. What is their strength?

An examination of statistics will show that Canada is not strong in trade union organization. In spite of the recent wave of organization which sent new sections of Canadian labour into the C.I.O., there still remain, in vital industries, large sections of workers unorganized. As for the organized, it is to be

remembered that organization is under bureaucratic strangle holds of four different kinds: the parochial national unions, the most conservative of A. F. of L. unions, C.I.O. unions, and in Quebec, Catholic Unions (with one or two exceptions, notably that of the dress makers in Montreal organized in the International.) The forms of organization named hardly represent labour organization at its best, and yet the picture is not entirely black. There are parts of Canada known for working class militancy. The miners, from Nova Scotia to British Columbia, have had struggles in which blood has flowed. Winnipeg had its One Big Union and a general strike in 1919. During the recent wave of strikes, Canadian workers showed that they are capable of spontaneous action. Even French textile workers, under the yoke of the Catholic Unions, acted independently in one or two cases, and, in at least one town in Quebec, went as far as to stone their leaders and set fire to their own union headquarters. But these incidents still leave the country a long way from communism in the best sense of the word.

JAPANESE ANARCHISTS OPPOSE WAR

We quote excerpts from a letter written by some of our Japanese comrades to their comrades in China. The simple outline of their revolutionary anti-war activities in the face of the severest repression is an eloquent testimonial of the kind of working-class solidarity that alone can halt the activities of the imperialists' bondits. For obvious reasons we quote only part of the letter.

Comrades:

Since the war broke out, more than three hundred of our comrades, Japanese and Koreans, affiliated with the "Black Youth" and "Anarcho-Syndicalist Federation" were arrested in Tokyo, Osaka, Yokohama, and other cities, on the ground that they translated and printed the publications of the I.A.M.B., and distributed them all at the above mentioned cities.

In Tokyo, our comrades of the Printing Syndicate were very active. Some of them refused to serve in the army and the others were doing work among the soldiers. And now, we don't hear anything from them; we are most certain that they were murdered by the militarists. However, we know that our organizations in the capital of Korea are very active.

Although the war broke up our communication of information it can not, and absolutely will not cut off the real solidarity of the anti-militarists and the anti-capitalists in our two countries.

(signed) K. B.

Emma Goldman Greets Vanguard Group

For some time now we have been planning to have a page in "Vanguard" for correspondence but we are always cramped for space. In this issue we have even had to omit important notices and news of the movement. However, we feel that our readers would be especially interested in reading what our valiant comrade Emma Goldman has to say about our work. The following is a brief excerpt from her letter.

London, March 4th, 1938.

Dear Comrades of the Vanguard Group:

While I have not written you for a long time, I have not lost interest in your work, especially in your splendid publication. I have enjoyed every number. Often I wanted to write to tell you how very highly I consider the little magazine and its forceful tone . . . I am keenly interested in everything going on in my erstwhile country and field of activities.

With affectionate greetings to all of you, Salud,

EMMA GOLDMAN.

The Emma Goldman Papers

Revolutionary Economy: the Community of Hospitalet / Emma Goldman. — pp. 3-4 ; 29 cm. In Spain and the World.[London] — (May 1, 1938).
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and efficiency Russia, like Germany and Italy, chose efficiency.
Our own Empire and Dominions, along with the United States and France, still cling to the old-fashioned idea of Govern-

ious oppression of Capitalism and the shameless hypnotism of Fascism, but against any kind of Dictatorship, even the kind in which Russian Communism has resulted.

Revolutionary Economy

THE COLLECTIVITY OF HOSPITALET

THIS TOWN in normal times had a population of 35,000, but to-day holds double that number on account of the many refugees. The whole town is collectivised. The municipal area is of 3,000 "mujades" (one "mujade" equals about five acres), and all the cultivated land is mainly dedicated to growing vegetable. The tillage has increased one-third as compared with last year.
"How was Collectivisation begun? After the 19th of July many labourers found themselves without work. On the other hand the land was divided into big farms which the workers were unable to develop through lack of financial resources. The Syndicate of the C.N.T. called a meeting of farmers and labourers and proposed the collectivisation of the whole land in the Municipality. This was unanimously accepted and to-day the old owners work in the Collective, some as simple labourers and some as technical advisers, but both labourers and advisers draw the same pay.

"One thousand heads of families are members of the Agrarian Syndicate and of these 50 belong to the U.G.T. and the rest to the C.N.T. The wages are 48 pesetas for women and 48 pesetas for youths. The land is divided into 42 zones and in each zone there is a delegate to advise on technical matters. The majority of these delegates were the former proprietors and they meet every 15 days. One of the duties entrusted to them is the allotment of the necessary seed for sowing. The rate of pay is fixed by an assembly of affiliated members.

"The Collective of the peasants of Hospitalet has had to struggle against many difficulties, the principal one being the lack of funds with which to commence their activities. The granting of a credit was asked from the Generalidad and it was refused. The Syndicate issues every three months a statement of accounts which is printed and distributed among the affiliated members. During the first few months the turnover was 1,000,000 pesetas and in the months of June, July and August, 1937, had reached the figure of 4,000,000 pesetas. Cash in hand at the end of August amounted to about 89,000 pesetas.

"What is done with the surplus

cash? It is loaned to other Collectives who are not so economically independent. 50,000 pesetas have been advanced to the Council of Economy and 15,000 pesetas to the Builders Syndicate.

"Collectivisation in Hospitalet has met with ready response. Not only the old labourers but also the former proprietors are very pleased with the new order of things. Hospitalet has an Economic Council for all the Collectives in the town. This Council, together with the Municipal Council, forms a new type of Corporation based on federal and communal socialism. It is well to mention that the immense majority of the citizens belong to the C.N.T.; there are very few affiliated to the U.G.T. and the C.P. hardly exists.

"There are three agrarian organisations in Catalonia: the Union of Rabassalres; the Peasants Syndicates of the C.N.T.; and the Union of Workers (Peasants Section of the U.G.T. Collectivisation is only favoured by the C.N.T. The Union of Rabassalres and the U.G.T. are against it and in favour of Co-operatives based on small proprietors.

"The Agrarian Commission of the Council is enacting a sort of statute designed to legalise the collectivisation, including the land that was taken by seizure. Whether this will ultimately be done remains to be seen. The position at the present time is that no act has so far been passed in Catalonia giving legality to the seized lands and Collectivisations. The minority represented by the

Continued on page 4.



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John Cowper

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Spain. To-day, they are beginning an intervention in the greatest loan already prepared for conflagration. The hands are the demo- cratic France. They are the most despic-

no Fascist megolo- mitter, they have of their alliance by minced matters given him in arms their hiring to The hypocritical British and French Government, ori- n-intervention po- arty, and the old by the Popular ir love of peace, hands of Franco d the way for a than the last. In countries and the ondone Jndas in ne herolo Spanish atiable biblical 30 helping to crucify peasants; their her. Nothing less their imperialist

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"... they will rise in defence of their revolutionary gains, in defence of their libertarian ideal."

REVOLUTIONARY ECONOMY COLLECTIVITY OF HOSPITALET (continued from page 3)

C.N.T. put forward a scheme proposing the socialisation of the land, but it is not yet known if this has been accepted.

"In Hospitalet there is no question of seizure to be taken into consideration since all the landowners agreed on collectivisation. The Agrarian Council is in favour of the Agrarian Syndicate, composed of the three agricultural organisations, U.G.T., C.N.T. and Union de Rabassaires. In reality it has not much power, but at present it stands as the lawful organism of the Generalidad. The Collectives are of the opinion that the small landlords and the Co-operatives of the Union of Rabassaires should sell their produce intended for export to the Syndicate. The Syndicate has its Head Office in Barcelona, and according to the Generalidad should be the nerve-centre of Catalonia's agricultural life.

"All these organisations, commissions, functions, etc., which at the present time form the new life in rural Catalonia cannot be said as yet to be working towards a definite goal, and it is to be hoped that the idea of collectivisation will triumph in the end against the doctrine of self-interest that characterised the old social order."

EMMA GOLDMAN.

Published by Thos. H. Keell, Whitewy Colony, nr. Stroud, Gloucester, on April 30th, 1938, and printed by The Narod Press (T.U.), 129-131, Bedford Street, London, E.1

and in whom a petrol embargo would result in the loss of their usual clients as well as the risk of a grave economic crisis. To which we answer that if peace must be bought, we have the right to expect that one pays it as dearly, if needs be dearer, than what is being spent by governments at the present moment in war preparations and for the buying of military alliances, armaments and foreign armies. And to begin with, France might have bought the refusal of Rumanian petrol to Italy (who used it to murder the Spanish people) with the sums (unknown to the people who pay) which she has consecrated to the buying of fresh Rumanian wheat for the next "last war."

The objections raised concerning the real effectiveness of an embargo on petrol must be examined more attentively. There are two: that of the stocks of petrol possessed by those states threatened by the embargo, and that of the industries of replacement. The first argument does not appear at all dangerous, if one just considers that to make stocks of petrol requires enormous tanks of a special kind, which would require years, perhaps, to construct in sufficient numbers, especially so if one considers the enormous quantity of

for war purposes, and the privation of which will not condemn the population of the country to conditions of famine but only, and rapidly, will end conscription and allow them to return to their firesides. That is why we regret that the Communist Party, in answer to the question on Petrol put to the popular gathering by the Socialist Party, should have avoided the issue in place of the Pact of the League of Nations and also that the Executive of the International should have avoided the same issue by comprising it with the boycott of products exported by Japan, and other "economic sanctions" likely to ruin and starve a people with the result that the prestige of its military caste is strengthened...

It is in the Popular Embargo that we pin our faith, on the direct action of the working masses! And when they will have, by their own means, halted the bellicose forces of Fascism which menace them at close quarters, they will soon understand that one must go farther afield, and that it is their own "democratic and pacific" States, their own armies, their own military men that they must disarm and render harmless by the same purely proletarian methods of action... Thus conceived, the campaign for the embargo of raw materials for warfare, can become one of the strongest levers for a Revolution which will not be born in, by and — alas! — for war but, for the first time, would destroy, along with capitalism, war and militarism as well.

We thus bring a double technique for economic struggle, negative by refusing Governments the means to kill, positive by offering all peoples means to live. This dual method will demand the suppression of all the large profits of our own capitalisms.

Our pacific "realism" will have utilised the very notions imposed on the workers in free countries by the neo-nationalist brain cramming (collective security, defence of democracies, etc.) and will have led them, through their own experience, to understand the trickery of a National Defence against an "enemy" armed by them themselves. And once they will have understood this, the Revolution — the true one, the one which abolishes wars — will no longer be "for tomorrow."

Helene Modiano.

(Translated from "Essais et Combats")

Supplies of our NO-WAR issue can be obtained at the special rates of 9d. per dozen or 100 copies 5s.9d. post free.

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Black Spectre of War / Emma Goldman. — p. 4 ; 29 cm. *In Spain and the World* [London]. — (May 1938).

Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

4

SPAIN AND THE WORLD, SUPPLEMENT, MAY

The Black Spectre of War

By EMMA GOLDMAN

AGAIN the European sky is black and sinister with impending war. The powers that breathe war and their allies who grow rich on the implements of death and destruction are again competing with each other. The cry for armaments, more deadly machines, more devastating explosives, greater man-power, a mightier navy, again rent the air. The shibboleths used in the last world conflagration to deceive the masses are again to serve the war-mongers of the day in their conspiracy to lead the masses to slaughter. "The War to end War," "the war for Democracy." What a lying face was hidden under the hideous mask of democracy.

We who had fought the Great war had never for a moment been deceived in the din and tinsel that loudly proclaimed the alluring motives stressed by the war apologists. We knew too well that the aftermath of the war may prove more terrible than the ghastly thing itself, yet even we did not imagine the monstrosities that will arise out of the four years horrors.

Yet here we are in the throes of Fascism and National Socialism. The most frightful world menace came quick enough on the heels of the war. Gaunt and hideous it has infested a large part of Europe, devastating all social and human values, and savagely exterminating those in their way.

Fascism and National Socialism and all the frightfulness they imply are the direct legacy of the last war. Their thirst for blood, their will to murder their sadistic trend to the vilest deeds have found their innings in the world carnage. And so have their dupes whom the trenches and the battlefield have twisted out of human semblance. Brutalized and degraded they have been caught in the blood-drunk obscene orgy of Fascism and National Socialism. For in these ranks alone, millions of war derelicts are finding an outlet for their accumulated hatred and vengeance for the forces that had driven them to the battlefield.

To be sure there is a danger of greater awareness to the malignant growth all wars for conquest and loot have brought in their wake.

But their clamour for peace is only bringing nearer and nearer the black spectre of war which will again engulf the world in a new sea of blood and tears.

One of these perfectly senseless ideas of peace entertained by many well-meaning people outside the charlatans at the helm of the State is non-intervention in Spain. To-day, even the most weak mentally are beginning to grasp the fact that non-intervention in

power and wealth will satisfy these pseudo-democrats. It is for this and this alone that Spain is permitted to bleed to death, and the rest of the world brought closer to the nightmare of another world holocaust.

However the end of Spain is not yet. Those who now glibly insist that the anti-fascist forces have lost simply do not know the Spanish people. They do not have the slightest inkling of their fortitude, their courage, their utter fearlessness of death. Moreover they do not know the personnel of the National Confederation of Labour (C.N.T.) and the Anarchist Federation of Iberia (F.A.I.). These men and women were not only the first in the whole world to rise against the military and fascist conspiracy on July 19th, 1936, they were also the first in any revolutionary period to begin a magnificent constructive work. In defence of this grandiose achievement and because liberty to them is the most dominant driving force, the C.N.T.-F.A.I. will make no peace with Fascism. Their flaming faith, their burning enthusiasm and their iron determination to fight to the last man permeates every letter that comes to us from Spain. Such a people cannot possibly be conquered. No matter the outcome of the unequal battle now reaching the most crucial period it will not crush the Spanish masses.

Again and again they will rise in defence of their revolutionary gains, in defence of their libertarian ideal.

If only the workers of the world on this First of May — Labour's demonstration of strength, would come to the rescue of their Spanish brothers. Not by lip-service only, or by some small contributions. Nothing but direct action can check the march of Franco. Direct action in the form of a general strike, in a boycott of all materials sent to Franco will save anti-fascist Spain.

In thus giving real aid to the gallant Spanish workers and peasants, the International Proletariat could, if it but willed, kill two monsters with one stroke, check the growing menace of Fascism and pull the props from under the capitalist system, that is at the back of every war and is drawing ever nearer the black spectre of the next war.

Petrol

(Continued from page 3)

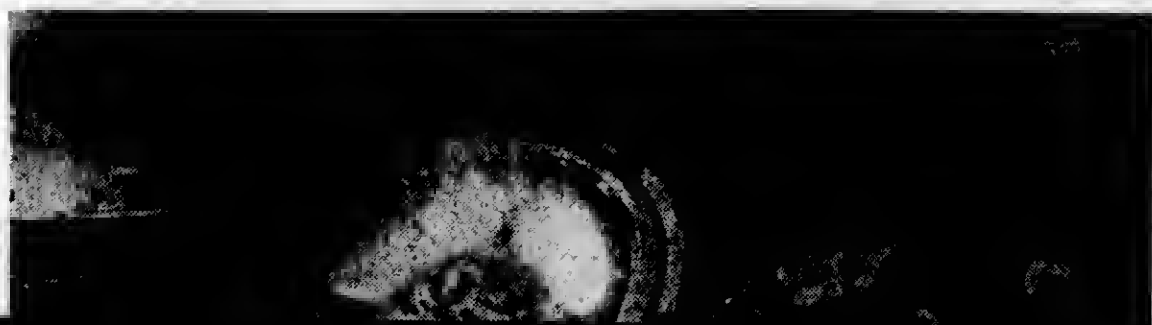
certain clients more power to form the quadruple pool (which is also ours) of "cracies" and of international trusts in one sense, and of national Defence trusts). If the necessities exist then we shall insist. It is quite true that a go its hands to the sky as to act against trusts. same government would very quickly too, an action, as soon as its pull of seeing rearmament in national defence accomplished regularly (before war rearmament not less in the eventual enemy all eclectic national industries know that there would whatsoever of lives as loss of benefits of trusts had

Let us remember that are already entirely or an example of the Syndicalism, and the Compagnie which the French Government per cent. of the shares in which the British Government

Lastly, let us remember onwards, and apart from armaments are not without trusts to whom they of export, the authority support without which starved in the present could exist, since it only clientele which constitute for the products of war.

In the same way we objections of juristic qualifications of commercial contracts, producers of petrol clients. Public opinion one single moment the considerations should take categorical command: "There is no contract with

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It can at least be said of the Fascist megolomaniacs, Mussolini and Hitler, they have openly and brazenly boasted of their alliance with Franco. Nor have they minced matters in the support they have given him in arms and men to better enable their hireling to crush the Spanish people. The hypocritical measures were left to the British and French democracies. The National Government, originally supported in the non-intervention policy by the British Labour Party, and the old Socialist Blum supported by the Popular Front, under cover of their love of peace, have worked right into the hands of Franco and incidentally have paved the way for a new war, more devastating than the last. In other words the democratic countries and the workers' "fatherland" have outdone Judas in their black treachery of the heroic Spanish people. No, not for the pitiable biblical 30 pieces of silver are they helping to crucify the Spanish workers and peasants; their stakes are higher, much higher. Nothing less than the rehabilitation of their imperialist

peace with Fascism. Their flaming faith, their burning enthusiasm and their iron determination to fight to the last man permeates every letter that comes to us from Spain. Such a people cannot possibly be conquered. No matter the outcome of the unequal battle now reaching the most crucial period it will not crush the Spanish masses.

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REVOLUTIONARY ECONOMY COLLECTIVITY OF HOSPITALET

(continued from page 3)

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SPAIN and the
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Emma Goldman Reports on Spain [Part 2] / Emma Goldman. — pp. 1, 3 ; 31 cm. In Spanish Revolution [New York]. — (May 1, 1938).

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of the power of a movement commanding the loyalty of the majority of Catalonian population.

The Spanish workers and peasants still have to pay heavily for the dribbles of arms and munitions, for the scanty protection on sea and in the air which they get occasionally. And since it is Soviet Russia which, according to the indirect information, has been rendering some sort of assistance, the popular will had to bend again in compliance with the wishes of an alien power.

A NEW SHIFT OF POWER

And yet, of late, the popular will has been reasserting itself to an ever greater extent. A shift in the realignment of political forces has taken place which has placed the C.N.T.-F.A.I. in a position closely resembling that of 1936. There is some ground to the newly raised panic now being worked up by the bourgeois press of Europe under the alarming slogan—"The F.A.I.

broke down during the last month of catastrophic reverses. It broke down not only because of the superior strength of the enemy but also because of the widespread treachery of its own elements. (Such is the report of the *New York Times* correspondent who writes of the sinister role of the officers and generals of the Popular Army in the defeats on the Aragon front.)

LIKE IN JULY, 1936

The government apparatus broke down, but, like in July 1936, the masses of workers and peasants jumped into the breach, saving the situation by their unexampled courage and heroism. Without this mass action, everything would have been lost, and that is why the government had to bow to necessity, go back upon its former policy of eliminating the C.N.T. and F.A.I. from leading positions and even recognize in principle the

(Continued on page two)

EMMA GOLDMAN REPORTS ON SPAIN

The following is the continuation of the report of the tour over Spain made by comrade Emma Goldman in the Fall of 1937.

Like the first half of this report ("Spanish Revolution," No. 11) the observations recorded here are of great value, even though they deal with realities as they were taking shape before the catastrophic developments of the last few months. For, regardless of the outcome of the present struggle, the achievements of our comrades in Spain are immortal in their own way, forming the pattern of a new social structure which will serve as an inspiration and guide for generations to come.

Revolutionary Films In The Making

We did not omit to pay a call to the young Spanish girls dancers—who could well compare with Argentine and other great dancers of the Syndicate of Spanish dancers, who are being paid Public Amusement. We were first phenomenal sums on the American unite in arriving just at the time of the manager, when he when they were shooting a film heard my name, rushed forward, called "Castilla se Libera" (Castile has freed itself) as his own and invited liberated itself. The three scenes that I met from the group of which were shown to us were splendid. As I was being filmed, I didly done from every point of view, was being surrounded by a more and are of great value in showing the colorful and intensely eager crowd to the outside world the constructive people. Not only that, but tive work carried on by the C.N.T. he would have a Madrid in F.A.I. in every part of anti-fascist a few words so that they can repro-

Spain. We were promised copies of it in sound. It was a very the film for England and the United States as well as other countries in Europe. My first experience as a movie star in my whole life I had at the studios of the Seena Espanola Americana. We arrived just at the time when a Spanish fair was being filmed, with all the artists present in their different regional costumes.

Among them were two most strikingly handsome young Spanish girls dancers—who could well compare with Argentine and other great dancers of the Syndicate of Spanish dancers, who are being paid Public Amusement. We were first phenomenal sums on the American unite in arriving just at the time of the manager, when he when they were shooting a film heard my name, rushed forward, called "Castilla se Libera" (Castile has freed itself) as his own and invited liberated itself. The three scenes that I met from the group of which were shown to us were splendid. As I was being filmed, I didly done from every point of view, was being surrounded by a more and are of great value in showing the colorful and intensely eager crowd to the outside world the constructive people. Not only that, but tive work carried on by the C.N.T. he would have a Madrid in F.A.I. in every part of anti-fascist a few words so that they can repro-

We learned that the leading artists in the collective—for it was a collective—receive the same salaries as before the 19th of July. The salaries

of the supporting caste, however, was increased. As far as one can get authentic answers in the presence of a manager, the artists all seemed satisfied with their lot. I do not mean to suggest that this manager was a fearsome person. He was but one with the others, mostly members of the C.N.T., who were in charge of the work from beginning to the very completion of the films they were making.

Anarchist Women At Work

Madrid is the birthplace of the *Mujeres Libres*. It was there that a group of university women with our comrade, Mercedes Compadre,

(Continued on page three)

in newspapers like "the New York Times," which claims neutrality in the civil war of Spain.

Journalists of repute are sent to fascist Spain where they interview in all earnestness the authors of the horrible crimes of Guernica and Barcelona.

What Kind of Revolution?

None of them be sufficiently see the kind of revolution" now (Continued on page four)

AVELINO GONZALES MALLADA

The news of the tragic death of Avelino Mallada, the former Mayor of Gijon and in the libertarian movement of Spain, who came to this country at the behest of the S.I.A. (International Antifascist Solidarity), came as a shock to all genuine friends of the Spanish Revolution.

It wasn't only the loss of this truly brave man, snatched away in the midst of the tremendous task of rallying the workers here in America, the S.I.A. and its activities, that stirred deep sympathy. He had made his own the cause of the Spanish Revolution, was the tragic irony of this accidental death, its sting to the sense of grief and bereavement come out unscathed through the terrific ordeal of the last agonizing months of the struggle—and then to lose one's life in an automobile accident thousands of miles away from the scene of this is, indeed, one of the ironic twists of fate often come as if to emphasize anew the magnitude of human endeavor against the backdrop of drives and heroic struggles such as are now in Spain.

Avelino Gonzales Mallada was born in Gijon, Spain, and it was in this important center of the movement that he received his first training in revolution. He joined the libertarian movement at a young age. During the World War, Mallada, then hardly old, worked actively in the antimilitarist and anarchist movement of France. His broad

(Continued on page four)

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SPANISH REVOLUTION

Page 3

EMMA GOLDMAN: REPORTS ON SPAIN

(Continued from page two)

began the publication of the magazine by that name, dedicated to the enlightenment and emancipation of the Spanish women. The paper has since been transferred to Barcelona, but some of the originators, together with a staff of young women, are continuing their work in Madrid; and a formidable work it is.

The *Mujeres Libres*, among other tasks, also busy themselves in visiting the wounded in hospital, inspecting the children's schools and the distribution of a tremendous amount of printed matter circulating among the civil population to acquaint them with the purpose and the importance of the anti-Fascist struggle. They have classes for children and adults which embrace all sorts of subjects, including a class for chauffeurs. The comrades told us with pride that several of them had already qualified and were holding driving licenses. In addition there is a class for languages.

Then there is the Prosperidad Group that has 90 members affiliated with the M. J. They comprise delegates from various local federations; among them the most active is Maria Teresa who is at the same time the principal of the school and all other efforts that are being made for the enlightenment and emancipation of Spanish women and for the care of children, especially those who have become orphans by the Christian grace of Franco. They are playing their great part in the task of raising the physical and mental standard of Spanish women, held in bondage for so many centuries, and especially in their devoted care of children. No more loving attention could one possibly give one's own child than these comrades of the *Mujeres Libres* are giving to the innocent victims of Franco. I was particularly moved by the children aged from two to ten years, who were crowded together in a room, turned into a cradle, and were hanging on every performance of Micky Mouse and fairy tales, sagas by Grimm and Anderson.

Libertarian Press

In Madrid

We also visited newspaper offices of "C.N.T." publications, the *Castile Libre* and *Frente Libertario*. All of these papers are housed and printed in one building. Great was my astonishment when I discovered that the Communist Party and the Socialists also had their papers printed in the same place. But then the Spanish people are full of contradictions. I am sure this could never happen in any other country, especially in the face of the open and invidious activities against our people by the C.P.

I was surprised to learn that our two papers had a circulation of 55,000 daily in Madrid alone and more than 100,000 in the rest of Castile, while *Frente Libertario* being printed in 100,000 copies, whereas the two publications of the C.P. in Madrid have only a circulation of 26,000. This goes to prove that in spite of all the efforts since the May events to undermine the position of the C.N.T.-F.A.I., the latter are morally as strong as ever.

Anarchist Youth

Of course one could not leave Madrid without paying a visit to the headquarters of the Libertarian Youth. In fact, before I had a

chance to go there, the comrades sent a delegation to ask Comrade A. I. and me to address them at a large meeting they were holding that same evening. Unfortunately my Spanish is still far from the mark—certainly far from speaking in public. I therefore spoke for a little while in English which Comrade A. I. interpreted for me. The youngsters, most of them still in their teens, were far older than the youth in Europe in their knowledge of revolutionary history, in their devotion to their ideal and in their complete consecration to the anti-Fascist struggle and to the Revolution. I appreciated more than their applause a set of their paper, "Revolution," which they dedicated to me and which was signed by many of these youthful comrades.

Besides all these impressions that had crowded in on me during my short stay in Madrid, I carried away with me the warm feeling of comradeship and solidarity given me by the comrades of the C.N.T. in their own living quarters. No finer or more generous hospitality have I enjoyed anywhere in my many travels during the many years of my activities in our ranks.

What the Collectives Can Do

On the 24th of September, 1937, we began our return trip to Valencia, visiting several collectives on the way. The largest and most important is in *Benicarlo*, about 40 kilos from Madrid along the road to Guadalajara. It has a population of only 1,500.

The collective is of the estate of the Count of Romanones. This Grande part very little attention to the cultivation of that rich and beautiful estate consisting of 720 acres and known far and wide by the name of *Miralcamp*. The main occupation of Count Romanones was race-horse breeding, for his own amusement. When the Revolution of the 19th of July broke out, this gentleman took to his heels, and the peasants took possession of the estate, which is now collectivized and employs 200 men.

The land through which the River *Manzanar* flows was flooded from time to time, gradually inundating the largest part of the land. Nevertheless the count never took steps to check the danger. This has been accomplished by the workers themselves since they turned the estate to the use of all. Two engineers from the technical syndicate in Madrid were sent down to direct the harnessing of the river by means of filling in the inundated part with small stones and caving them in nettings of wire. These houses had to be brought to the river bed by means of a wheelbarrow which meant no end of difficult and hard labor; but every one of the members kept at the task with willingness and devotion. Certainly the accomplished task demonstrated the constructive capacity of the workers and held out hope for a great regeneration of Spain once Fascism will have been driven out of the country.

The old overseer of *Miralcamp* remained with the comrades in the collective. He took as much pride in looking after the variety of flowers and perhaps more, than under his previous owner. He assured us that the work was much pleasanter because he had no master to drive him. He also assured us that the standard of life of the members

of the collective, as well as that of the town of *Azuquema*, had greatly improved.

According to the European standards 350 pesetas a month is not very high; they are, however, infinitely higher than they were before the 19th of July when the peasants were paid 3 and 4 pesetas a day during the season and permitted to starve for the rest of the year. In addition to the amount paid, fully 50 per cent of the members of the collective eat together in the collectivized kitchen, and pay 60 pesetas a month each. Children are given their food free.

Growth of a Collective

We had ample opportunity to verify this. We had left Madrid at an early hour without anything warm to drink. We were quite hungry when we arrived at the collective. We were generously invited to join the others in their morning repast which consisted of hot coffee, good baked bread and melons. I have never before had a chance to be so close to the toilers of the soil and to enjoy their unspoiled and uncorrupted fellowship at the same table. It was indeed a great treat.

Here, too, I found several people who could speak French. One of them was the father of the Secretary of the Collective, an old Anarchist who had lived a number of years in France. He constituted himself my guide and escort and explained everything in the minutest detail with great pride. Through him I learned that they work eight hours a day, that the richness of the soil had been increased, that before the 19th the crop yielded 400,000 pesetas; now they exceeded a million.

Publicity Is Necessary

The entire agricultural production of 1937 consisted of the following: 300 loads of melons, 250,000 kilos of potatoes, 120,000 kilos of barley, 175,000 kilos of wheat, part of it had been sent to the Centre Federation of Peasants in Madrid, part to the front and the surplus for the needs of the collective. Of the crop in 1938, 125,000 pesetas worth of produce was contributed free of charge to the needs of Madrid. The comrades also spoke of the increase in livestock and in the quality of it. Among others, one of the members from *Ganiz*, a peasant who formerly tilled his own lot of ground, had contributed 8 milking cows of the finest quality. The collective also has built its own bakery, rabbit hutches and chicken coops.

There are two syndicates in the town of *Azuquema*. One belongs to the U.G.T. The other belongs to the comrades of the C.N.T. But as the workers of the former did not go in for collectivization of their land, quite a number of them are working in the collective of the C.N.T. Of course, a school was organized, not only for the children of the members but for the members themselves, as many of them had remained in illiteracy and ignorance until the 19th of July.

The comrades wanted us to remain for a mid-day meal. They were both to see us go. They were so overjoyed by our visit, assuring us that rarely did people from outside Spain take the trouble to visit them and pay for themselves that the C.N.T.-F.A.I. were not only concentrating on winning the war but in building a new Spain. They wanted

C.N.T. REPRESENTATIVE IN THE GOVERNMENT

The new Minister of Education, comrade Segundo Blanco Martinez, is one of the outstanding militants of the C.N.T. organization.

He already distinguished himself in the insurrectionary movement of 1918, having belonged at that time to the Metal Workers Unions. He was put on the employer's blacklist as a result of his active participation in the movement. Compelled to leave his trade, he joined the Union of Construction Workers and thus became an excellent mason.

In 1926 Segundo Blanco held the position of General Secretary of the National Committee of the C.N.T. He was arrested and kept in prison for eighteen months on account of his active participation in the movement against Primo de Rivera's dictatorship.

Later, he became Secretary of the Regional Committee of Asturias and of the local Federation of the C.N.T. unions of Gijon. He was one of the active figures of the October revolt of 1934, having been condemned to death by the authorities after the suppression of this insurrection.

Segundo Blanco took a prominent part in the struggle against the military rebellion of 1936. From the very first moment he was President of the War Committee in Gijon, member of the provincial Council of Asturias and Leon, and, later, member of the Supreme Council of those two provinces, having taken part in the work of the War Committee in the capacity of Councilor of Industries.

Prior to assuming his duties as Minister of Education, Segundo Blanco was Secretary of the Defense section of the National Committee of C.N.T.

("Libertaire")

is to proclaim this in every country and to make known the truth of the situation so that it may counteract the libellous misrepresentation which they had heard appeared in capitalist papers in every country. I should have loved to remain at least another day, but as I have already said, cars were scarce in Spain, and we were admonished to return to Valencia as soon as possible.

Small Owners

Joining Voluntarily

We arrived in *Telmes* a town of 1,700 inhabitants, on the Madrid-Valencia road in the afternoon. At the Secretariat of the C.N.T. we were given the information we were seeking. We learned that until the 19th of July there was no organization of any kind, trade union or of a political nature in that town. Today the C.N.T. and the U.G.T. have their own local syndicates, but it was the C.N.T. members who organized a collective mainly composed of former small owners, numbering in all 435 members.

A tomato-canning factory had been turned over by its owner voluntarily. In the agreement with the collective he pledged himself not to demand the return of his machinery should he decide to leave the collective, and in his presence the titles to his property were destroyed. True his motive was not entirely selfless; the owner was head over heels in debt amounting to 15,000 pesetas which he could not hope to repay in many years to come. By entering the collective he was relieved of that responsibility. The debt was paid for him. Partly out of self-interest and partly out of gratitude he now works as ardently as he did when the plant belonged to him.

The owners of an olive oil and soap factory followed the good example of their colleague from the tomato plant. Thus two-thirds of the members of the collective are former small owners. The rest are laborers. They now own the lands, tools, implements and livestock in common. The collective covers an area of 140 acres. The soil yields wheat, potatoes, corn, beans, barley, tomatoes, sweet peppers and olives. They own 15 cows, 60 goats and 160 mules. The collective has instituted family wages, arranged as follows: a married man receives 8 pesetas a day; a single person 6 pesetas;

in addition married couples receive an adequate allowance in cash and 125 kilos of olive oil a year plus 40 kilos for each child. The houses are municipalized.

The syndicates have their secretariat which consists of a council of economy composed of three sections—agriculture, manufacture of agricultural products, industry and one section of statistics and accounting. The structure of the syndicate is that of an organization performing a double function, that of production and consumption. The collective which is affiliated with the syndicate has a school attended by 70 children; 2 teachers, also members of the collective, work on the same principle as all the other members. All the material for the school is supplied free of charge.

I had a touching experience in this collective which shows the quality of the Spanish people in its most hard-worked and formerly enslaved and exploited ranks. The dwelling of the former owner of the tomato factory, though consisting only of two rooms, was spotlessly clean and had a few pieces of decent-looking furniture. I wondered whether all the population in the town had similar "luxurious" living quarters. I was assured by a comrade that this is not the case. He would take me to a place where a family of five were living in two stone rooms cut out of the rock without windows, the air coming in during the day through the only opening, the door. It was really a cave, yet it was kept in the greatest order and with pathetic bits of crockery to give the place some colour and to make up for never-suspending sunshine.

I asked if I might wash my hands as they had become quite soiled and we were going to have a meal before departing on our way to Valencia. The wife, who could not be more than 35, but looked 50 from frequent child-bearing and everlasting toil, brought a clean white towel and the last remnant of a piece of toilet soap which she undoubtedly cherished very much. It was her homage to me as a foreign comrade who, she had been told, would write about their struggle and their new hope. I should not have felt more deeply moved and honored by any token given me by people of wealth.

Emma Goldman

London, March, 1938

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Trotsky Protests Too Much / Emma Goldman. — pp. 5-8 ; 29 cm. In Vanguard [New York]. — (July 1938).

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TROTSKY PROTESTS TOO MUCH

By EMMA GOLDMAN

I HAVE before me two numbers, February and April 1938, of the *New International*, Trotsky's official American magazine. They contain two articles purporting to be a refutation of the charges made against Trotsky in regard to Kronstadt. One article is by John G. Wright, a full blown Trotskyist, and the other by the Grand Mogul himself.

Let us deal first with the disciple and then proceed to the words of the master.

Mr. Wright claims that *The Kronstadt Rebellion* by Alexander Berkman "is merely a restatement of the alleged facts and interpretations of the S. R.'s with a few significant alterations"—(culled from "The Truth About Russia" in *Volnya Russia*, Prague, 1921). He further accuses Alexander Berkman of "brazenness, plagiarism, and making, as is his custom, a few insignificant alterations, and hiding the real source of what appears as his own appraisal."

I do not think that John G. Wright deliberately lies about Alexander Berkman. I suspect, rather, that he is simply densely ignorant.

Alexander Berkman had a life-long habit of keeping diaries. Even during the fourteen years purgatory he endured in the Western Penitentiary, Alexander Berkman managed to keep up his diary which he succeeded in sending out sub rosa to me. On the "Buford" which took us on our long perilous cruise of 28 days to Russia, my comrade continued his diary and he kept up this old habit through the 23 months of our stay in Russia.

The Kronstadt Rebellion, the *Bolshevik Myth*, and the *Anti-Climax* were the offspring of this day-to-day record in Russia.

It is stupid, therefore, to charge that Berkman's brochure about Kronstadt "is merely a restatement of the alleged facts . . ." from the S. R. works that appeared in Prague.

Wright also accuses Berkman of denying the existence of General Kozlovsky in Kronstadt.

The Kronstadt Rebellion, page 15, states, "There was indeed a former General Kozlovsky in Kronstadt. It was Trotsky who placed him there as an artillery specialist. He played no role whatever in the Kronstadt events." This statement was borne out by none other than Zinoviev who was then still at the zenith of his glory. At the Extraordinary Session of the Petrograd Soviet, called on March 4th, to decide the fate of Kronstadt, Zinoviev said, "Of course Kozlovsky is old but the White officers are back of him and are misleading the sailors."

Perhaps at this point we should allow the Kronstadt sailors to speak for themselves; something that Trotsky and all other Bolshevik apologists have never allowed

them to do. Below I reproduce a radio message sent to the workers of Russia by the Kronstadt sailors on March 6th, 1921:

The Kronstadt Sailors State Their Own Case

"Our cause is just: we stand for the power of Soviets, not parties. We stand for freely elected representatives of the laboring masses. The substitute Soviets manipulated by the Communist Party have always been dead to our needs and demands; the only reply we have ever received was shooting . . . Comrades! They not only deceive you: they deliberately pervert the truth and resort to most despicable defamation . . . In Kronstadt the whole power is exclusively in the hands of the revolutionary sailors, soldiers and workers—not with the counter-revolutionists led by some Kozlovsky, as the lying Moscow radio tries to make you believe . . . Do not delay, Comrades! Join us, get in touch with us: demand admission to Kronstadt for your delegates. Only they will tell you the whole truth and will expose the fiendish calumny about Finnish bread and Entente offers.

"Long live the revolutionary proletariat and the peasantry!"

"Long live the power of freely elected Soviets!"

I leave it with the reader to decide whether this is an appeal framed by a Tsarist general.

Wright further states that Victor Serge in a recent comment on Kronstadt "concedes that the Bolsheviks, once confronted with the mutiny, had no further recourse except to crush it."

Victor Serge is now safely away from the hospitable shores of the "workers fatherland." I, therefore, do not consider it a breach of faith when I say that if Victor Serge actually made such a statement, as Wright charges, he is merely not telling the truth. Victor Serge was one of the French Communist Section who was as much distressed and horrified over the impending butchery decided upon by Leon Trotsky to "shoot the sailors as pheasants" as were Alexander Berkman, myself, and many other revolutionists in Petrograd in 1921. He used to spend every free hour in our room running up and down, tearing his hair and clenching his fists in indignation, and repeating over and over, "something must be done to stop the frightful massacre." When he was asked why he, as a party member, does not raise his voice in protest in the Party session, his reply was that it would not help the sailors and would mark him for the Cheka and even silent disappearance. The only excuse for Victor Serge at the time was a young wife and a small baby. But for him to state now, after 17 years, that "the Bolsheviks, once confronted with the mutiny, had no other recourse except to crush it" is, to say the least, inexcusable. Victor Serge knows as well as I do that *there was no mutiny* in Kronstadt; that the sailors actually did not use their arms in any shape or

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form until the bombardment of Kronstadt began.

I, therefore, call upon Victor Serge, to speak the truth. That he was able to continue in Russia under the "comradely" regime of Lenin, Trotsky and other unfortunates who have recently been murdered, conscious of all the horrors that were going on, is his own affair, but I cannot keep silent in the face of his statement that the Bolsheviks were justified in crushing the sailors.

Leon Trotsky is surprised and indignant that anyone should dare to raise "a hue and cry over Kronstadt." It happened so long ago, and it was a mere "episode in the history of the relation between the proletarian city and the petty bourgeois village." Why should anyone want to make so much ado at this late date unless it is to "compromise the only genuine revolutionary current which has never repudiated its banner, has not compromised with its enemies, and which alone represents the future."

It does not occur to him that those whom he asks to come to his defense against Stalin have a right to ask what methods he used when he was in power, and how he dealt with those who did not subscribe to his dicta as gospel truth.

Where Are Trotsky's "Proofs"?

Apparently Trotsky's inflated ego will not allow him to admit that he is human and hence fallible. Like Stalin he prefers to call anathema on the heads of anyone who foolishly suggests that the great god Leon Trotsky has been, on occasion, in the wrong.

He jeers at the documentary evidence left by the Kronstadt sailors and the evidence of those who had been within sight and hearing of the dreadful siege of Kronstadt. He calls them "false labels" and assures his readers that *his* explanation of the Kronstadt rebellion could be "substantiated and illustrated by many facts and documents." Needless to say he does not present our "false labels" nor his true ones so that the reader might form his own opinion about them.

One might understand such a lack of decency in John G. Wright. He is, as I have already stated, merely quoting holy scripture. But for a world figure like Leon Trotsky to silence the evidence of the sailors seems to me indicative of a very small character. The Calvary he has endured during his years of exile, the tragic loss of those near and dear to him, have taught him nothing. Not a glimmer of human kindness or mellowness has affected Trotsky's rancorous spirit.

What a pity that the silence of the dead sometimes speaks louder than the living voice. In point of truth the voices strangled in Kronstadt have grown in volume these seventeen years. Is it for this reason, I wonder, that Leon Trotsky resents the sound?

In discrediting the motives which conditioned the Kronstadt "uprising", Leon Trotsky records the following: "From different fronts I sent dozens of telegrams about the mobilization of new 'reliable' detachments from the Petersburg workers and Baltic fleet sailors, but

already in 1918, and in any case, not later than 1919, the fronts began to complain that the new contingents of 'Konstadters' were unsatisfactory, exacting, undisciplined, unreliable in battle and doing more harm than good." He further charges that, "When conditions became very critical in hungry Petrograd the Political Bureau more than once discussed the possibility of securing an 'internal loan' from Kronstadt where a quantity of old provisions still remained, but the delegates of the Petrograd workers replied, 'You will never get anything from them by kindness; they speculate in cloth, coal and bread. At present in Kronstadt every kind of riff-raff has raised its head'."

How consistently Bolshevik that is; not only to slay one's opponents but also to besmirch their character. From Marx and Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, to Stalin, this method has ever been the same.

Now, I do not presume to argue what the Kronstadt sailors were in 1918 or 1919. I did not reach Russia until January, 1920. From that time on until Kronstadt was "liquidated" the sailors of the Baltic fleet were held up as glorious examples of valour and unflinching courage. Time and time again I was told not only by "Anarchists, Mensheviks, and Social Revolutionists," but by many Communists that the sailors were the very backbone of the Revolution. On the 1st of May 1920, during the celebration, and the other festivities organized for the first British Labour Mission, the splendid large contingent of Kronstadt sailors were pointed out as among the great heroes who had saved the Revolution from Kerensky and Petrograd from Yudenich. During the Anniversary of October, the sailors were again in the front ranks, and their re-enactment of the taking of the Winter Palace was wildly acclaimed by a packed mass.

Is it possible that all the leading members of the Communist Party, save Leon Trotsky, were unaware of the "corruption and the demoralization" of Kronstadt, claimed by him.

Nonsense!

Kronstadt Solidarity with Petrograd Workers

In point of actual fact, the sailors met their doom only because of their deep kinship and solidarity with the Petrograd workers whose power to endure cold and hunger had reached the breaking point in a series of strikes in February, 1921. Why have Leon Trotsky and his followers failed to mention this? Leon Trotsky knows perfectly well, even if his stooges do not, that the first scene of the Kronstadt drama was staged in Petrograd on February 24th, and played not by the sailors but by the strikers.

Alexander's Berkman's entry in his diary of this historic day reads:

"The Trubotchny millworkers have gone on strike. In the distribution of winter clothing, they complain, the Communists have received undue advantage over the non-partisans. The Government refuses to consider the grievances till the men return to work.

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"Crowds of strikers gathered in the street near the mills, and soldiers were sent to disperse them. They were *Kursanti*, Communist youths of the military academy. There was no violence.

"Now the strikers have been joined by men from the Admiralty shops and Galernaya docks. There is much resentment against the arrogant attitude of the Government. A street demonstration was attempted, but mounted troops suppressed it."

It was after the report of their Committee as to the real state of affairs among the workers of Petrograd that Kronstadt did in 1921 what it had done in 1917. They immediately made common cause with the workers. The role of the sailors in 1917 was hailed as the red pride and glory of the Revolution. Their identical acts in 1921 were denounced to the whole world as counter-revolutionary treason.

The cause of this "treason" was deeply rooted in the suffering of the Russian workers: the city proletariat, Leon Trotsky, not the "bourgeois" peasantry.

To disapprove this contention Trotsky argues that the Petrograd workers did not come to the aid of their Kronstadt comrades: "Hunger and cold reigned in the deserted capital, perhaps even more fiercely than in Moscow. . . . All were hungry and irritable. All were dissatisfied. In the factories there was dull discontent. Underground organizers sent by the S.R.'s and the White officers, tried to link the military uprising with the discontented workers. The Kronstadt papers wrote about barricades in Petrograd, about thousands being killed. The press of the whole world proclaimed the same thing. Actually the precise opposite occurred. The Kronstadt uprising did not attract the Petrograd workers. It repelled them. The stratification proceeded along class lines. The workers immediately felt that the Kronstadt mutineers stood on the opposite side of the barricades—and they supported the Soviet power. The political isolation of Kronstadt was the cause of its internal uncertainty and its military defeat."

The Suppression in Petrograd

Leon Trotsky carefully omits the most important reason for the seeming indifference of the workers of Petrograd and why they did not rush to the aid of the sailors. It is therefore necessary to point out the campaign of slander, vilification and calumny against the sailors that began on the 2nd of March, 1921. The Soviet press fairly oozed poison against the sailors. The most despicable charges were hurled against them, and this was kept up until they were "liquidated" on March 17th. In addition Petrograd was put under martial law. Factories were shut down and the workers thus robbed of holding counsel with each other.

In the diary of Alexander Berkman, I find the following:

"Many arrests are taking place. Groups of strikers surrounded by Chekists on their way to prison are a common sight. There is a great nervous tension in the city. Elaborate precautions have been taken to protect the Government in-

stitutions. Machine guns are placed in the Astoria, the living quarters of Zinoviev and other prominent Bolsheviks. . . . Many workers suspected of sympathizing with Kronstadt have been placed under arrest. All Petrograd sailors and part of the garrison thought to be 'unworthy' have been ordered to distant points, while the families of the Kronstadt sailors living in Petrograd are held as hostages."

Under these iron-clad rules it was physically impossible for the workers of Petrograd to ally themselves with Kronstadt, especially since not one word of the manifestos issued by the sailors in their paper was permitted to penetrate to the workers in Petrograd. In other words Leon Trotsky deliberately falsifies the facts.

Much is made by both Wright and Trotsky of the fact that the sailors, who, as we insist did not premeditate the rebellion, but met on March 1st only to discuss ways and means of aiding their Petrograd comrades, quickly formed themselves into a Provisional Revolutionary Committee.

The answer to this accusation is in reality given by Mr. Wright himself. He writes—"It is by no means excluded that the local authorities in Kronstadt bungled in their handling of the situation. . . . It is no secret that Kalinin, let alone Commissar Kuzmin, was none too highly esteemed by Lenin and his colleagues. . . . In so far as the local authorities were blind to the full extent of the danger or failed to take proper effective measures to cope with the crisis, to that extent their blunders played a part in the unfolding events. . . ."

This apprentice Jesuit is worthy of his master. To lay the blame on some "bungler" is one of Bolshevism's oldest methods of keeping the titular heads lily white.

Indeed, the local Bolsheviks did "bungle." Kuzmin attacked the sailors viciously and threatened them with dire consequences. The sailors knew what to expect from such threats. This was the reason why the sailors formed their Revolutionary Committee. An additional factor was the news that a committee of 30 sailors sent to Petrograd to confer with the workers had been denied the right to return to Kronstadt, that they had been arrested by the hated Cheka.

Both writers make a mountain of a molehill of the "rumors" announced at the meeting of March 1st to the effect that a truckload of soldiers heavily armed was on the way to Kronstadt.

Wright has evidently never lived under an air-tight dictatorship. I have. When every channel of human contact is closed, when every thought is thrown back on itself and expression stifled, then rumors rise like mushrooms from the ground and grow into terrifying dimensions. Besides, truckloads of soldiers and Chekists armed to the teeth, tearing along the streets in the day, throwing out their nets at night and dragging their human haul to the dungeons of the Cheka, was a frequent sight in Petrograd and Moscow during the time

The Emma Goldman Papers

Trotsky Protests Too Much / Emma Goldman. — pp. 5-8 ; 29 cm. In Vanguard [New York]. — (July 1938).

Obtained from Shields Library, the University of California, Davis. Institutional Location: Department of Special Collections.

I was there. It was perfectly natural for the rumors to be given credence.

John G. Wright will have it that there was no trouble in Petrograd until February 22nd. That is on a par with his other rehashing of "historic" party material. The unrest and dissatisfaction of the workers was already very marked when we arrived. In every industry I visited I found extreme dissatisfaction and resentment because the dictatorship of the proletariat had been turned into a devastating dictatorship of the Communist Party with its different rations and discriminations. If the discontent of the workers had not manifested itself before 1921 it was only because they still clung tenaciously to the hope that when the fronts were liquidated the promise of the Revolution would be fulfilled. It was Kronstadt which pricked the last bubble.

Kronstadt Sailors Defended the Revolution

The sailors had dared to stand by the discontented workers. They had dared to demand that the promise of the revolution—all power to the Soviets—should be fulfilled. The political dictatorship feared the spread of such doctrine because they knew it would mean their undoing. That was why the Kronstadt sailors died . . . that and that alone was their unforgivable offense against the holy spirit of Bolshevism.

Leon Trotsky, is sarcastic about the accusation that he had shot 1,500 sailors. No, he did not do the bloody job. He entrusted Tuchachevsky, his lieutenant, to do the job with the aid of cadets from the Communist Academy.

I met one of these cadets a short time after the massacre where he lay wounded in a hospital. I recorded this meeting in *My Disillusionment*. It has lost nothing of its poignancy in the years since:

"Many of those wounded in the attack on Kronstadt had been brought to the same hospital, mostly *Kursanti*. I had the opportunity to speak to one of them. His physical suffering, he said, was nothing as compared with his mental agony. Too late he had realized that he had been duped by the cry of 'counter-revolution'. There were no Tsarist generals in Kronstadt, no White Guardists—he found only his own comrades, sailors and soldiers who had heroically fought for the Revolution."

Tuchachevsky carried out Trotsky's orders to the last degree. The numbers of the dead ran into legions, and those who remained after the slaughter were placed under the care of Dybenko, "famous" for his humanity and justice.

Tuchachevsky and Dybenko, the heroes and saviours of the Dictatorship! History seems to have its own way of meting out justice.—*London, May, 1938.*

DECENTRALIZATION AND SOCIALISM

By SENEX

HARDLY any other idea advanced by the anarchist thinkers was met with as much derision in socialist circles as the idea of free communes, viewed as the nuclei of a new social order federated along political and economic lines. To the great majority of socialists, who fully accepted the political premises of capitalism and who came to regard the latter's centralizing tendencies in the economic field as the necessary prerequisite of Socialism, this emphasis upon political and economic decentralization was to be interpreted in terms of social psychology rather than social theory. To them it was a romantic escape into an idealized past, rationalized by the ideologists of a class which is being displaced by modern economic tendencies and whose inverted social vision has become strongly colored with nostalgic longings for an historically doomed pattern of life.

That there was a solid theoretical foundation to the anarchist ideal of free communes could hardly be gathered from the polemic writings of the Socialist theoreticians, all bent more upon lambasting this idea than taking up its theoretical challenge. How serious this challenge was, is proven by the fact that the sundry elements which went into the building up of this theoretical structure—and taking into consideration the pioneering nature of this work, the structure could not but be loose in

many respects, abounding in brilliant generalizations from inadequate factual material—were independently developed by the respective branches of social science along lines laid down by the anarchist thinkers.

Thus the theoretical analysis of the role of the association in social life, first undertaken by Proudhon, has been furthered by the pluralists, the most progressive school of political science, whose conclusions in respect to the State lend themselves to the ideal of an ex-territorial commune as envisaged by Bakunin, Kropotkin and Reclus. The historic potentialities of the medieval city as a distinct political structure, first revealed to the modern view by Kropotkin in their progressive implications, have by now become clearly established by a half century of painstaking historical research.

And, finally, the decentralizing trend of modern techniques, greatly obscured until now by the counter-acting tendency toward economic concentration produced by the abnormal factors operating in the capitalist society, has been asserting itself with such force that even practical people as far removed from any theoretical influences as Ford is, have been forced to reckon with it in their larger plans. There is a great deal of creative stirring in the various projects for the integration of industry and agriculture launched by Ford; and that is, of course,

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的懷疑却是尤為遲鈍。所以，我們可以直切了當的說，在世界上，真實的目的意識鬥爭是存在的——除開參加這鬥爭外，我們能用報紙來作什麼呢？——這自然不是說我們該接受主筆先生的意見，他們在目前正竭力否認在提倡任何反法西斯主義的思想。

但，對於那被看作神秘而複雜的內戰之實質，其實是對於革命之實質，我們要說什麼才好呢？由於一切都被證實，我們無法再說什麼，只有讓法西斯主義隨意地主宰世界，而接受全部以暴制暴。

就不是偉大的學者，也會知道這在和平中生活是無量幸福的事，但這其間可能會有幾種不同的時候，大家願意與說這生活向奮鬥的話；而在現在，我們的和平主義者却似乎在這點上相持不一。他們難道不以為應該永遠自由與正義而奮鬥嗎？這一類鬥爭——我們在西班牙例子中知道得太多了——的真實目標自然也會被這改變，不過，我再说一次，對奮鬥的思想之不停的實質，必然會造成一種忍耐意識。大家都不為自己的利益而奮鬥，都十分害怕受打擊的冒險，這反對的意志將被毀滅，被毀滅後，被毀滅者；但當那種忍耐的意志，為了他們無窮的利益，叫我們去承擔可怕的屠殺時，那同樣的忍耐性會使我們忍耐而進行，創子手的隊伍却以負責清場這口於和平主義的人的道德的責任。

戰爭與革命的問題最為複雜，我們也沒有在此求得解答；但那似乎以暴力手段的改良主義的或頑固的，却使人不快。啊，無論如何，不要離開你的工作啊！任何罷工都不會將值得的結果帶來，在其間，一切人都會失敗，就是得到成功，也會被經濟的反動消滅的，如此下去，所以勞動階級不知道該和機械進步相輔而行，其結果只是危機日加深重，而達到今日像永無止境的危機。

以為世界已經過切於戰爭了，真是荒唐的想法；世界在越來越趨於危險之前途是斷不和平，我們還是得想辦法從其頭不喪中喚起，世界還是那令人疑惑是否會變得完全麻木不仁的世界呢。

人生以前是，將來也還是一場鬥爭。在此，我們自然並不是說暴力勝於正義，而只是說但凡發明，發現與進步，在還沒實現以前，都先假定了或預備鬥爭，倒不一定是流血的鬥爭，但也不一定會去飽受自然的阻礙和人性的缺點，——人不會一下子變得十全十美的。

留心着那些政府所給我們的東西，而且，為了抵抗，好好培養抵抗的，反叛的，奮鬥的意識，不要接受虛飾和平的粉飾與方略，他自謂一切都可和平解決，而問題則大概是力的問題。

我們已經來到歷史的嚴重時期了！或者以激烈的鬥爭獲得我們完全的解放，或者在卑賤貧困中，在壓迫與戰爭的血泊中再轉轉若干年代。為了我們永久的幸福，請不要忘記了這話。

譯自瑞士 Le Reveil 半月刊一九三八年二月號。



個人在社會裏的地位

Emma Goldman 著
田雨申譯

在現刻國家要求個人將全部給予他，而個人也正正在趨向國家，以之為唯一而完備之所的時候，我來譯這一篇文字，是有其作者所說，是會被個人以不時髦，不時髦的。當然，我雖然譯了它，正如其作者所說，他出來一樣。因為他是一種真實的真理，我們也應該去實現，我雖然見到由這反叛而來的人類的種種災禍，即因此而家破人亡，那我也是欣然地接受的。此外，在這個五月之中，我重新從一種危險之中看見了自己，我這篇譯稿，是值自己作紀念品的。

人的心智，為了現代文化的基礎之像，因而在動搖，因而而惶恐起來。人民對於現有的制度，喪失信仰，更聰明者證實「資本主義的工業主義」是在摧毀他以為他是為之效力的那目的。

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世界找不出一條出路。議會主義和民主主義在往下落。「烏托邦」現在是找到法西斯主義和其他「強有力的」政府形式中去了。

在現世界上進行的，相反的觀念的鬥爭，包含了急切要求一個解決的社會問題。個人的幸福和人類社會的命運皆有賴於那些問題之正確的解答。其間有經濟危機，失業，戰爭，廢除軍備，國際關係等等。

國家，政府及其效能與能力，現在正是每一個有思想者約最有興趣的題目。在文明世界裏，政治的發展引起了這些問題：我們要一個強有力的政府嗎？是民主的和議會的好？還是這一種或那一種法西斯主義，君主制，布爾喬亞的或無產者的獨裁，才是現今社會所感受的困難之解決呢？

換句話，我們要以更多的民主政治來治癒民主政治的惡症？還是要以獨裁的利刃來割除人民政府的哥倫布之結呢？我的答復非此非彼。我反對獨裁與法西斯主義，一如我之反對議會政治所腐敗的政治的民主制度。

議會主義（德意志的法西斯主義）曾被公認地稱為對文明之一打擊。這個性體，用在各種形式的獨裁政治，都同樣有效，的確，用在各地壓迫和強制的權力，是無以異的。因為，壓迫的意識，文明是什麼呢？一切的進步本質是個人的自由之擴大與其由外而施於他的強權之對照的減縮。這在物理學和政界及經濟界，是一種地質質的。在物理界，人進步到他屈服自然力，而使他有用於自己的程度。原始人當其第一次生了火而由此克服黑暗，當其鎮拿了風或武裝了水（實指利用水力——譯者）的時候，他便走上了進步的路了。

在人類底改善的努力裏，在發明或發見裏，強權或政府曾盡了什麼功用呢？一無所有，至少也是沒有一點幫助。在那個範圍裏面，完成各種奇蹟的，總是個人，且常常不顧人的或神的權威底禁止，迫害和干涉。

同樣，在政治界裏，進步的道路在乎與部落酋長的，民族的，帝王的，政府的，國家的強權，愈趨愈遠。在經濟上，進步的意義，是更大的成員（分子）之更大的幸福。文化上，其意義是一切其他的成就之結果——即更大的獨立，政治上的，精神上的，智識上的更大的獨立。

從這樣看來，人與國家間的關係一問題，便採取了全然不同的意義。他決不是：獨裁是否比民主更好，或意大利的法

西斯主義是否優於希特勒主義的問題，而是更廣大其範圍的，如下所呈現的問題。即，政府，國家是否有益於人類，他在事物之社會的組織裏，如何影響個人？

個人是生命的真正實體，他不是一個字，他不為國家，也不為任何種族或社會而存在。——這一些只是個人之一種集合。人，個人，總是，而且必須是進化與進步的唯一根源和動力。文明是個人或個人的思想，對於國家，甚至對於「社會」，即對於國家與國家所屬與服務的「多數」——之權以不斷的爭鬥。人會激發最偉大的戰爭到來反抗人造的障礙和人為的拘束，如之於他以擴張其長成與發展者。人的思想常為傳統與習慣所束縛，也只有對於權力和享受特權者的權力的教育所束縛。換句話說，為國家或統治階級所束縛。人類的歷史便是這種常在而不斷的爭鬥。

個性是可以作為個人關於他之「為何生活」與「如何生活」之自覺（或潛意識——譯者）。這是每個人所本有的而且是能上長的。國家與社會制度可以生活而個性却長與永在。個性之本質是表現；而最嚴與獨立之感，則是他繁榮滋長的土壤。個性不是一無人格的「機械的動物」，可以給國家作為「個人」看待。個人不只為這得與環境的結果，不是「因果」的結果。他大有異於此。活生的人是不能界定的；他是一切生命與一切價值的源頭；他不是此或彼的一部；他是一個整體，一個人的整體，一個生長的，變動的，可是悠久的整體。

個性是不容與各種個人主義的觀念和概念相混的；更和「粗劣的個人主義」不相干。後者只是壓抑和破壞個人與他的「個性」之絕倫的企圖而已。所謂個人主義者，乃是社會的和經濟的「放任」；某些階級使合法詐欺，精神的低賤，和奴隸精神之系統的教訓（即為人素知之「教育」的歷程），對於大眾之榨取。這種以壓迫和邪惡的個人主義是個性之緊身衣。他為了外物，為了佔有，為了社會的威勢與優越，使人生活變為一種僵死的行屍（行屍）。牠的最高的智慧，是「最後者遺缺」。

這種「粗劣的個人主義」，其不可避免的結果是極大的近代奴役，最大的階級差別，而將這個人驅向絕境上。一種劣的個人主義——無異於是一切為主人的一個人主義——民衆則陷入奴隸階級，以服事少數數目私利的「超人」。美國也許便

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三

是此種「個人主義」的最好代表，政治的暴政和社會的壓迫都與他的名義相違背，當威爾遜來建立，而人民獲得自由和在社會上生活的機會——之種種發展與企圖，非被同一的「個人主義」的名義所「破壞」和「有害」的了。

歷史上原有一個時候沒有國家。人沒有任何國家或有組織的政府，一任自然地生存，他們像家族一般生活在小社會中，他們耕種收穫，且從事於各種投機，社會生活的單位是個人，和其後的家族，人人平等，和他的隣人一樣無差別，那時的人類社會不是一個國家，而是一個聯合，為相互保護與相互利益而結合自願的聯合。年長者和經驗豐富者做了民眾的指導者（衆），這和目下流行的「指導者」，實即「領袖」或「獨裁者」之意義不同（「指導者」和顧問。他們幫助人民管理生活的事務，而不統治和管轄個人）。

政治的統治（政府）和國家乃是隨後的發展，從強者想利用弱者，少數對抗多數之欲求者長起來的。國家乃神授的或世俗的，都給予少數人對於多數之不正以合法的和正當的面目。那種面目，為了更易統治人民，是必需的，因為，任何政府，沒有人民的承認，公開的，默認的或思想的承認，是成不了。憲政主義和民主主義是那種承認的近代形態，這「承認」是由所謂「教育」者——無論是在家庭的，或在教會裏的和人生的其他別的形相裏的教育，而灌輸而訓練的。

那種承認，便是相信權威，相信他之必要。其基礎的教義，是：人是邪惡的，而且沒有能力獲得何者對於他是善的。一切政府與壓迫便建築在這上頭。上帝和國家存在了而且便靠這個教義來維持。

可是，國家只是一個名稱。他是一種抽象。他像別的其他概念——民族，種族，人類——一樣，沒有「有根的實體」。稱國家為一種實體，是一種文字遊戲的傾向。

國家是一個立法和行政的機械的名詞，由此機械，人民的事務被處理，而且處理得壞。他非沒有什麼神聖，或神祕。國家，并不比鋼鐵或火車的商業公司，有更多的良心或更大的道德使命。

國家不比神聖更存在。他們同樣是人的反應與創造，因為人，個人，才是唯一「有實體」。國家只是人的影子，他的愚昧與恐懼之朦朧底影子。

生命結於人，終於人。沒有個人，便沒有種族，沒有人類，沒有國家。不啻此，沒有人，甚至「社會」也是不可能的。

。那生活，呼吸和受苦的，是個體。他的發展，他的進步，是一種反對他自己的創造物，尤其是國家，當作神聖來崇拜的不斷的鬥爭。

從前，宗教的權威，使政治生命適合於教義的權威。國家的權威，統治者的「權」，是山上而來的；權力，像俯仰，是神聖的，有學家會說了汗牛充棟的書來證明國家的神聖；有學者甚至於給牠以「無不是」的和神聖的性質，有幾箇直胡說八道，說，國家就是「超人」，是至上的實體，是「絕對」。

考察被當作罪惡。奴隸以為最惡的罪惡。除了這種一種教訓和訓練，某些事物竟至被當作自明的，牠們的真實性，且只因不斷的與偏執的反抗——被認為神聖的了。

一切進步本質上在「神聖」和「神聖」之揭露，安穩的神聖的永恆的「真理」之揭露；他是抽象之逐漸的消除，而以真實的和具體的相代。總而言之，是以事實對幻覺，知識對抗愚昧，光明對抗黑暗。

個人底那種緩慢的和艱辛的解放，不是以國家的幫助或成就。反之，是由一種對國家的小斷的衝突，對國家的生死鬥爭，甚至於最後的，獨立與自由之痕跡也是由此得來。而在那從帝王和政府手裏一點一點奪得來的，又不知耗去了人類多少時間，流了人類多少鮮血。

那個長長的十字架上面而壯烈的像人。而在長久的流血鬥爭中，反抗壓迫和壓迫，反對奴隸和奴隸，使他墮落的權力，總是個人，有時是和別的聯合與合作，但常常是獨自地，單身地奮鬥的。

倘有如此者，倘有如此這般意義之火者，首先對不公而墮落，反抗的是個人，首先對於他所憤怒的境況心懷抵抗的觀念的，是個人。總之，個人是解放的思想的行動的父母。

並非，當指政治的鬥爭，且指各種人類生命與努力的整個範圍。為一切人類進步，為走向更自由的和更好的世界前進而鬥爭的，總是個人，是具有強健的精神與爭取自由之意志的人；在科學，哲學與藝術裏，一如在工業裏，人的天才升到了頂點，他期望「不可能」企求其實現，且以他的熱忱感染他人為此而工作而努力。從社會方面說，夢想一個更合於他的心意的世界，而向更人的成就的路上燃起指路的燈火者，是先知，是預見者，是思想家。

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[The individual social state. In Chinese] Ge Ren Zai She Hui Li de Di Wei / Emma Goldman. — pp. 19-29 ; 21 cm. In Jing Zhe. — Vol. 2, no. 6 (July 10, 1938).
Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

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國家，各種形勢的政府，更不可能是絕對的或絕對的，君主或民主的，自由的，和平的或革命的——其本質是保守的，是靜的，不容許改變且反對改變的。但不管他遭受的何等改變，總是給他以壓力的結果。此壓力的強度且須是以強迫統治階級屈服，和平地，或者，而大體上是不和平地，即是說，由於革命之壓迫。再則，政府，任何一種強權，其本有的保守性，不可免地，要變為反動。其理由有二：第一，因為政府的本性，不只在保持他所有的權力，還要加強，擴大且固執，在國內如是，在國際間亦如是。橫暴愈強，國家及其權力愈大，他不能容忍他自身已身處相似的橫暴或政治勢力。政府的心理要求他的權力與威勢不斷在國內和國外擴大，他還利用一切的機會來增加他。這種趨勢，是由政府所代表的和效命的，金融與商業利益之背後來促進的。二政府之存在的根本理由（從前歷史學家從未有意地承認過的），到了現在，已非常顯明，即使是教授先生也不能置之不問不問了。

強迫政府維持和反對起來的別的原因，是他們對於個人之信任與對於「個性」之恐懼，那種本質，我們底政治的和社會的組織，不承認個人和他底永恆不息的，永新的探索。因此，國家爲了「個性」，便壓迫，迫害，懲罰個人，甚至於剝奪他的生命，在這一方面，那些左祖現存秩序的種種制度，也幫助他。他更應藉各種各樣的勢力與禁行；而他的努力，是由那反對異端，反對異議者，反對政治強迫者的「多數人」之「道德的價值」所支持的。這「多數人」幾世紀以來便在家庭，在學校，在教會，更由國家受了崇拜國家的訓練，服從，守紀律，屈服於強權者的長久之下。

權勢的及強權的價值是「一致」；最細小的枝葉，便成爲最大的罪惡。現代生活的大規模的機械化，把「一致」增加了一千倍。他是無處不在的，在習慣上，好尚上，衣服上，思想上和觀念上。他的集中和集中的果實，便是「與論」。敢於挺身出來反對他的并不多。誰不屈服，誰便被打爲「怪人」，爲「異端」，且被人當作近代生活底舒適的「修補」真的「損壞分子」。

這種社會的「一致」與「同一」，甚至於更比組織的權威，更同個人。他的「獨特」，「各別」與「區別」使他不僅在他的本地，甚至於在他自己的家裏也成了陌生人。和社會會向他和合的異端人相投，富有不知。

照其意義說，一個人的本土，與其消習的背景，早年的印象，追憶的事物和其他的眷愛，倘不是使人感覺安適。一種

「屬於」有身在本國的感覺的氣氛，在人民和環境「一致」之意識，對於一個人的家鄉之感，更其重要。這，對於一個人的家庭關係，更小的地方社會之關係，其價值，有如對於一般稱以「祖國」的，更大的，生活和活動的形相，具有世界眼光的個人，常常感覺得沒得那個地方比得上在他的祖國，對於他的環境的熟悉程度，有如此的受障礙的。

在大戰前，個人至少還能避免。國家的和家庭的煩惱。整個世界底他的情懷與要求而開着。現在，世界已變成一所大監獄，人生則變成了無期的隔離與禁閉。自從有了右的和左的「獨裁制」，這尤其真實。

尼彩把國家稱作一個冷酷的怪物。他會如何稱呼在近代獨裁制的外貌下的可怕的野獸呢？這不是說：政府會給過個人更多的自由，而只是說，這新的國家觀念形勢的戰士，甚至於那樣的自由也不許。他們宣稱：「個人是虛渺的，牠只是集體之奴才；沒有比個人底完全降服，更可滿足此新神祕底無盡之欲的了。」

而奇怪的是，這種新聲音的最高聲的宣揚者，竟有英美知識分子在。他們在口下是趨於「無產階級專政」的。只在理論上，那是實在的。在實際上，他們依舊專制在他們自己的國內的少量自由。他們對做去作一次短期的遊歷或者當作一個「革命」的販子；但他們仍感覺到在本國更其安全，更其舒適。

也許，使這些英美人士留在他們自己的國家裏，而不在已到的千禧年裏，并不只是缺乏勇氣。在下意識裏會潛伏下如下下的恐懼，即是「個性」仍爲一切人類聯合之最基本的事實，雖受壓迫與迫害，可是從不會散失，而且總究要得勝。

「人的天才」(這只是人格和個性的另一名稱)貫徹一切教義的嚴厲，每種習慣的厚障，展現一切禁忌，忽視權威，面對着壓迫與前進，——現代人會把他當作先知和殉道者而視之。假使沒有他那種天賦的，不屈不撓的個性，我們現在會依然在那原始的森林裏流浪着。

克魯泡特金曾經給我們指示，人底個性的奇偉的力量，當與其他個性的合作，因而力量加強之時，其成就何等的可驚。個性的，全然不當的這門文主義者內生存競爭學說，從一個個偉大的無政府主義的科學家與思想家那兒，獲得他的生物學上的和社會學上的完成。克魯泡特金在他的深邃的大著——互助論裏，指出，在動物界裏，一如在人類社會裏，合作——與同類的鬥爭相反——對於動物之保存與演進的巨大的功用。他指出，帶有互助和自願的合作！——而不是全能的和一切

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皆掠取的國家——才能爲一個自由的個人與聯合的生命，創立基礎。

(一六六四)

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口下，個人成了獨裁制度狂狷和「粗劣的個人主義」區間偶見的狂狷者底無足輕重的樣子。前者的藉口是他要求一個新的目標，而後者則甚至於沒有任何一語哲學的託詞。姑諸事實，「粗劣的個人主義」既無所舉得也無所遺忘。物質生存之殘暴的鬥爭仍在牠的指揮之下進行。物質的生存鬥爭，無論牠顯得如何奇怪，無論牠是如何的荒謬，而且，牠的需要雖已完全消滅，牠之進行如故。的確，鬥爭之繼續，顯然因為沒有必要。所謂「生產過剩」者，不是證明了牠嗎？全世界的經濟恐慌，不是證明了生存競爭，由於「粗劣的個人主義」胃腸也不停的前進之因而難免的嗎？

這種鬥爭的病徵之一，乃是生產者對於他所生產的東西之完全打消（無權過問）。通常的勞動者對於他所從事的工業，可沒有一點內在的接觸點，他對於他僅為其機械之一部的「生產過程」，是一個陌生者。像任何別的輪齒一樣，他在任何時候，都可以掉開的。相似的，被驅脫人格的人所代替。

約翰·蘇摩齊，他雖然認得以為他是一個自由行動者，其環境再好得不多。他對於前兩種的職業，也和他的助手所作的弟兄一般，只有一點點接觸或自決權。他對於團體和社會上更大的趨勢，常常是不了解或對職業的決定困難。此外，還有藝術家庭的傳習，而做醫生，做律師，教師，工程師等等的趨勢。當他實力小而所要求的個性亦小。以此，差不多每個人在我們現在的一事的安排」（即社會制度）裏，都是不得其所的。繁榮之困苦，一部分爲了他們的憂鬱因工作之死板而果鈍，且爲了他們必須力謀生計。這，腐之於今日的政治組織上，甚至更有其有力。在那裏，是沒有獨立的思想與行動之選擇自由的，即只有持照現有的地位。

國家與個人的利益，固本不同而且相反。國家與其所維持的政治制度與經濟制度，只有依非特有的目的來改造個人的訓練他們「尊嚴法律和秩序」，教他們服從權威與對信政府之理智與公正，此外，當國家有所要求，例如在戰爭時，絕對效忠與完全犧牲自己，才能存在。國家把他和他的利益，甚至放在宗教與上帝的要求之上。他憑藉那因宗教信仰的或服從良心而不決意反對「個性者」，因為，有個性便有自由，而自由却是對於權威的最不成眷。

或「國」。激進國家與「均勢」之力起來和他作對的，不是他的思想或活動之正常與有用，對於革新者以抗議者的地位，是起於有組織的壓迫，害怕他的「絕無防禦」被人疑問他的極力消人頭腦。人底！一個人的和康的。

而且爲了那個目的而鬥爭。構成發展的不是發明和機器，一小時有百出的能力，不是「文明了」的發明。真正的文明，是要拿「個人」，一切社會生活的單位，由牠底「個性」與牠底「生活」，增長，發展以不受剝削與侵吞與強迫的權威的——自由程度來量度的。

從社會方面說，文明與文化的標準，是個人所享受的「自由」與「經濟的繁榮」之程度，社會的和國際的聯合與合作，不爲人類的法律與其他的人爲的障礙所束縛，沒有特權階級，實現了真正的自由與人的發展；總而言之，文明與文化是要和個人的真實解放來決定的。

爲了人們在長時間中證實了政治上的新訓，權力是惡的或有罪的，於是政治的絕對主義便廢除了。但，一切權力，不管他是特享的，金錢的，教士的政治家的或所謂民主政治的權力，總是以壓制有害。他——不管他是黑色的或西班牙主義，褐色的納粹主義或紅色的布爾什維克主義，其政治個人均強力，并無差別。使主人與奴才一例墮落與腐化的是權力。不管這權力是由一個專制君主，議會或被禁錮了的蘇維埃所行使。一階級的權力——一種多數的專制——是更比一個獨裁者的權力更其有害的。

歷史的長長的旅程，教訓人們，分裂與戰爭無異於死滅，而聯合與合作，却可以助長他們的力量，增進他們的幸福。政府的精神，只隨著國家效力而助他自己的特殊利益，而總是反對這種正大的教訓之有裨益的。不與人間的衝突，負責社會制度底表所下看了。他們不再像過去，受放蕩的國家觀念底，於「粗劣的個人主義」一之幸福底忠誠，那樣地盲目了。他們已經擴展底範圍自由能够給予的，人類關係之更廣大的境界了。因為，真正的自由，不只是一張稱爲「憲法」，「合法的權利」或「法律」的廢紙，他不是從以「國家」知名的「非實證」中而導出來的「國家」，也不是從「法律」中而導出來的「法律」。

The Emma Goldman Papers

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的消極的，因為你有了這種自由，你會飢死，實在的自由，真正的自由，是積極的，那是「爲」的自由，「是」的自由；而前者之是實際的和發動的機會的自由。

那種自由不是一種贈品；他是人——各個人——底自然權利。他不能由人給予；他不能由任何法律或政府授予。他的需要，對他的價值，是天賦的，對各種各樣強制的反抗，乃是地底本能的發現。反叛與革命是求獲得他的，或多或少的意思的企圖如那種——個人的和社會的表示，是底價值之表現。那些價值是可以救護的，而社會必須認知，他底最偉大的和最耐久的資產，乃是個人這個單位。

宗教方面，也如在政治方面一樣，人們發起抽象而且相信他們是在和真實交接。但當真實與其接近，大多數民衆却似乎和他不發生（生活上）必要的關係。因以「真實」過於「實在」，「冷靜」得不夠以動人的精神，這也好。那是只有靠不尋常的事物，激發時起來的。換句話說，理想才是燃起人底想像與精神的大火。要激起人底想像他底生存與價值和單調，變卑賤的奴隸爲英雄的人物，是需得有理想的。

自然，這兒便有那種「將馬克斯自己指爲非馬克斯」的馬克斯主義者提出反對的道理來。在那種人看來，人只是被掌握在那種經濟決定論，或者，更通俗些，階級鬥爭的，形而上的馬路者手中而傀儡。人的——個人與團體的——意志，他精神生活和心的趨向，在馬克斯主義者看來，是等於零。

社會發展與個人的進步當中，經濟的因素，沒有那個有智識的人會否認的。只有實際的和頭腦的教養才能夠執意不變地，對於山底想像與價值所構成的觀念所生的，重要作用。熱誠無疑。

企圖在人類思想裏灌輸一個因素以抵禦另一因素，那是枉然和無益的。在個人的或社會的行爲底複雜錯誤裏，沒有一個單獨因素能具有決定性的因素的。要去權量估計那決定人的行爲的這一因素或那一因素的相對價值，我們對於人類的心理學所知太少，而且他決不會知道得充分的。在他們底社會生活裏，構成那複雜的教養，那簡直是頭腦。可是，也許爲了以這樣做來證明人的意志的永存而反對馬克斯主義者，他們有他的用意。

然而，有些馬克斯主義者也開始懂得一切并不和馬克斯教義相合了。而況，馬克斯只是一個人性的人，全然是人性的

人；因此，絕不能不錯。經濟決定論在俄國的實際應用，正使更聰明的馬克斯主義者震驚而悟。這是在一些歐洲國度的社會黨其對於共產黨更流行的馬克斯主義價值之重新估量中看出來的。他們慢慢覺到他們的學說忽略了人的原因，如一個社會黨報紙所表白，忽略了「人」了。經濟因素雖說重要，他總還不夠。人類的「返老還童」，需得一種理想之鼓舞和努力的。

這樣一種理想，我認爲便是無政府主義。但那不是由國家和權力的崇拜者的播散的，錯解的無政府主義。我指的是立基於個人底自由的精神與自由的個人底自由聯合之上的，一個社會制度的哲學。

在一切社會學說當中，只有無政府主義才堅定地宣稱社會爲人而存在不是人爲社會而存在。社會底唯一合法的目的，是爲個人的需要服務，和提高個人的希望。只有這樣，他才能證明他底存在的正當，證明他底進步與文化的助力。

爭奪權力的政黨和個人會因不合時宜，對於這個指稱，我敢說承受。我從「他們底權力的和底之缺乏持久性」的論中我發現了證據。他們的（希伯來人如上帝上的聲音）只是短時的。

人想從一切權威和權力中獲得解放的覺醒，決不會爲他們的瘋狂的歇斯而解散。人敢幹各種權權而獲得自由的探索之是永恆的。他必須而且也會繼續下去的。

一九三五年五月三十一日十時十分譯於四川樂山嘉屬縣立中學教員宿舍樓上。

第 二 八 (二卷六期)

二九

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The Emma Goldman Papers

W. Starrett / E[mma] Goldman. — p. 2 ; 22 cm. In Spain and the World [London].
— (July 15, 1938).

Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

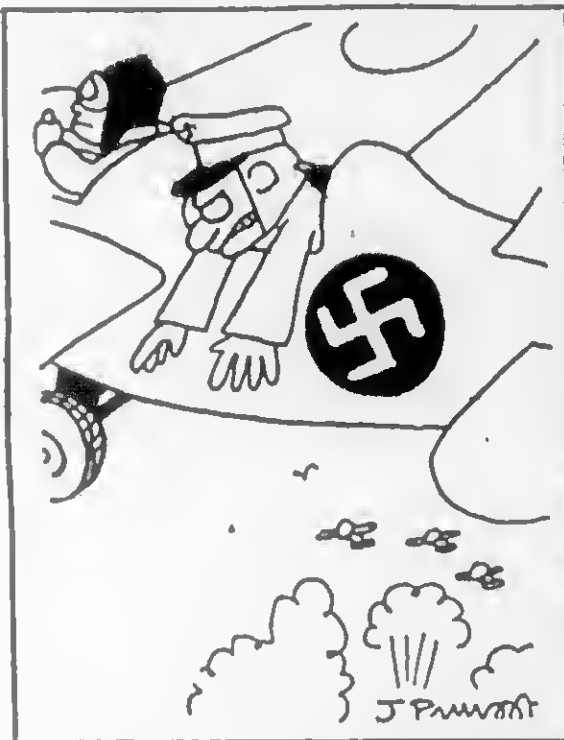
human" they are nevertheless not bound by the law of abstinence. Nor need they go to Mass on Sundays.

Comment seems hardly necessary!

Distasteful

From the *Times* we learn that: "The Nazi Party in Upper Austria has presented to Herr Hitler a prehistoric stone club as a symbol of the absorption of Austria by the Reich."

LIBERTARIAN.



(*Le Canard Enchaîné*)
"Sapristi! I have thrown the bomb in the wastepaper basket and the Pope's appeal on Barcelona!"

AN APOLOGY

We owe an apology to our readers, and a special apology to our contributors, for the abnormal number of misprints in the last issue of "Spain and the World." Our last issue was produced under even greater difficulties than usual.

—Editors.

broader aims than Land Reformers and Trade Unionists and he began to examine its several expressions. He happened to be working for years on one of the best political weeklies of the eighteen-nineties and he and other intelligent compositors of the Chapel of that weedy took interest in debating among themselves the pro's and contra's of the arguments used by clever and sometimes politically celebrated contributors. Socialism was no doubt constantly criticised by such a paper, but also Statism, political and economic fallacies. Keell who lived in South London, saw the local groups of the

Syndicalist Voice of Labour in addition, were furthered in every way by the constant daily effort of Thomas Keell to the delight of all who took part in the Group, comrades like Marsh, John Turner, Miss Davies, Harry Kelly, the Kropotkins, the Tcherkesovs and others, in later years also G. Cores. When fair reasoning was ousted by war passion, some said: Keell was a mere compositor paid wages, Keell was our paid servant! This was not so. Keell was not an amateur of means and was not ashamed to be paid for work which he did properly and without a hitch. But he was also a thoroughly efficient member of the Group and if very

most cordial terms with many international friends, Malatesta, E. Recchi- oni, Tarrida del Marmol and others... We must consider him to have been a happy man in his own modest way, living in constant touch with the best of causes and many good men, in close contact with nature as in the White- way Colony in the Cotswold Hills, hopefully engaged in a living move- ment to the last and, except for strained eyes, in tolerable health to the last, as far as I know. Goodbye, dear old comrade Keell of the Freedom Group.

JUNE 30th, 1938.

M. NETTLAU

W. STARRETT

By
E. Goldman

The Anarchist ranks in England and the United States have sustained a great loss in two valiant fighters, Thomas H. Keell in England, and Walter Starrett in the United States.

"Spain and the World" will no doubt have its own tribute to Tom Keell by someone who knew him longer and better than I. I want to write about my pupil, comrade and friend, affectionately known to the Anarchists in America as Van.

I first met Walter Starrett more than twenty-five years ago. It was in Schenectady, New York. He had arranged for me in that city a lecture on Anarchism. Starrett was a Socialist at that time. He belonged to the Socialist Branch of that city. He certainly was a broad minded Socialist, unique in Marxian ranks, or he would never have arranged a meeting for an Anarchist. He did more; he succeeded in getting one of the leading Socialists of the town preside over the meeting. The stand of this man resulted in his suspension for a number of months from the Socialist Party. My lecture and the disappointment in his Socialist comrades had a far-reaching effect on Walter Starrett. He left the Branch, began to read up on Anarchism, and soon joined the Anarchist ranks in the United States.

Walter Starrett was a book keeper and an accountant of first-class order, and for many years held a responsible and well-paying position with a firm in New York City. This did not prevent him from giving every free moment to the movement, either in defence of some arrested

worker or comrade, various strikes and as Editor of the *Road to Freedom*. He was quite oblivious to any harm that might come to him in case of discovery of his being an Anarchist.

On my visit to Canada in 1926, Van was still employed in one of the capitalist citadels. Yet he did a tremendous amount of work for me under the very noses of his employers.

His truly colossal contribution to Anarchist activities was during the Sacco and Vanzetti defence. Van threw himself into the breach and drudged like a galley slave to rouse the conscience of thinking men and women in America on behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti. His was the labour of love, the labour of one who lives to his uttermost energy and ability without any thought of personal aggrandisement or glory. Van was tireless in his activities to save our comrades, and when they were finally murdered by the State of Massachusetts it was Van whose grief was deep because of their loss.

It was of course impossible for anyone so outspoken and in the forefront of the fight for the two men to hide his identity for long. Van was discovered and forthwith was dismissed from his post. At that time began a bitter struggle for existence. He succeeded in getting another job. Unfortunately this, too, he lost owing to the foolishness of a young Anarchist woman who, inadvertently, disclosed Van's identity. His search for employment began all over again, which lasted almost to the end of his life with but few interruptions.

Gradually it succeeded in dragging him down to black despair from which he seemed to be unable to rise again.

Van was kindness and generosity personified. His devotion to those he cared about knew no bounds. No effort on their behalf was too great for him. He was a sincere and earnest fighter, completely dedicated to his ideas. He was truly a proletarian, and as one knowing how often a pseudo intelligentsia betrayed the workers, he was relentless in his opposition to them. His main *bête noir* were Ministers of the Gospel, "sky pilots" he called them.

In any event it is certain that Van was human, all too human. It was his humanity that caused him untold suffering all through his life. He could not bear to see wrongs, injustice or dishonesty in the world.

The Spanish Revolution of 19th July, 1936, aroused Van's hopes to a pitch of exaltation, as it did so many of us. He longed passionately to go to Spain, there to throw in his lot and his life in the heroic struggle of our Spanish comrades. But a number of unfortunate circumstances made it impossible for him to rush to Spain.

In the untimely death of Walter Starrett (he was only fifty-four) I mourn one of my most ardent collaborators, comrades and friends. His life was a turbulent sea. His spirit tossed about between exultation and black despair, but his faith in the ultimate triumph of his ideas, abided with him to his last breath.

The Emma Goldman Papers

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EMMA GOLDMAN

León Trotski protesta demasiado

TENGO a la vista dos números de la revista oficial de Trotski, *New Internucional*, correspondientes a febrero y abril. Aparecen en ellos sendos artículos de John G. Wright, trotskista cien por cien. El y su sumo pontífice Trotski pretenden que esos artículos constituyen una refutación de los cargos que se le hacen con respecto a lo de Kronstadt. Mr. Wright se hace eco únicamente de la voz de su amo, y el material que emplea está lejos de ser original ni resultante de su conocimiento personal de los sucesos de 1921. Yo prefiero pagar mis respetos a León Trotski. El tiene, cuando menos, el dudoso mérito de haber tenido su parte en la «liquidación» de Kronstadt.

Existen, sin embargo, varias falsedades en el artículo de Wright que necesitan ser cortadas de raíz, lo cual voy a hacer ahora, dejando para más adelante a su amo.

John G. Wright pretende que la *Rebelión de Kronstadt*, de Alejandro Berkman, «es meramente una repetición de los supuestos hechos e interpretaciones de S. R. con unas cuantas alteraciones significativas» (extraídas de *La verdad sobre Rusia* en Volya Rusia, Praga, 1921).

Más adelante, el escritor acusa a Alejandro Berkman de «descarado plagario»; de hacer, según es su costumbre, unas cuantas alteraciones insignificantes y de ocultar la fuente verdadera de lo que hace aparecer como sus apreciaciones». Toda la vida y el trabajo de Alejandro Berkman le han colocado entre los más prominentes luchadores y pensadores revolucionarios, completamente dedicado a su ideal. Quienes le conocieron bien, darán fe de la calidad de todos sus actos, así como de su integridad y seriedad como escritor. Seguramente quedarán sorprendidos al conocer por Mr. Wright, que Alejandro Berkman era un «descarado plagario» y que «era costumbre en él hacer algunas alteraciones insignificantes...»

El promedio de los comunistas, ya lleve la etiqueta de Trotski o la de Stalin, conoce tanto la literatura anarquista y a sus autores como, podríamos decir, el promedio de los católicos a Voltaire o a Tomás Paine. La misma suposición de que uno conociese la posición de su oponente antes de ponerle adjetivos abusivos equivaldría a declararlo hereje por la jerarquía comunista. Es por eso que no creo que John G. Wright mienta deliberadamente con respecto a Alejandro Berkman. Más bien me inclino a creer que es un ignorante inconmensurable.

Alejandro Berkman tuvo toda su vida el hábito de conservar sus diarios. Incluso durante los catorce años de purgatorio que soportó en la *Western Penitentiary*, Alejandro Berkman se las arregló para mantener su diario, que me mandaba clandestinamente; y a bordo del «Buford», que nos llevó en nuestro largo y peligroso viaje marítimo de 28 días,

León Trotski protesta demasiado

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mi camarada continuó escribiendo su diario según su vieja costumbre, y lo mismo hizo durante los veintitrés meses de nuestra permanencia en Rusia.

Las *Memorias de presidio de un anarquista*, trabajo que los críticos más conservadores han considerado de tanto valor como *La casa de los muertos*, de Feodor Dostoievski, fué elaborado por Berkman con notas de su diario. La *rebelión de Kronstadt* y *El mito bolchevique* fueron también resultado de las notas tomadas diariamente por Berkman en Rusia. Por esto mismo resulta estúpida la acusación de que el libro de Berkman sobre Kronstadt «es meramente una repetición de supuestos hechos...» del trabajo de S. R. que apareció en Praga.

Paralela a la falsedad de esa acusación contra Alejandro Berkman que hace Wright, está otra en la que afirma que mi viejo compañero ha negado la existencia del general Kaylovsky en Kronstadt.

En la página 15 de *La rebelión de Kronstadt* dice: «Habla, por cierto, un antiguo general en Kronstadt que se llamaba Kaylovsky. Fué Trotski quien lo destacó allí como artillero especializado; pero este general no jugó papel alguno en los acontecimientos de Kronstadt.» Esto fué sostenido por el mismo Zinoviev, cuando aun se hallaba en la cúspide de su gloria. En la Sesión Extraordinaria del Soviet de Petrogrado del 4 de marzo, convocada para decidir la suerte de Kronstadt, dijo Zinoviev que «desde luego, Kaylovsky es viejo y no puede hacer nada, pero los oficiales blancos le apoyan y desvían a los marineros». Alejandro Berkman recalcó el hecho de que los marineros no querían tener a ninguno de los antiguos generales favoritos de Trotski, ni aceptarían los ofrecimientos de avituallamiento y otros apoyos de Víctor Tchernov, el caudillo de los S. R. del ala derecha de París.

Los trotskistas consideran indudablemente como sentimentalismo burgués el permitir a los malignos marineros el derecho a hablar en pro de sí mismos. Yo insisto en que las trabas puestas al propio oponente responden a las condenadas tácticas jesuíticas, y que eso ha contribuido más a desintegrar todo el movimiento obrero que cualquier otra de las «sagradas» tácticas del bolchevismo.

Para que el lector pueda estar en posición de decidir entre las acusaciones criminales en contra de Kronstadt y lo que hubieron de decir sobre el particular los propios marineros, reproduzco a continuación el mensaje que radiaron a los trabajadores del mundo el 6 de marzo de 1921:

«Nuestra causa es justa. Nosotros queremos el poder para los Soviets, no para los partidos. Queremos la representación libremente elegida de las masas productoras. Los sustitutos de los Soviets, manipulados por el Partido Comunista, se han mantenido siempre sordos a nuestras necesidades y peticiones. La única respuesta que hemos recibido alguna vez ha sido por boca de los fusiles... Camaradas, ellos no solamente os engañan, sino que perverten deliberadamente la verdad y emplean la más despreciable de las calumnias... En Kronstadt todo el poder está exclusivamente en manos de los trabajadores, marineros y soldados revolucionarios, no en la de los contrarrevolucionarios, dirigidos por algún Koslovsky, según quiere hacer creer la radio embustera de Moscú. ¡No perdáis el tiempo, camaradas! ¡Uníos con nosotros! ¡Poneos en con-

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lacto con nosotros! ¡Exigid que se permita a vuestros delegados venir a Kronstadt! Solamente ellos os podrán decir la verdad completa y os revelarán lo infame de la calumnia sobre el plan de Finlandia y las ofertas de la Entente.

¡Vivan los campesinos y las proletarios revolucionarios!

¡Viva el poder de los Soviets libremente elegidos!

Los marineros «acaudillados» por Koslovsky y, sin embargo, piden a los trabajadores del mundo que manden delegados para que puedan ver si existe alguna veracidad en la negra calumnia lanzada contra ellos por la prensa soviética.

León Trotski se sorprende e indigna porque alguien se atreve a levantar tal clamor sobre lo de Kronstadt. Después de todo, aquello ocurrió hace mucho tiempo... Efectivamente, han transcurrido diecisiete años, y aquello no fué más que un mero «episodio de la historia de las relaciones entre el proletariado de la ciudad y la pequeña villa burguesa». ¿Por qué ha de haber alguien que tenga interés en levantar semejante polvareda, en estas horas tan lejanas, si no es para «comprometer la única corriente revolucionaria genuina que nunca ha repudiado su bandera, que no ha pactado con el enemigo y que representa el futuro»? El egoísmo de León Trotski, conocido en toda su amplitud por sus amigos y enemigos, no ha sido su punto débil. Desde que su mortal enemigo le desheredó de todo menos de su pálida magia personal, la importancia de nuestro personaje ha alcanzado proporciones alarmantes.

León Trotski se siente ultrajado por el hecho de que haya alguien que recuerde el «episodio» de Kronstadt y que pida luz sobre la parte que tomó en él. No se le ocurre que, quienes han salido en su defensa contra su detractor, tienen el derecho de preguntarle algo respecto a los métodos que empleó cuando estaba en el poder y la manera cómo se las arregló con aquéllos que no acataron sus dictados como verdad evangélica. Desde luego, era ridículo esperar que él se diese golpes de pecho y dijese: «Yo, siendo humano, también he cometido errores. Yo también he pecado y matado a mis hermanos o he hecho que los matasen.» Solamente los profetas sublimes y videntes han alcanzado alturas de tal coraje. León Trotski no es, por cierto, uno de ellos. Por el contrario, continúa considerándose omnipotente en todos sus actos y juicios y lanza sus anatemas sobre la cabeza de cualquiera que sugiera tontamente que la gran divinidad, León Trotski, también tiene pies de arcilla.

Se mofa de la evidencia documental dejada por los marineros y la de aquellos que vieron y oyeron los horrores del sitio de Kronstadt. Les llama «ideales falsos». Eso no le impide, empero, el asegurar a sus lectores que sus explicaciones sobre la rebelión de Kronstadt pueden ser «sustanciadas e ilustradas con muchas pruebas y documentos». Las personas inteligentes podrán preguntarse por qué León Trotski no tiene la decencia de presentar estas «falsas etiquetas» para estar en condiciones de formar una correcta opinión sobre ellas.

Hasta en los tribunales capitalistas se concede a los acusados el derecho a presentar pruebas en defensa propia. Pero no ocurre así con León Trotski, el portavoz de la única y sola verdad, el que «nunca ha repudiado su bandera ni ha pactado con el enemigo».

Uno puede comprender tal falta de decencia común en John G. Wright. El, como ya he dicho, nos da meramente citas de las sagradas escrituras bolchevistas. Pero para una figura mundial como León Trotski, silenciar las pruebas de los marineros me parece indicativo de un carácter muy pequeño. El viejo refrán de que el leopardo podrá cambiar de lugar, pero no de naturaleza, puede aplicarse a León Trotski. El calvario que ha soportado durante sus años de destierro, la trágica pérdida de aquellos amigos más íntimos, y, lo que es más mordaz todavía, la traición de sus antiguos camaradas, no le han enseñado nada. Ni un vislumbre de snavidad o de afecto humano ha cambiado el espíritu rencoroso de Trotski.

¡Qué lástima que el silencio de los muertos hable a veces con más fuerza que la voz de los que viven! Verdaderamente, las voces estragadas de Kronstadt han aumentado su volumen en estos diecisiete años. ¿Es acaso por esa razón que León Trotski vuelve a sentir sus ecos?

León Trotski cita a Marx diciendo «que es imposible juzgar a la gente o a los partidos basándose en lo que dicen ellos mismos». ¡Qué patético resulta que él no realice cuanto de eso se le puede aplicar! Ninguno de los capacitados escritores bolcheviques ha logrado mantenerse tanto en posición sobresaliente o hecho tanto reclamo incesante sobre la parte tomada en la Revolución y después de ella, como León Trotski. Según este criterio de su gran maestro, hay que declarar que todos los escritos de León Trotski carecen de valor, lo cual sería absurdo, desde luego.

Desacreditando los motivos que condicionaron el levantamiento de Kronstadt, León Trotski registra lo siguiente: «Yo mandé desde diferentes frentes docenas de telegramas sobre la movilización de nuevos regimientos «de confianza», formados por trabajadores de Petrogrado y de los marineros de la escuadra del Báltico, pero ya en 1918, o en todo caso, no después de 1919, los frentes empezaron a quejarse de que «los de Kronstadt» no satisfacían, por ser exigentes, indisciplinados y no poderse confiar en ellos porque hacían más mal que bien». Más adelante, en la misma página, Trotski acusa que, «cuando las condiciones se hicieron críticas para el hambriento Petrogrado, el Buró Político discutió más de una vez las posibilidades de obtener un *empréstito interno* de Kronstadt, donde aun existían cantidades de viveres; pero los delegados de los trabajadores de Petrogrado contestaron: nunca se podrá obtener nada de ellos con *benevolencia*. Ellos especulan con las ropas, con el carbón y con el pan. Actualmente en Kronstadt ha levantado la cabeza toda clase de desecho.» Por muy bolchevique que sea asesinar a sus opositores, les es preciso también ensuciar sus caracteres. Desde Marx a Engels así como desde Lenin a Trotski y a Stalin, siempre han seguido el mismo método.

Ahora ya no pretendo argumentar lo que fueron los marineros de Kronstadt en 1918 ó 1919. Yo no llegué a Rusia hasta enero de 1920. Desde esa fecha en adelante hasta que Kronstadt fué «liquidado», los marineros de la escuadra del Báltico fueron proclamados como un ejemplo de valor y de indómito coraje. Una y otra vez ol de labios no solamente «anarquistas, bolcheviques y socialrevolucionarios», sino de muchos comunistas, que los marineros eran la espina dorsal de la Revolución. El primero de mayo de 1920, durante la celebración del día y otras festividades organizadas en homenaje a la primera delegación de tra-

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bajadores ingleses, los marinos de Kronstadt presentaron un crecido y limpio contingente y eran señalados como parte de los grandes héroes que habían salvado a la Revolución de las manos de Kerenski y a Petrogrado de las de Yudenich. Durante el aniversario de octubre, los marinos estuvieron otra vez en las primeras filas y su reaparición, marchando por el Palacio de Invierno, fué frenéticamente aclamada por las masas que la invadían todo.

¿Es posible que los miembros prominentes del Partido, excepto Trotsky, ignorasen la corrupción y desmoralización de Kronstadt que él anota? Yo no lo creo así. Más todavía: yo dudo que León Trotski tuviese esa opinión de los marinos de Kronstadt hasta marzo de 1921. Su historia debe haber sido, por tanto, pensada después. ¿O es acaso una manera de justificar la insensata «liquidación» de Kronstadt?

Concediendo que el personal hubiese sufrido un cambio, todavía subsiste el hecho de que los de Kronstadt eran, sin embargo, muy diferentes en 1921 del cuadro que nos pintan León Trotski y su portavoz. Ateniéndonos a la realidad, el hecho es que los marinos encontraron su sentencia solamente, debido a su profunda solidaridad con los trabajadores de Petrogrado, cuya fuerza para soportar el frío y el hambre había alcanzado sus límites, con la declaración de varias huelgas en febrero de 1921. ¿Por qué no han dicho nada de eso León Trotski y sus secuaces? León Trotski sabe perfectamente bien, si es que Wright lo ignora, que la primera escena del drama de Kronstadt se produjo en Petrogrado el 24 de febrero y sus protagonistas no fueron los marineros sino los trabajadores huelguistas. Fué en esa fecha cuando los huelguistas desahogaron su cólera, acumulada contra la cruel indiferencia de los hombres que tanto habían charlado sobre la dictadura del proletariado y que desde hacía tiempo se habla convertido en la dictadura implacable del Partido Comunista.

Alejandro Berkman registra así, en su diario, este histórico día:

«Los trabajadores de los molinos Trubotchny han ido a la huelga. Se quejan de que en la distribución de la ropa de invierno los comunistas reciben indebidamente ventajas sobre los que no son sus partidarios. El Gobierno rehúsa considerar la injusticia hasta que los trabajadores regresen al trabajo.»

«Grupos de huelguistas se reunieron en las calles cercanas a los molinos y fueron mandados soldados para dispersarlos. Estos eran *Kursanti*, jóvenes comunistas de la academia militar. No hubo violencia.»

«Ahora se han unido a los huelguistas los trabajadores de los talleres del Almirantazgo y los de los muelles Galersaya. Hay mucho resentimiento contra la actitud arrogante del Gobierno. Se intenta hacer una manifestación por las calles, pero la caballería la suprime.»

Fué después del informe de su Comité sobre el verdadero estado de la situación de los trabajadores de Petrogrado cuando hizo Kronstadt en 1921 lo mismo que había hecho en 1917. La parte tomada por los marinos en 1917 fué aclamada como el orgullo rojo y gloria de la Revolución. Su idéntica actitud en 1921 fué denunciada ante el mundo entero como una traición contrarrevolucionaria. Naturalmente; en 1917 Kronstadt ayudó a los bolcheviques a encaramarse en la silla, mientras que en 1921 exigían el reconocimiento de las falsas esperanzas suscitadas en las masas y protestaban contra el quebrantamiento de la gran promesa tan pronto como los bolcheviques se sintieron atrincherados en el Poder. Crimen abominable, verdaderamente. La fase importante de

ese crimen, empero, descansa en que Kronstadt no se «amotinó» sin razones justificadísimas. La causa de ello estaba profundamente arraigada en los trabajadores rusos, debido a su sufrimiento. El proletariado de la ciudad (León Trotski), no el campesinado aburguesado, para ser claros, nos asegura que «los campesinos se reconciliaron con la requisita establecida como mal temporal» y que «ellos aprobaban a los bolcheviques, pero que su hostilidad para con los comunistas se acrecentaba». Ese alegato es mera floción, como puede quedar bien demostrado con numerosas pruebas, no siendo de las menos importantes la liquidación del soviét de campesinos, encabezado por María Spirodónova, o el fuego y el plomo empleado para obligar a los campesinos a entregar todos sus productos, incluyendo lo que tenían para la sementera primaveral.

Como hecho de verdad histórica, el campesino odiaba al régimen casi desde el principio, con tanta más razón desde que la consigna de Lenin «robad a los ladrones», fué invertida por la de «robad a los campesinos para la gloria de la dictadura comunista».

León Trotski nos dice que los marinos de Kronstadt, en 1919, no hubiesen dado sus víveres «bondadosamente», y que la bondad no se hubiese manifestado en tiempo alguno. Efectivamente, el vocablo «bondad» no existe en la jerga bolchevique. Y sin embargo, aquí están estos marinos desmoralizados y los especuladores desaprensivos, etc., apoyando en 1921 al proletariado de la ciudad, siendo una de sus primeras peticiones la igualdad en los racionamientos. ¡Cuán villanas eran, realmente, estas gentes de Kronstadt!

Los lectores encontrarán al final del artículo la resolución de los hombres de Kronstadt. Fué escrita bajo la dura presión de la artillería bolchevique. Y sin embargo, cada palabra nos demuestra la sencillez de propósitos de los hombres que fueron finalmente aplastados por la mortífera máquina de la dictadura.

Mucho se está haciendo por ambos escritores en contra de Kronstadt por el hecho de que los marineros, insistimos en ello, no premeditaron la rebelión, sino que se reunieron el primero de marzo para discutir la manera de ayudar a sus camaradas de Petrogrado y se constituyeron ellos mismos en Comité Provisional Revolucionario. La respuesta a esto la da el mismo John G. Wright. El escribe que «no puede ser excluido de manera alguna que las autoridades locales de Kronstadt contribuyeron a enredar la situación. No es un secreto que Kalinin, dejando aparte al comisario Kuzmin, no era muy apreciado por Lenin ni por sus colegas... En cuanto a las autoridades locales, o estaban ciegas para apreciar en su magnitud el peligro o fueron incapaces de tomar las medidas propias y eficaces para dominar la crisis, y en ese sentido sus errores tomaron parte en el desarrollo de los acontecimientos...»

La razón de que Lenin no estimase a Kalinin o a Kuzmin es, desgraciadamente, una vieja patraña bolchevique para descargar toda la responsabilidad sobre algún chapucero y hacer que las cabezas directoras aparezcan con la pureza del lirio.

Verdaderamente, las autoridades locales de Kronstadt «prevaricaron». Kuzmin atacó vieiosamente a los marineros y les amenazó con crueles resultados. Los marineros sabían, evidentemente, qué debían esperar de tales amenazas. Ellos no podían pensar más que, si a Kuzmin y Vassiliev les era permitido el obrar, su primer paso sería el retiro de armas y víveres de Kronstadt. A eso obedeció el que los marineros

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constituyesen su Comité Provisional Revolucionario. Otro factor adicional fué el hecho de que se recibieron noticias del encarcelamiento del Comité de treinta marineros, que fueron a Petrogrado para conferenciar con los trabajadores, a los cuales se les impidió el regreso a Kronstadt, siendo puestos a disposición de la Cheka.

Ambos escritores forman castillos de naipes con los rumores que circularon en el mitin del primero de marzo, sobre el hecho que un camión lleno de soldados, perfectamente armados, estaba en camino hacia Kronstadt; Wright, evidentemente, no ha vivido nunca dentro de la atmósfera asfixiante de la dictadura. Yo la he vivido cuando toda posibilidad de contacto humano se ha hecho imposible; cuando todo pensamiento humano tiene que permanecer dentro del cerebro que lo origina por imposibilidad de expresarlo; y es entonces cuando los rumores toman proporciones terribles. Además, durante el tiempo de mi permanencia en Moscú y en Petrogrado, veíanse frecuentemente por las calles, camiones cargados de soldados y de agentes de la Cheka, tendiendo sus redadas, y enterrando por las noches, en las mazmorras, toda su pesca humana. Con la tensión producida en la reunión celebrada, después de las amenazas del discurso de Kuzmin, era perfectamente natural que se diese crédito a los rumores.

Las noticias de la prensa de París sobre el levantamiento de Kronstadt dos semanas antes de producirse el mismo, fueron aprovechadas en la campaña contra los marineros como prueba positiva de que ellos habían sido instrumentos de la cuadrilla imperialista y que la rebelión había sido incubada en París. Resultaba demasiado evidente que la patraña fué urdida para desacreditar a los de Kronstadt ante los ojos de los trabajadores.

Verdaderamente, ese adelanto de las noticias fué simultáneo a otras informaciones de París, Riga y Helsinki, las cuales raramente coinciden, si es que coincidieron en alguna ocasión, con lo propalado por los agentes contrarrevolucionarios en las capitales europeas. Por otro lado, ocurrieron en la Rusia soviética muchos acontecimientos que hubiesen alegrado el corazón de la Entente, los cuales nunca fueron conocidos, a pesar de ser más dañinos para la Revolución rusa, por haber sido causados por la dictadura del mismo Partido Comunista. Uno de ellos, por ejemplo, fué la creación de la Cheka, que minó muchas de las ejecutorias de octubre y que, ya en 1921, se había adherido como quiste maligno al cuerpo de la Revolución. De la misma manera se produjeron otros acontecimientos similares que no creemos oportuno citar aquí.

No, las noticias adelantadas por la prensa de París no tenían relación alguna con la rebelión de Kronstadt. En realidad, nadie creyó en 1921, en Petrogrado, que existiese conexión alguna, ni siquiera un gran número de comunistas tuvieron tal creencia. Según he dicho anteriormente, John G. Wright es meramente un pupilo aprovechado de León Trotski y, por lo tanto, bastante inocente respecto a lo que la mayor parte de la gente de dentro y de fuera del partido pensaba sobre este llamado «eslabón».

Los historiadores futuros apreciarán indudablemente en su justo valor el «amotinamiento» de Kronstadt. Cuando lo hagan, llegarán sin duda alguna a la conclusión de que el levantamiento no pudo producirse con mayor oportunidad, ni aun que hubiese sido preparado deliberadamente.

El factor principal que decidió la suerte de Kronstadt fué la N. E. P. Lenin, conocedor de la considerable oposición que había de encontrar en el partido esta necia empresa «revolucionaria», necesitó la existencia de alguna amenaza para suavizar la oposición y preparar la aceptación de la N. E. P. La situación de Kronstadt no pudo presentarse en momento más oportuno. Toda la maquinaria aplastante de propaganda fué puesta inmediatamente en movimiento para probar que los marinos estaban ligados a los poderes imperialistas y a todos los elementos contrarrevolucionarios para destruir el Estado Comunista. Esto produjo, como arte mágico, fantástico resultado. La N. E. P. fué impuesta sin tropiezo alguno.

Pero la horrible maniobra costó mucho tiempo. Los trescientos delegados, la flor de la juventud comunista, que fué mandada desde el décimo Congreso del Partido Comunista para aplastar a Kronstadt, fueron un puñado tan solo de hombres de los millares que fueron criminalmente sacrificados. Ellos fueron a la lucha con fervor y creyendo verdad lo que no era más que una campaña envilecedora. Aquellos que salvaron la vida tuvieron un rudo despertar.

En *Mi desilusión*, narro la entrevista que tuve con un comunista herido, el cual no ha perdido su mordacidad, a pesar de los años transcurridos:

«Muchos de los heridos en el ataque a Kronstadt fueron traídos al mismo hospital, y eran en su mayoría Kursanti. Yo tuve la oportunidad de hablar con uno de ellos. Su sufrimiento físico, decía él, no era nada comparado con su agonía mental. Se había dado cuenta demasiado tarde de que había sido engañado por el grito de contrarrevolución. Ni había generales zaristas en Kronstadt ni guardias blancos; él no vio más que camaradas, marinos y soldados que habían luchado heroicamente por el triunfo de la Revolución.»

Nadie que tenga sentido común hallará similitud alguna entre la N. E. P. y la petición de los marineros de Kronstadt para establecer el libre intercambio de productos. La N. E. P. vino a restablecer los graves males que la Revolución rusa había intentado arrancar. El libre cambio de productos entre los trabajadores y los campesinos, entre el campo y la ciudad, encarnaba la misma razón de ser de la Revolución. Naturalmente, «los anarquistas estaban contra la N. E. P.». Pero el libre cambio, como ya me había dicho Zinoviev en 1920, «está fuera de nuestro plan de centralización». El pobre Zinoviev no pudo siquiera imaginar cuán horrible iba a resultar el logro de la centralización del Poder.

Fué la idea fija de centralización de la dictadura lo que vino pronto a producir la división entre la ciudad y el campo, los trabajadores y los campesinos y no como León Trotski nos lo quiere hacer creer, «porque los unos son proletarios... y los otros pequeños burgueses», sino porque la dictadura paralizó la iniciativa de ambos: la del proletariado de la ciudad y la del pequeño burgués del campo.

Fué, efectivamente, una ingenuidad de los marineros el pensar que los soviets pudiesen vivir libremente al lado de la dictadura. El soviét libre dejó de existir pronto, debido a una jugada comunista, lo mismo

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que las uniones gremiales y las cooperativas. Todos ellos fueron absorbidos por el engranaje de la máquina bolchevique. Yo recuerdo muy bien lo que me dijo Lenin con gran satisfacción: «Nuestro viejo gran hombre, Errico Malatesta, está de acuerdo con nuestro soviets». A lo cual le contesté yo con rapidez: «Si quieres decir el soviets libre, yo también lo apruebo, camarada Lenin». Lenin llevó la conversación hacia otro rumbo. Pero yo no tardé en descubrir el porqué dejó de existir el Soviet libre de Rusia.

John G. Wright quiere hacer ver que no existieron dificultades en Petrogrado hasta el 22 de febrero. Esto está de acuerdo con sus otras mezcolanzas del material de su «histórico» partido. El descontento y el malestar de los trabajadores se notaba ya considerablemente cuando nosotros llegamos. En cada industria que yo visité pude observar un extremo descontento y resentimiento, porque la dictadura del proletariado había sido convertida en una dictadura devastadora por el Partido Comunista, con sus respectivos racionamientos y recriminaciones. Si el descontento de los trabajadores no se desbordó antes de 1921, fue solamente debido a que los trabajadores se agarraban tenazmente a la esperanza de que, al ser liquidados los frentes, verían cumplidas las promesas de la Revolución. Fue Kronstadt lo que desbarató la última engaño.

Los marineros de Kronstadt se atrevieron a ponerse del lado de los trabajadores descontentos. Se habían atrevido a reclamar el cumplimiento de la promesa de la Revolución: «Todo el poder a los soviets». La dictadura política había asesinado a la dictadura del proletariado. Esa y solamente esa fue la inolvidable ofensa en contra del sagrado espíritu bolchevique.

León Trotski se muestra sarcástico ante la acusación de que él fusiló a 1.500 marineros. No, él no ejecutó el sangriento trabajo. El encargó a su lugarteniente Tujachevsky que llevara a cabo su amenaza de matarlos «cual si fuesen faisanes». Tujachevsky cumplió la orden al pie de la letra. El número de muertos fue incontable, y aquellos que se salvaron del incesante ataque de la artillería bolchevique fueron entregados a Dibenko, famoso por su «humanitarismo y su justicia». ¡Tujachevsky y Dibenko, los héroes y salvadores de la dictadura! La historia parece tener su propia manera de hacer justicia.

León Trotski, John G. Wright y los anarquistas españoles

Durante los cuatro años de la guerra civil en Rusia, los anarquistas apoyaron a los bolcheviques casi sin excepción alguna, a pesar de que, diariamente, crecía su creencia del colapso pendiente de la Revolución. Pero se creyeron obligados a guardar silencio sobre ello y evitar toda actitud que pudiese ser confundida como un apoyo a sus enemigos.

Ciertamente, la Revolución rusa luchó contra muchos frentes y contra muchos enemigos, pero en ningún momento se registró tan gran desigualdad como la que hay en España entre los anarquistas y la Revolución con sus enemigos. La amenaza de Franco, apoyado por la soldadesca y materiales italogermánicos, la transferencia a España de las bendiciones de Stalin, la conspiración de las potencias imperialistas, la traición de las llamadas democracias y la considerable apatía

del proletariado internacional, sobrepasan en mucho los peligros de que se vio rodeada la Revolución rusa. ¿Qué es lo que hace Trotski frente a tan terrible tragedia? El se une al tumulto butlangero confiando que su puñal envenenado hiera lo más vital del anarquismo español en su momento más crítico.

Sin duda alguna, los anarquistas españoles han cometido un grave error. Se olvidaron de invitar a León Trotski para que llevase la dirección de la Revolución española, a fin de que pudiese demostrar sus éxitos de Rusia, repitiéndolos en las tierras españolas. Esa parece ser la causa de todo su enfado.

León Trotski intenta jugarse otro triunfo cuando pregunta: «¿Cómo y dónde han sido confirmados los grandes principios anarquistas en su práctica, aunque haya sido parcialmente o cuando menos en su tendencia?» Esa carta, lo mismo que todas las que ha jugado en su vida, no le sirve para ganar la partida. En honor a la verdad, las tendencias y principios anarquistas han sido confirmados en España. Yo estoy parcialmente de acuerdo. ¿Cómo puede ser de otra manera con todas las fuerzas que conspiran contra la Revolución española? El trabajo constructivo desarrollado por la Confederación Nacional del Trabajo y la Federación Anarquista Ibérica, es algo en lo que nunca se pensó en el régimen bolchevique en todos los años que estuvo en el poder y, sin embargo, la colectivización de la tierra y de las industrias españolas es una de las mayores ejecutorias de cualquier período revolucionario. Más aún: con todo y que Franco triunfase y los anarquistas españoles fuesen ahogados en ríos de su propia sangre, continuaría la obra que ellos han empezado. Están tan hondas las raíces de los principios anarquistas, en el suelo español, que nunca podrán ser arrancadas. ¿Dónde y cuándo ha colocado Trotski su bandera, que él dice no haber comprometido nunca con el enemigo y que representa la corriente revolucionaria del futuro, en un nivel parecido al ejemplo que dan los hombres y mujeres de España, que luchan con la espalda pegada a la pared?

The Emma Goldman Papers

Palestine and Socialist Policy / Emma Goldman. — p. 2 ; 22 cm. In Spain and the World [London]. — (Aug. 26, 1938).
Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

To The Editor,
SPAIN AND THE WORLD.

Dear Comrade,

I was interested in the article, "Palestine and Socialist Policy," by our good friend Reginald Reynolds, in *Spain and the World* of July 29th. There is much in it with which I fully agree, but a great deal more which seems to me contradictory for a Socialist and a near-Anarchist. Before I point out these inconsistencies, I wish to say that our friend's article lends itself to the impression that he is a rabid anti-Semite. In point of truth, I have been asked by several people how it happens that *Spain and the World* printed such an anti-Semitic article. Their surprise was even greater that Reginald Reynolds should be guilty of such tendency. Knowing the writer I felt quite safe in assuring my Jewish friends that Reginald Reynolds has not a particle of anti-Semitic feeling in him, although it is quite true that his article unfortunately gives such an impression.

I have no quarrel with our good friend about his charges against the Zionists. In point of fact I have for many years opposed Zionism as the dream of capitalist Jewry the world over for a Jewish State with all its trimmings, such as Government, laws, police, militarism and the rest. In other words, a Jewish State machinery to protect the privileges of the few against the many.

Reginald Reynolds is wrong, however, when he makes it appear that the Zionists were the sole backers of Jewish emigration to Palestine. Perhaps he does not know that the Jewish masses in every country and especially in the United States of America have contributed vast amounts of money for the same purpose. They have given unstintingly out of their earnings in the hope that Palestine may prove an asylum for their brothers, cruelly persecuted in nearly every European country. The fact that there are many non-

Palestine and Socialist Policy Emma Goldman's Views

that this is of no importance as against the Arahs who have lived in Palestine for generations. I do not think either claim of great moment, unless one believes in the monopoly of land and the right of Governments in every country to keep our newcomers.

Surely Reginald Reynolds knows that the Arah people have about as much to say who should or should not come into their country as the under-privileged of other lands. In point of fact our friend admits as much when he states that the Arab feudal lords had sold the land to the Jews without the knowledge of the Arah people. This is of course nothing new in our world. The capitalist class everywhere owns, controls and disposes of its wealth to suit itself. The masses, whether Arab, English or any other, have very little to say in the matter.

In claiming the right of the Arahs to keep out Jewish immigration from Palestine, our good friend is guilty of the same breach of Socialism as his comrade, John McGovern. To be sure the latter makes himself the champion of British Imperialism while Reginald Reynolds sponsors the Arah capitalist rights. That is had enough for a revolutionary socialist. Worse still is the inconsistency in pleading on behalf of land monopoly, to which the Arahs alone should have the right.

Perhaps my revolutionary education has been sadly neglected, but I have been taught that the land should belong to those who till the soil. With all his deep-seated sympathies with the Arahs, our comrade cannot possibly deny that the Jews in Palestine have not tilled the soil. Tens of thousands of them, young and deeply devout idealists, have flocked to Palestine, there to till the soil under the most

asylum in Palestine, but he also insists that Australia, Madagascar and East Africa would be justified in closing their ports against the Jews. If all these countries are in their right, why not the Nazis in Germany or Austria? In fact, all countries. Unfortunately, our comrade does not suggest a single place where the Jews might find peace and security.

I take it that Reginald Reynolds believes in the right of asylum for political refugees. I am certain he resents the loss of this great principle, once the pride and glory of England, as much as I do. How then, can he reconcile his feelings about political refugees with his denial of asylum to the Jews. I must say I am puzzled.

Our friend waxes very hot about national independence for the Arahs and for all other peoples under British Dominion. I am not opposed to the struggle for it, but I do not see the same blessings in national independence under the capitalist régime. All the advancement claimed for it is like the claims for democracy, a delusion and a snare. One has but to point out some of the countries that have achieved national independence. Poland, for instance, the Baltic States or some of the Balkan countries. Far from being progressive in the true sense, they have become Fascist. Political persecution is not less severe than under the Tsar, while anti-Semitism, formerly fostered from on top, has since infested every layer of social life in these countries.

However, since our friend champions national independence, why not be consistent and recognise the right of the Zionists or of the Jews at large to national independence? If anything, their precarious condition, the fact that they are

in Germany and Austria, they have exploited labour and have been antagonistic to any attempt on the part of the masses to better their condition. Some German Jews had the temerity to say that they would not object to driving out the *Ost-Juden* (Jews coming from Poland and other countries). All that is true, but the fact remains that since Hitler's ascendancy to power all Jews without exception have been subjected to the most fiendish persecution and the most horrible indignities, besides being robbed of all their possessions. It therefore seems rather strange for a Socialist to deny these unfortunate people a chance of taking root in new countries, there to begin a new life.

The last paragraph in *Palestine and Socialist Policy* caps the climax. The author writes: "What does it matter who makes a demand or why it is made, or who pays the bill if that demand is just? To reject a just demand is to brand ourselves as friends of tyranny and oppression; to accept it and to work for it is not only our duty but the only policy that will expose the pretensions of our enemies."

The question is, dear Reginald Reynolds, who is to decide what is a "just demand"? Unless one makes oneself guilty of the charge the writer hurls against the Jews, "the intolerable arrogance of people who regard their own race as superior," one cannot very well decide whether the demand of natives for the monopoly of their country is any more just than the desperate need of millions of people who are slowly being exterminated.

In conclusion, I wish to say that my attitude to the whole tragic question is not dictated by my Jewish antecedents. It is motivated by my abhorrence of injustice.

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Reginald Reynolds is wrong, however, when he makes it appear that the Zionists were the sole backers of Jewish emigration to Palestine. Perhaps he does not know that the Jewish masses in every country and especially in the United States of America have contributed vast amounts of money for the same purpose. They have given unstintingly out of their earnings in the hope that Palestine may prove an asylum for their brothers, cruelly persecuted in nearly every European country. The fact that there are many non-Zionist communes in Palestine goes to prove that the Jewish workers who have helped the persecuted and bounded Jews have done so not because they are Zionists, but for the reason I have already stated, that they might be left in peace in Palestine to take root and live their own lives.

Comrade Reynolds resents the contention of the Jews that Palestine had been their homeland two thousand years ago. He insists

Surely Reginald Reynolds knows that the Arab people have about as much to say who should or should not come into their country as the under-privileged of other lands. In point of fact our friend admits as much when he states that the Arab feudal lords had sold the land to the Jews without the knowledge of the Arab people. This is of course nothing new in our world. The capitalist class everywhere owns, controls and disposes of its wealth to suit itself. The masses, whether Arab, English or any other, have very little to say in the matter.

In claiming the right of the Arabs to keep out Jewish immigration from Palestine, our good friend is guilty of the same breach of Socialism as his comrade, John McGovern. To be sure the latter makes himself the champion of British Imperialism while Reginald Reynolds sponsors the Arab capitalist rights. That is bad enough for a revolutionary socialist. Worse still is the inconsistency in pleading on behalf of land monopoly, to which the Arabs alone should have the right.

Perhaps my revolutionary education has been sadly neglected, but I have been taught that the land should belong to those who till the soil. With all his deep-seated sympathies with the Arabs, our comrade cannot possibly deny that the Jews in Palestine have not tilled the soil. Tens of thousands of them, young and deeply devout idealists, have flocked to Palestine, there to till the soil under the most trying pioneer conditions. They have reclaimed wastelands and have turned them into fertile fields and blooming gardens. Now I do not say that therefore the Jews are entitled to more rights than the Arabs, but for an ardent Socialist to say that the Jews have no business in Palestine seems to me rather a strange kind of socialist.

Moreover, Reginald Reynolds not only denies the Jews the right of

all countries. Unfortunately, our comrade does not suggest a single place where the Jews might find peace and security.

I take it that Reginald Reynolds believes in the right of asylum for political refugees. I am certain he resents the loss of this great principle, once the pride and glory of England, as much as I do. How then, can he reconcile his feelings about political refugees with his denial of asylum to the Jews. I must say I am puzzled.

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However, since our friend champions national independence, why not be consistent and recognise the right of the Zionists or of the Jews at large to national independence? If anything, their precarious condition, the fact that they are nowhere wanted, should entitle them to at least the same consideration that our comrade so earnestly gives to the Arabs.

I know of course that a great many of the Jews can lay no claim to being political refugees. On the contrary, most of them have remained indifferent to the persecution of workers, socialists, communists, trade-unionists and anarchists, so long as their own skins were safe. Like the middle-class

Juden (Jews coming from Poland and other countries). All that is true, but the fact remains that since Hitler's ascendancy to power all Jews without exception have been subjected to the most fiendish persecution and the most horrible indignities, besides being robbed of all their possessions. It therefore seems rather strange for a Socialist to deny these unfortunate people a chance of taking root in new countries, there to begin a new life.

The last paragraph in Palestine and Socialist Policy caps the climax. The author writes: "What does it matter who makes a demand or why it is made, or who pays the bill if that demand is just? To reject a just demand is to brand ourselves as friends of tyranny and oppression; to accept it and to work for it is not only our duty but the only policy that will expose the pretensions of our enemies."

The question is, dear Reginald Reynolds, who is to decide what is a "just demand"? Unless one makes oneself guilty of the charge the writer hurls against the Jews, "the intolerable arrogance of people who regard their own race as superior," one cannot very well decide whether the demand of natives for the monopoly of their country is any more just than the desperate need of millions of people who are slowly being exterminated.

In conclusion, I wish to say that my attitude to the whole tragic question is not dictated by my Jewish antecedents. It is motivated by my abhorrence of injustice, and man's inhumanity to man. It is because of this that I have fought all my life for Anarchism which alone will do away with the horrors of the capitalist régime and place all races and peoples, including the Jews, on a free and equal basis. Until then I consider it highly inconsistent for socialists and anarchists to discriminate in any shape or form against the Jews.

EMMA GOLDMAN.
LONDON, AUGUST, 1938.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Emma Goldman habla de la confusa y grave situación creada en Europa
[Emma Goldman speaks of the confused and grave European situation. In Spanish] /
Emma Goldman. — p. 4 ; 27 cm. In Solidaridad Obrera [Barcelona]. — (Sept. 16, 1938)
Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

ORGANO DE LA CONFEDERACIÓN REGIONAL DEL TRABAJO EN CATALUÑA

PORTAVO.

Barcelona, viernes, 16 de septiembre de 1938

EMMA GOLDMAN HABLA DE LA CONFUSA Y GRAVE SITUACION CREADA EN EUROPA

Si se hubiera ayudado a España a su debido tiempo, hoy no tendríamos la amenaza de guerra en Europa ni el asunto de Checoeslovaquia

Emma Goldman, la destacada y batalladora militante anarquista, se encuentra en Barcelona. Su amor a nuestra causa, por cuyo triunfo trabaja con todas las fuerzas de su grande y delicado espíritu, en las múltiples e importantes expresiones de su recia personalidad, constantemente la lleva a nuestro lado, tanto en los momentos de honda satisfacción colectiva, por la próspera fortuna de nuestras armas, como en los momentos más graves de nuestra contienda.

Emma Goldman no pierde contacto con nosotros, sus hermanos españoles, en ningún instante. En Londres, en París, en América, allí donde la autoridad de sus opiniones y de su propaganda reclame esfuerzo, allí está ella, cumpliendo los honores de mayor responsabilidad.

Ahora ha venido a ponerse, nuevamente, en contacto directo con nuestro Pueblo, en una hora en que por encima de la ola de confusión y de medrosos pánicos que se extiende por los países de Europa, las banderas de la Libertad y de la dignidad humana, aparecen victoriosas sobre nuestros sacrificios.

Trae la emoción viva y cálida de las horas dramáticas que Europa vive, y las orientaciones de su aguda penetración en el examen de los acontecimientos europeos.

Hemos creído del mayor interés interrogar a nuestra veterana compañera. He aquí sus manifestaciones:

SUS IMPRESIONES DE PARÍS. — SE VIVE UN AMBIENTE DE GUERRA

—Las últimas impresiones que me ha producido París y otras capitales, es que Europa va directamente a una catástrofe. Después del discurso pronunciado por el megalómano de Berlín, en París ya nadie duda sobre sus intenciones; nadie cree en las palabras de paz que tanto prodigaba en sus discursos. Toda la Francia que no quería la guerra, ahora ve que



esta es inevitable. En París se vive en un ambiente de guerra. Las estaciones están repletas de gentes que van a despedir a los soldados que marchan hacia las fronteras. Yo he visto a varias madres que se despedían de sus hijos. Las últimas ediciones de los periódicos son arrancadas de las manos de los vendedores. Las radios de los bares y cafés, son escuchadas atentamente. Os digo que he presenciado escenas que son una repetición de las que ya presencié en 1914.

LA HEROICA LUCHA DE ESPAÑA DENTRO DEL CAOS INTERNACIONAL

—¿Cómo ve la lucha del Pueblo español contra el fascismo internacional?

Resume sus apreciaciones en estos términos:

—¡Ah! Esta lucha es la admiración de todo el Mundo. La clase obrera de Europa y muy especialmente la de Inglaterra, aunque se puede decir que no han hecho lo que es su deber para que los obreros

españoles pudieran ganar la lucha, sienten gran simpatía por los antifascistas españoles. Los últimos acontecimientos, y particularmente los hechos de guerra que han tenido lugar en España, han hecho cambiar la opinión, no sólo de la gente indiferente, sino hasta de aquellos que antes tenían mucha simpatía por Franco y que pertenecen a la sociedad adinerada. En Inglaterra he tenido ocasión de hablar con un representante de esta sociedad, el cual me ha declarado: "Admiro a los antifascistas españoles, y no comprendo cómo pueden resistir contra los Ejércitos Italiano y alemán, tan bien pertrechados con armamentos modernos. Les admiro, porque sé que los soldados que defienden a Franco tienen toda clase de material que les llega por todas las fronteras, mientras que los soldados antifascistas no tienen casi, y en cambio, tienen la frontera cerrada, el mar vigilado, y las cascas de armamentos de Europa están cerradas para ellos a piedra y lodo. Admiro a los soldados españoles, porque con el fusil y la ametralladora han sabido resistir en Levante, en Extremadura y en el Ebro, contra nubes de aviación, contra centenares de tanques, infinidad de morteros y contra una artillería de último modelo.

Como veis, la admiración por la resistencia, heroísmo y valor de los soldados, va penetrando cada día más en esta sociedad, y creo que, por fin, se dará algún paso en estos países en favor vuestro. Además, todo el Mundo se da cuenta, ahora más que nunca, de que vosotros estais defendiendo, no sólo la libertad de los españoles, sino también la de todo el Mundo; que estais defendiendo no sólo la paz para España, sino para todos. En Europa se oyen cada vez más frecuentemente voces de que si se hubiera ayudado a destruir al fascismo en España a su debido tiempo, hoy no tendríamos la amenaza de guerra en Europa, ni el asunto de Checoeslovaquia.

LA LISTA TRAGICA...

10.000 libras del Gobierno inglés para los niños españoles refu-

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Trotsky protests too much. In French] Réponse à Trotski / Emma Goldman. — 27 cm. In Le Réveil Anarchiste [Geneva]. — (Sept. 21, 1938, excerpt).

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LE REVEIL ANARCHISTE ANNÉE XXXVIII N° 1006 21 septembre 1938

Réponse à Trotski

Les marxistes, avec Trotski en tête, continuant à baver sur les anarchistes, Emma Goldman leur répond pertinemment dans un article où elle remet toutes choses en place. En voici la conclusion:

Pendant les quatre années de guerre civile en Russie, les anarchistes appuyèrent les bolchevistes presque sans exception aucune, malgré qu'ils sentaient jour après jour grandir leur opinion que la Révolution allait à sa perte. Néanmoins, ils se crurent obligés de garder le silence et d'éviter toute attitude pouvant être confondue avec un appui à ses ennemis.

Certes, la Révolution russe lutta sur beaucoup de fronts et contre beaucoup d'ennemis, mais à aucun moment il n'y eut une si grande disproportion comme celle qu'il y a aujourd'hui en Espagne entre les anarchistes et la Révolution et tous ses ennemis. La menace de Franco, appuyée par la soldatesque et le matériel italo-allemand, le transfert à l'Espagne des bénédictions de Staline, la conspiration des puissances impérialistes, la trahison des prétendues démocraties et l'apathie considérable du prolétariat international, dépassent de beaucoup les dangers dont fut entourée la Révolution russe. Trotski que fait-il en face d'une aussi terrible tragédie? Il se joint au tapage, dans l'espoir que son poignard empoisonné puisse frapper l'anarchisme espagnol dans ce qu'il a de plus vital à son moment le plus critique.

Les anarchistes espagnols ont sans doute commis une grave erreur. Ils ont oublié de s'adresser à Léon Trotski afin qu'il prône la direction de la Révolution espagnole, pour lui permettre d'expliquer ses succès en Russie, ou le renouvelant en pays espagnol. C'est ce qui paraît être la cause de tout son ressentiment.

Léon Trotski prétend s'adjuger un autre triomphe, lorsqu'il demande: « Où et quand ont été confirmés les grands principes anarchistes dans la pratique, même partiellement ou du moins comme tendance? » Cette carte, comme toutes celles qu'il a jouées dans sa vie, ne lui sert guère à gagner la partie. En vérité, les tendances et principes anarchistes ont été confirmés en Espagne. Néanmoins, je suis partiellement d'accord qu'il ne pouvait en être autrement avec toutes les forces qui conspirent contre la Révolution espagnole. Le travail constructif développé par la Confédération Nationale du Travail et la Fédération Anarchiste Ibérique, est quelque chose auquel personne ne songea depuis tant d'années que le régime bolcheviste est au pouvoir, et, néanmoins, la collectivisation de la terre et de l'industrie espagnoles est l'une des plus grandes réalisations de toutes les périodes révolutionnaires. Plus encore: malgré tout, même si Franco devait triompher et noyer les anarchistes espagnols dans des fleuves de sang, l'œuvre qu'ils ont initiée se poursuivrait. Les racines des principes anarchistes sont tellement profondes dans le sol espagnol, qu'elles ne pourront jamais être arrachées. Où et quand Trotski a-t-il planté son drapeau à un niveau aussi élevé que les hommes et les femmes d'Espagne qui luttent de pied ferme, ce drapeau qu'il dit n'avoir jamais compromis avec l'ennemi et représenter le courant révolutionnaire de l'avenir?

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Emma Goldman en España [Emma Goldman on Spain. In Spanish] / Emma Goldman. — p. 1 ; 29 cm. In Fragua Social [Valencia]. — no. 649 (Sept. 22, 1938). Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Hemeroteca Municipal de Madrid, Spain.

FRAGUA SOCIAL

ORGANO DE LA CONFEDERACION REGIONAL DEL TRABAJO DE LEVANTE Y PORTAVOZ DE LA C. N. T.

Año III—Núm. 649

VALENCIA — Jueves 22 de Septiembre de 1938

Ejemp. 25 cts.

En Levante y Extremadura, el Ejército de la Libertad sigue profundizando su victorioso avance obteniendo importantes conquistas

Editorial

De la batalla del Ebro a la ofensiva en Levante

Estamos en los últimos días del segundo mes de la batalla del Ebro. Desde hace cinco días, el enemigo, previo un descanso brevísimo, y previa la acumulación de mas material bélico y de unidades extranjeras y obligado a ello por el formidable castigo que los soldados españoles le han infligido al ree halar los desmpeñados ataques que viene realizando a nuestras posiciones reanuda el ataque. Los lieros del Ejército del Este siguen resistiendo y disimulando las tropas asaltantes, sin ceder una pulgada de terreno.

Para a la resistencia del Ejército del Este se une una nueva ofensiva de nuestros soldados. El frente de Extremadura ha dado nuevas señales de actividad y de pujanza. Y en Levante ha sido comenzada con éxitos una firme acción por nuestra parte. No entramos en el terreno de las afirmaciones optimistas, pero a la vista de nuestra situación militar estamos en el caso de poner de relieve una vez más la importancia de la batalla del Ebro. En estos momentos en que los mandos políticos de Europa están confundidos por que Checoslovaquia sea invadida a la vez por Alemania nazi, el ejemplo de España no tiene por menos que influenciar con fuerza efectiva en las decisiones dignas de los pueblos amenazados, demostrándoles que contra los maldades del fascismo y del imperialismo capitalista, puede atreverse un pueblo que esté dispuesto a defender su libertad y su independencia más estricta.

El pueblo español y en su nombre el Ejército de la Libertad que ha nacido de su seno están demostrando cómo se lucha contra todos los poderosos del mundo en estas horas de desenfreno y de criminales conspiraciones contra la justicia humana y la libertad. Hace siete meses, todas las canchillerías de Europa daban por muerta la República española y en poder de Alemania e Italia nuestro territorio. Las fuerzas de la invasión avanzaban en forma arrolladora hacia nuestro litoral mediterráneo. Llegaron a él. Prosiguieron su avance en dirección a Valencia, amenazando esta hermosa perla del Mediterráneo. Pero el pueblo y el Ejército decidieron con valentía la resistencia. Y se resistió heroicamente. Y los soldados de Levante dieron el más grande ejemplo de resistencia conocido hasta entonces en nuestra guerra. Resistiendo en Levante, el Gobierno dispuso de tiempo para preparar la ofensiva por la otra zona. Y el 25 de Julio, el mundo entero se asombraba de la operación hecha por los soldados del Ejército del Este. Se pasó el Ebro arrollando en tromba al adversario. Los soldados españoles se hicieron fuertes en sus posiciones. Los planes del enemigo fueron totalmente desbaratados. Cesa obligadamente sus ataques por Levante. Confronto todos sus elementos frente a nuestra Ejército del Este para obligarle a repasar el Ebro. Vase empeño. Si el asombro fue grande al pasar el río Ebro ha sido mayor al conocerse la resistencia que han opuesto a los contrataques del enemigo. Los soldados del Ebro han superado la resistencia de los de Levante, y han impuesto al enemigo un terrible castigo del que le será difícil evitar las consecuencias.

Los oídos recien de guerra nos dicen claramente que los soldados de Levante están de

(PARA A LA PAGINA 2)

Libros de FRAGUA SOCIAL

LA BATALLA DE LEVANTE

(Segunda parte)

61.—(Batalla del frente enemigo)

La guarnición levantina quiere la Victoria y quiere que el invasor, derrollado, sangre por muchas y dñes. No ha mucho el Ebro a Levante dió albricias y parabienes, y Levante recibió como quita es el billete. Hubo a la pso. Nuestros hom-

—¡centurias que no dñen!— vigilaban en los campos de ambate sin moverse. Hoy cursa Levante al Ebro, giro postal da rondes, albricias contrasñadas con la rotura del frente, y en la posidado del giro, aunque un giro no las lleve, escribe Levante ofertas más suyas cuanto más breves: "Teago dieciséis colas y pongo las dieciséis a tu guarda, como ta lo hiciste por ser quien eres. Lo demás que conquiste reaccumularé a centenes. Rompi los frentes facciosos, los rompimos go p mis genes, y porque lá me seguíste iniciado a mí lá y tu huete, a tí mas huete y go iremos, ¡que lo mereces!" Lo guarnición levantina popular ha roto el frente.

FELIX PAREDES

Maniobras de la escuadra británica en el Mediterráneo Oriental

Londres.—En los círculos navales bien informados manifiestan que la división naval que se hallaba en aguas de Stambul ha recibido orden de abandonar aquella zona y realizar maniobras en el Mediterráneo oriental, sin escala en los puertos rumanos y búlgaros.

—Fabra



Ginebra.—El presidente del Gobierno español, doctor Negrín, ha

Y EN EL EBRO, EL INVASOR FRACASA EN SUS VAMOS INTENTOS DE QUEBRAR LA INVENCIBLE RESISTENCIA DE LOS SOLDADOS ESPAÑOLES.—TRES TANQUES FACIOSOS INUTILIZADOS Y UN BIOMOTOR ABATIDO POR NUESTROS CAZAS

Disco

LA OPOSICION

La tarea de toda oposición es la que entraña siempre mayor responsabilidad, la más delicada y difícil de realizar. Desde luego, pensando sobre la oposición como forma piensa ya, esto es, considerándola como la crítica constructiva que aspira a demoler errores y levantar aciertos. Criticar por criticar es una idiotez. Cualquier forma de crítica que no sea positiva, que no tienda a edificar, a resolver los problemas y a superar la ineficiencia en la actuación, no merece el calificativo de verdadera y fructífera oposición. Ya sé cuán difícil sería encontrar algún sector o alguna persona que se condujese de tal forma al hacer la oposición a otro sector o a otra persona. Pero difícil y todo, es preciso que nos acordemos a poner en circulación estas naciones sobre los deberes de la oposición. Claro está, esos deberes se deben erigir hoy con muchísimo mayor celo puesto que las circunstancias no permiten ciertos lujos a la crítica. Hay que pasar los centímetros justos en la confección de la crítica al nivel para que la tela no falte. Yo tengo de la oposición una larga experiencia y años recuerdos que algún día, cuando el papel abunde, trasladaré al libro. Todas las minorías aspiran a ser mayorías por medio de la oposición. La aspiración es humana y es justa. Pero a condición de que al desarrollar las actividades opositoras, se haga para sumar y no para restar, para edificar y no para destruir, para resolver y no para confundir, para aclarar y no para confundir. En fin: que se haga oposición de verdad, constructiva, de la que ubre cauces y no cierra los caminos al que anda de lo que despeja horizontes y eleva el corazón y el alma. Oposición, en una palabra, a los errores, a las negligencias, a los pasos en falso. A todo lo que en justicia se puede rebatir y se debe rebatir. NOY

BOMBARDEO FRUSTRADO CONTRA UN DESTROYER BRITANICO A LA ALTURA DE GANDIA POR CINCO TRIMOTORES ITALIANOS

Barcelona.— Parlo oficial de Guerra.

EJERCITO DE TIERRA

ESTE.— Han continuado en la zona del Ebro los violentísimos ataques de las fuerzas al servicio de la invasión, protegidas por la constante actuación de la artillería italiana y de la aviación extranjera, que bombardearon nuestras líneas durante toda la jornada.

Varios ataques enemigos a la cota 287 de la carretera de Alcolea fueron fatalmente rechazados, destruyéndose tres de los doce tanques facciosos que intervinieron en el combate.

También han sido deshechos por nuestras tropas los intentos de los rebeldes contra las líneas republicanas de Mas de Alodén.

La aviación española bombardeó con gran precisión diversas con-

centraciones, en las que causó muchas bajas. Fue derribado en combate un biomotor extranjero, reduciendo nosotros la pérdida de un caso.

LEVANTE.— Los soldados españoles, profundizando su victorioso avance en el sector de Manzanera, han conquistado el Coto y las cotas 1.593 y 1.425, capturando prisioneros y material.

EXTREMADURA.— En la zona de Villafraña de Córdoba, las tropas republicanas conquistaron importantes posiciones.

En los demás frentes, sin salir de interés.

AVACION

A las 14 horas de ayer cinco trimotores italianos, "Bavaria XI" bombardearon a la altura de Gandia al destructor británico "C O-5" sin conseguir alcanzarlo.

EMMA GOLDMAN EN ESPAÑA

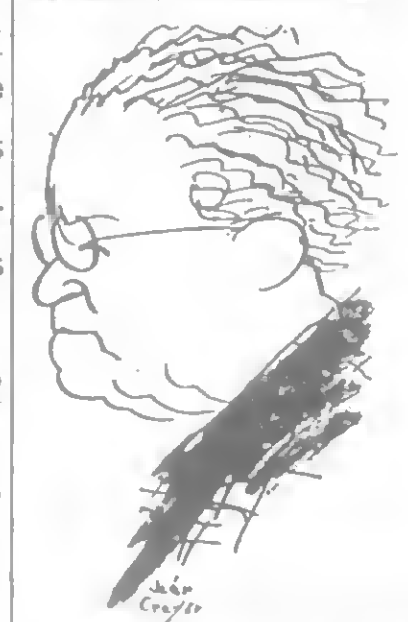
"Los trabajadores de todos los países hubieran hecho mucha más en favor de lo España republicana de haberles dejado sus dirigentes y si hubieran tenido quien les impulsara"

Barcelona.— Se encuentra en esta ciudad la batalladora, de-

sora del proletariado, Emma Goldman.

Ha venido de Inglaterra para convivir con los obreros españoles en estos días supremos en que se está ventilando la muerte futur del mundo.

Ha dicho que los trabajadores de



todos los países han hecho mucha en favor de la España proletaria, para haberles hecho mucho más de haberles dejado sus dirigentes y si hubieran tenido quien les impulsara.

Recuerda que las proposiciones de la A. I. T. a la Segunda Internacional para realizar actos de sabotaje fueron rechazadas.

En Inglaterra los sindicatos, separándose del camino de imprudente anicia que le marcan los dirigentes, han hecho pasar a través de una barrera de frialdad y egoísmo su resolución terminante para que al pueblo español le lleguen las armas necesarias.

Refleja el caso de los obreros ingleses que trabajan horas extraordinarias y dedican toda el producción de estas a favor de la España republicana.

En América—agrega—la lucha en favor de España se realizan no sólo los obreros, sino todos los elementos liberales, con intervención de algunos senadores.

La Sociedad de Naciones adoptará las medidas necesarias para constituir dicha comisión internacional.—Fabra.

El doctor Negrín formula ante la Asamblea de Ginebra un proyecto de resolución para la eficaz retirada de "voluntarios"

"SOLAMENTE LA POLITICA DE CONCILIACION NACIONAL PRACTICADA POR LA AUTORIDAD DEL GOBIERNO ESPAÑOL, PODRIA RESTABLECER LA PAZ EN ESPAÑA"

Intervenido este tarde en la sesión de la Asamblea de la S. de N. para defender su proposición respecto a la retirada de los voluntarios extranjeros de España.

En medio de un profundo silencio y de la expectación de los delegados, comenzó diciendo el doctor Negrín que solamente la política de conciliación nacional, practicada por la autoridad de su Gobierno, podría restablecer la paz en España.

Dió cuenta que el Gobierno español había decidido la retirada de todos los combatientes no españoles de las filas gubernamentales, incluso todos los extranjeros naturalizados españoles después del 18 de Julio de 1936, aún contrariando grandemente los sentimientos de estos verdaderos voluntarios que se combaten en las filas del Gobierno de la República solamente los que

un afán de idealidad y amor a un Estado democrático injustamente agredido con el apoyo exterior.

Sin extenderse en citas y argumentaciones sino con un breve y elocuente discurso, el doctor Negrín presentó a la Asamblea un proyecto de resolución, en el que se dice especialmente lo que sigue: "Informada la Asamblea de la decisión del Gobierno español de proceder a la retirada inmediata y completa de todos los combatientes extranjeros, bajo el control de una comisión internacional, la Asamblea se compromete a dar a la comisión de control cuantas garantías morales y las facilidades necesarias."

La Sociedad de Naciones adoptará las medidas necesarias para constituir dicha comisión internacional.—Fabra.

¡FORTIFICAR!

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Interview mit unserer Genossin Emma Goldman [Interview with our comrade Emma Goldman. In German] / Emma Goldman. — pp. 2-4 ; 28 cm. In Deutscher Informationsdienst [Barcelona?]. — (Oct. 18, 1938).

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Nr. 92

Seite 2.

deutlich stark angewachsenen Teil der Bevölkerung (Flüchtlinge aus allen Teilen des Landes leben hier!) ist die Ausdehnung des legalen Territoriums unzureichend. Um gegen die immer stärker werdende ausländische Invasion Front machen zu können, hat das republikanische Spanien sich zu einer ausserordentlich starken Vermehrung seiner Heereskräfte gezwungen gesehen. Aus Mangel an Arbeitskräften produzieren die Felder nicht das, was sie früher an Ertrag brachten. Der Winter ist lang und wird schwer sein.

Spanien braucht Waffen. Aber es braucht auch Lebensmittel! Waffen, auf die wir kein Recht haben; es ist Sache der Antifaschisten, darauf zu dringen, dass uns dieses Recht nicht versagt wird. Lebensmittel dürfen nicht fehlen! Nicht nur an der Front wird der Krieg gewonnen. Wenn waffenmässige und zahlenmässige Überlegenheit den Krieg entschieden, wäre das republikanische Spanien schon längst untergegangen. Da aber die moralische Kraft ein mindestens ebenso entscheidender Faktor ist, besteht es noch heute! Und kämpft! Bis zum Siege! Man sagt, dass die republikanische Infanterie unvergleichlich viel besser sei, als die italienisch-deutsch-arabische des faschistischen Söldherheeres. In Wahrheit ist es das: die einen kämpfen für ein Ideal, für das sie mit ihrem Leben eintreten; die anderen unter dem wirtschaftlichen Druck und dem Terror der faschistischen Henker. Diese moralische Überlegenheit des antifaschistischen Spanien muss um jeden Preis erhalten bleiben! An ihrer Erhaltung haben alle Antifaschisten des Auslandes mitzuarbeiten!

Die spanische Zivilbevölkerung ist sich klar darüber, dass die Entbehrungen des dritten Kriegswinters noch erheblich grösser sein werden, als die augenblicklichen. Sie ist sich dessen bewusst und entschlossen, alle Opfer zu bringen, so gross sie auch sein mögen.

Aber auch die physische Widerstandsfähigkeit hat ihre Grenzen! Wenn das antifaschistische Spanien wegen Erschöpfung seiner Kräfte kapitulieren müsste, so wären die Antifaschisten der ganzen Welt schuld an einer derartigen Ungeheuerlichkeit. Von unserem Kampfe hängt die Freiheit aller ab! Wir kämpfen hier für die Sache aller Unterdrückten und Ausgebeuteten der Welt!

Genau wie die Soldaten, Bauern und Arbeiter des antifaschistischen Spaniens ihre Kräfte verdoppeln, so müssen in der übrigen Welt alle Arbeiter, alle freiheitlich und revolutionär gesinnten ihre Hilfe für das kämpfende Spanien verdoppeln. Der Forderung "Waffen für Spanien!" muss sich die Forderung "Lebensmittel für Spanien!" anschliessen! Diese Parole muss zur Wirklichkeit werden! Das antifaschistische Spanien wird triumphieren, wenn seine Brüder jenseits der Grenze ihre Pflicht erfüllen!

Interview mit unserer Genossin Emma Goldman.

Emma Goldman, eine der hervorragendsten Figuren unserer Bewegung und eine der ältesten und unermüdetlichsten Vorkämpferinnen für die Sache des Proletariats, ist wieder für einige Wochen zu uns nach Spanien gekommen. Im Folgenden geben wir einen Auszug aus einem Interview wieder, das sie einem der Genossen aus der Redaktion unserer barceloneser Abendzeitung "CNT" gewährte:

"Wie reagiert das internationale Proletariat auf unseren Kampf?"

"Internationales Proletariat" = sagt Emma schnell = "das will nicht viel sagen. Es ist ein Begriff, mit dem man gern alle Sünden bemäntelt. Das Proletariat ist in seiner grossen Mehrheit von der zweiten oder dritten Internationalen kontrolliert und tut nur das, was seine Führer wollen."

"Aber es besteht doch kein Zweifel, dass das Proletariat, auf das wir uns beziehen, eine grosse Begeisterung für unseren Kampf zeigt."

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[Interview] Interview mit unserer Genossin Emma Goldman [Interview with our comrade Emma Goldman. In German] / Emma Goldman. — pp. 2-4 ; 28 cm. In Deutscher Informationsdienst [Barcelona?]. — (Oct. 18, 1938).

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"Natürlich. Und wenn jemand es angetrieben und ihm einen Weg gewiesen hätte, könnt Ihr sicher sein, dass es mehr getan hätte als bisher. Die Arbeiterschaft hat immer weiter gehen wollen, als die Beschlüsse ihrer Führer es ihr gestatteten. Beweis hierfür ist, dass die I.A.A. sich bei Gelegenheit an die Gewerkschaftsinternationale in Amsterdam wandte, um über eine gemeinsame Sabotageaktion zu verhandeln, die die Sache der spanischen Arbeiterschaft ausserordentlich begünstigt hätte; und dass die Vorschläge der I.A.A. abgelehnt wurden."

"Was hat man speziell in England getan?"

"Trotz der geringen Aktivität, die die verantwortlichen Organismen hier an den Tag legten, haben die Massen weit mehr getan, als auf den ersten Blick scheint. Die Gewerkschaften, die sich entschieden von der Taktik der "selbstzerstörenden Besonnenheit" ihrer Führer und Komitees abwenden, haben über die Mauern von kaltem Egoismus hinweg ihre Stimme immer wieder erhoben und erklärt, dass sie alles tun werden, um dem spanischen Volk zu den Waffen zu verhelfen, die es zu seiner Verteidigung braucht."

"Und in materieller Hinsicht?"

"Das liegt vor aller Augen. Die Arbeiter, die am wenigsten verdienen in England, sind die Bergarbeiter; und gerade die haben beschlossen, jeder einen Schilling für das legale Spanien zu geben. Auf diese Weise sind 50.000 Pfund Sterling gesammelt worden, mit denen man Kohle für das kämpfende spanische Proletariat gekauft hat."

"Sind es nur die unteren Schichten des Proletariats, die ihre Sympathie für unseren Kampf so entschieden zum Ausdruck gebracht haben?"

"Nein. Die Bergwerkstechniker = das sind Spezialisten, die der Aristokratie und den Regierungskreisen weit näher stehen = haben die Zusammenarbeit mit den Bergarbeitern gefordert, um so der Parole "Waffen für Spanien!" einen neuen und nachdrücklichen Impuls zu geben; mehr noch: sie haben erklärt, sie würden keinen Augenblick weiter arbeiten, wenn die, in deren Macht es liegt, ihnen nicht die Versicherung geben, dass man die Waffen nach Spanien schickt, die das Land zu seiner Verteidigung braucht. Diese Techniker haben beschlossen, jeder 2 Schilling sechs Pence zu zahlen; sie haben auf diese Weise 80.000 Pfund Sterling zusammengebracht, die zur Hilfe für die spanische Republik bestimmt sind, und zwar für Waffenkäufe."

"Gibt es noch mehr Erwähnenswertes?"

"Ja. Es gibt einen weiteren Fall, der beredter ist als alle schönen Worte. In England gibt es Arbeiter, die Überstunden machen und das gesamte aus diesen Überstunden verdiente Geld zum Besten Spaniens abgeben. Mit diesem so gesammelten Geld hat man in der Metallindustrie die für den Krieg am allernotwendigsten Produkte gekauft."

"Und dauert der Enthusiasmus an?"

"Anfangs war die Begeisterung sehr gross ..."

"Und jetzt hat sie also nachgelassen?"

"Nachgelassen nicht gerade; aber seit gewisse Sektoren = die Euch fernstehen = erklärt haben, sie kämpfen für die Demokratie, hat sich bei den englischen Arbeitern, die nur zu gut wissen, was Demokratie ist und was man von ihr zu erwarten hat, die Begeisterung etwas abgekühlt."

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"Du stehst doch auch mit der amerikanischen Arbeitervereinschaft in Verbindung. Da kannst Du uns vielleicht auch etwas über deren Hilfsaktion für das kämpfende Spanien erzählen?"

"Ja. Aber in Amerika hat der Kampf für die spanische Sache einen anderen Charakter. Hier kämpfen nicht nur die Arbeiter, sondern alle liberalen Schichten. Sogar einige Senatoren haben in den Kampf eingegriffen, von denen 12 völlig bereit sind, für die Aufhebung des Neutralitätsdekretes zu stimmen. Obwohl sie bis jetzt die Aufhebung nicht haben durchsetzen können, kämpfen sie weiter in diesem Sinne und ihren Anstrengungen ist es zu verdanken, dass auch weiterhin Hoffnung auf die tatsächliche Aufhebung der amerikanischen Neutralität besteht."

"Und was für Elemente kämpfen sonst noch für uns?"

"Da gibt es zum Beispiel eine Frauengruppe in der Textilindustrie, die einige 300 Mitglieder zählt. Diese Organisation hat eine Propagandakampagne gemacht, als deren Resultat sie 200.000 Dollars für das republikanische Spanien zusammenbringen konnte."

"Es sind aber nur amerikanische Arbeiter, die an unserer Seite stehen?"

"Nein. In Amerika macht man nicht nur unter der amerikanischen Arbeitervereinschaft Propaganda für Eure Sache, sondern auch unter den Juden, den Franzosen und unter den Spaniern; und gerade diese sind es, die am meisten helfen. In Indiana, das fast ausschliesslich von spanischen Arbeitern bewohnt ist, werden monatlich 300.000 Dollars gesammelt, die für die Verteidigung des spanischen Volkes bestimmt sind."

Abschliessend sagt Emma Goldmann noch folgendes über die Hilfe des internationalen Proletariats für das kämpfende Spanien:

"Es ist wahr: das internationale Proletariat hat Spanien nicht im vollen Umfange die direkte Hilfe zuteil werden lassen, die es gebraucht hätte; es wäre aber sehr ungerecht, zu behaupten, dass es überhaupt nicht geholfen habe. Eins ist natürlich sicher: würde das internationale Proletariat nicht derart unter dem Einfluss des Reformismus stehen, so würde die Hilfe für Spanien wesentlich intensiver gewesen sein."

Nutzlose Opfer. (Die Katastrophe, die die Vertreter der Plutokratie fürchten, ist unvermeidlich.)

Im gleichen Augenblick, in dem das tschechische Volk die Strassen Prags füllte, um gegen die Infamie zu protestieren, deren Opfer es geworden ist, hat man in einigen Regierungskanzleien behauptet, dass man durch das Münchener Abkommen, das man der Regierung Benesch aufzwang, den Frieden gerettet habe. Es ist nicht das erste Mal, dass die "offiziellen Nachrichten", die die Regierungskanzleien oder die Pressestellen der diplomatischen Konferenzen herausgeben, der Wahrheit, die vor aller Augen liegt, ins Gesicht schlagen. Heute, angesichts des konkreten Falles "Tschechoslowakei", angesichts des Zynismus, mit dem man diese Republik geopfert hat, angesichts der beunruhigenden Perspektiven, die dieser Fall allen vom Faschismus bedrohten Völkern öffnet — und welches Volk ist heute nicht bedroht? — angesichts aller dieser Tatsachen überzeugen derartige "offizielle Wahrheiten" niemanden; sie sind wertlos. Die genialsten Sophisten, die geschicktesten Wahrheitsverfälscher, über die die internationale Presse im Dienste der Plutokratie verfügen, können die Tatsachen nicht hinwegfälschen, die der Fall "Tschechoslowakei" der gesamten Welt bietet; genau so, wie sie die Welt nicht über den wahren Charakter

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LEON TROTSKY PROTESTS TOO MUCH.

By Emma Goldman

I have before me two numbers, February and April, of the New International, Trotsky's official magazine. They contain articles by John G. Wright, a hundred per cent. Trotskyist, and the Grand Mogul himself purporting to be a refutation of the charges against him in re Kronstadt. Mr. Wright is merely echoing the voice of his master, and his material is in no way first hand, or from personal contact with the events of 1921. I prefer to pay my respects to Leon Trotsky. He has at least the doubtful merit of having been a party to the "liquidation" of Kronstadt.

There are, however, several very rash mis-statements in Wright's article that need to be knocked on the head. I shall therefore proceed to do so at once and deal with his master afterwards.

John G. Wright claims that The Kronstadt Rebellion by Alexander Berkman "is merely a restatement of the alleged facts and interpretations of the S.R.'s. with a few significant alterations" - (pulled from "The Truth About Russia in Volyn, Russia, Prague, 1921).

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The writer further accuses Alexander Berkman of "brazenness, plagiarism, and making, as is his custom, a few significant alterations, and hiding the real source of what appears as his own appraisal". Alexander Berkman's life and work have placed him among the greatest revolutionary thinkers and fighters, utterly dedicated to his ideal. Those who knew him will testify to his sterling quality in all his actions, as well as his integrity as a serious writer. They will certainly be amused to learn from Mr. Wright that Alexander Berkman was a "plagiarist" and "brazen", and that "his custom is making a few insignificant alterations ..."

The average Communist, whether of the Trotsky or Stalin brand, knows about as much of anarchist literature and its authors as, let us say, the average Catholic knows about Voltaire or Thomas Paine. The very suggestion that one should know what one's opponents stand for before calling their names would be put down as heresy by the Communist hierarchy. I do not think, therefore, that John G. Wright deliberately lies about Alexander Berkman. Rather do I think that he is densely ignorant.

It was Alexander Berkman's life-long habit to keep diaries. Even during the fourteen years' ^{real} purgatory he endured in the

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Western Penitentiary, Alexander Berkman had managed to keep up his diary which he succeeded in sending out sub rosa to me; on the "Buford" which took us on our long, perilous cruise of 28 days, my comrade continued his diary and he kept up this old habit through the 23 months of our stay in Russia.

Prison memoirs of an anarchist, conceded by conservative critics even to be comparable with Fedor Dostoyevsky's *Dead House*, was fashioned from his diary. The Kronstadt Rebellion and his Bolshevik myth are also the offspring of his day-by-day record in Russia. It is stupid, therefore, to charge that Berkman's brochure about Kronstadt "is merely a restatement of the alleged facts ..." from the S.R. work that appeared in Prague.

On a par in accuracy with this charge against Alexander Berkman by Wright is his accusation that my old pal had denied the existence of General Kaylovsky in Kronstadt.

The Kronstadt Rebellion, page 15, states, "There was indeed a former General Kaylovsky in Kronstadt. It was Trotsky who *had* placed him there as an artillery specialist. He played no role whatever in the Kronstadt events." This was borne out by none other than Zinoviev who was then still at the zenith of his glory. *He returned* Extraordinary Session, March 4th, called to *the Ballaqua. Saved*

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decide the fate of Kronstadt, Zinoviev said, "Of course Maylovsky is old and can do nothing, but the white officers are back of him and are misleading the sailors." ~~He said~~ ^{Alexander Goldman} however, stressed the fact that the sailors would have none of Trotsky's former pet General, nor would they accept the offer of provisions and other help of Victor Tchernov, leader of the Right S.R.'s. in Paris.

Trotskyists no doubt consider it bourgeois sentimentality to permit the maligned sailors the right to speak for themselves. I insist that this approach to one's opponent is damnable Jesuitism and has done more to disintegrate the whole labour movement than anything else of the "sacred" tactics of bolshevism.

That the reader may be in a position to decide between the criminal charge against Kronstadt and what the sailors had to say for themselves, I here reproduce radio message to the world, of March 6th, 1921:

"Our cause is just: we stand for the power of Soviets, not parties. We stand for freely elected representatives of the laboring masses. The substitute Soviets manipulated by the Communist Party have always been deaf to our needs and demands: the only reply we have ever received was shooting. ... Comrades! They not only deceive you they deliberately pervert the truth and resort to most despicable defecation. ... In Kronstadt the whole power is exclusively in the hands of the revolutionary sailors, soldiers and workers - not with counter-revolutionists led by some Kozlovsky, as the lying Moscow radio tries to make you believe. ... Do not delay, comrades! Join us, get in touch with us: demand admission to Kronstadt for your delegates. Only they will tell you the whole truth and will expose the fiendish calumny about Finnish bread and Entente offers."

"Long live the revolutionary proletariat and the peasantry!"

"Long live the power of freely elected Soviets!"

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The sailors "led" by Kozlovsky, yet pleading with the workers of the world to send their delegates that they might see whether there was any truth in the black calumny spread against them by the Soviet Press.

Leon Trotsky is surprised and indignant that anyone should dare to raise such a hue and cry over Kronstadt. After all, it happened so long ago, in fact seventeen years have passed, and it was a mere "episode in the history of the relation between the proletarian city and the petty bourgeois village". Why should anyone want to make so much ado at this late day unless it is to "compromise the only genuine revolutionary current which has never repudiated its banner, has not compromised with its enemies, and which alone represents the future". Leon Trotsky's egotism known far and wide by his friends and his foes, has never been his weakest spot. Since his mortal enemy has endowed him with nothing short of a magic wand his self-importance has reached alarming proportions.

Leon Trotsky is outraged that people should have revived the Kronstadt "episode" and ask questions about his part. It does not occur to him that those who have come to his defence against his detractor have a right to ask what methods he had employed when he was in power, and how he had dealt with those who did not subscribe to his dictum as gospel truth. Of course it was ridiculous to expect that he would beat his chest and

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say, I too was but human and made mistakes. I too have sinned and have killed my brothers or ordered them to be killed. Only sublime prophets and seers have risen to such heights of courage. Leon Trotsky is certainly not one of them. On the contrary, he continued to claim omnipotence in all his acts and judgments and to call anathema on the heads of anyone who foolishly suggests that the great god Leon Trotsky also has feet of clay.

He jeers at the documentary evidence left by the Kronstadt sailors and the evidence of those who had been within sight and hearing of the dreadful siege of Kronstadt. *He calls them "false lies"* That does not, however, prevent him from assuring his readers that his explanation of the Kronstadt rebellion could be "substantiated and illustrated by many facts and documents". Intelligent people may well ask why Leon Trotsky did not have the decency to present these "false labels" so that they might be in a position to form a correct opinion of them.

Now it is a fact that even capitalist courts grant the defendant the right to present evidence in his own behalf. Not so Leon Trotsky, the spokesman of the one and only truth, he who has "never repudiated his banner and has never compromised with its enemies".

One can understand such lack of common decency in John G. Wright. He is, as I have already stated, merely

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quoting holy bolshevik scripture. But for a world figure like Leon Trotsky to silence the evidence of the sailors seems to me indicative of a very small character. The old saying of the leopard changing his spots but not his nature forcibly applies to Leon Trotsky. The Calvary he has endured during his years of exile, the tragic loss of those near and dear to him, and more poignantly still, the betrayal by his former comrades in arms, have taught him nothing. Not a glimmer of human kindness or fellow-feeling has affected Trotsky's rancorous spirit.

What a pity that the silence of the dead sometimes speaks louder than the living voice. In point of truth the voices strangled in Kronstadt have grown in volume these seventeen years. Is it for this reason, I wonder, that Leon Trotsky resents its sound?

Leon Trotsky quotes Marx as saying "that it is impossible to judge either parties or people by what they say about themselves". How pathetic that he does not realize how much this applies to him! No man among the able bolshevik writers has managed to keep himself so much in the foreground or boasted so incessantly of his share in the Russian Revolution and after as Leon Trotsky. By this criterion of his great teacher, one would have to declare all Leon Trotsky's writing to be worthless, which would be nonsense of course.

In discrediting the motives which conditioned the Kronstadt uprising, Leon Trotsky records the following - "From different

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fronts I sent dozens of telegrams about the mobilisation of new 'reliable' detachments from among the Petersburg workers and Baltic fleet sailors, but already in 1918, and in any case, not later than 1919, the fronts began to complain that a new contingent of 'Kronstadters' were unsatisfactory, exacting, undisciplined, unreliable in battle and doing more harm than good." Further on, on the same page, Trotsky charges that "When conditions became very critical in hungry Petrograd the Political Bureau more than once discussed the possibility of securing an 'internal loan' from Kronstadt where a quantity of old provisions still remained, but the delegates of the Petrograd workers answered, 'You will never get anything from them by 'kindness': they speculate in cloth, coal and bread. At present in Kronstadt every kind of riff-raff has raised its head." However Bolshevik that is, not only to slay one's opponents but also to besmirch their character. From Marx and Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, to Stalin, this method has ever been the same.

Now, I do not presume to argue what the Kronstadt sailors were in 1918 or 1919. I did not reach Russia until January, 1920. From that time on until Kronstadt was "liquidated" the sailors of the Baltic fleet were held up as the glorious example of valour and unflinching courage. Time on end I was told not only by "anarchists, Menshevik and social revolutionists", but by many Communists, that the sailors were the very backbone of the Revolution. On the 1st, May, 1920, during

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the celebration and the other festivities organised for the first British Labour Mission, the Kronstadt sailors presented a large clear-cut contingent and were then pointed out as among the great heroes who had saved the Revolution from Krensky, and Petrograd from Yudenich. During the anniversary of the October, the sailors were again in the front ranks, and their re-enactment of the taking of the Winter Palace was wildly acclaimed by a packed mass.

Is it possible that the leading members of the party, save Leon Trotsky, were unaware of the corruption and the demoralisation of Kronstadt, claimed by him? I do not think so. Moreover, I doubt whether Trotsky himself held this view of the Kronstadt sailors until March, 1921. His story must therefore be an afterthought, or is it a rationalisation to justify the senseless "liquidation" of Kronstadt?

Granted that the personnel had undergone a change, it is yet a fact that the Kronstadters in 1921 were nevertheless far from the picture Leon Trotsky and his echo have painted. In point of actual fact, the sailors met their doom only because of their deep kinship and solidarity with the Petrograd workers whose power of endurance of cold and hunger had reached breaking point in a series of strikes in February, 1921. Why have Leon Trotsky and his followers failed to mention this? Leon Trotsky knows perfectly well, if Wright does not, that the

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first scene of the Kronstadt drama was staged in Petrograd on February 24th, and played, not by the sailors, but by the strikers. For it was on this date that the strikers had given vent to their accumulated wrath over the callous indifference of the men who had prated about the dictatorship of the proletariat which had long ago deteriorated ^{into} the merciless dictatorship of the Communist Party.

Alexander Berkman's entry in his diary of this historic day reads:

"The Trubatchny millworkers have gone on strike. In the distribution of winter clothing, they complain, the Communists received undue advantages over the non-partisans. The Government refuses to consider the grievances till the men return to work.

"Crowds of strikers gathered in the street near the mills, and soldiers were sent to disperse them. They were hursanti, Communist youths of the military academy. There was no violence.

"Now the strikers have been joined by the men from the Admiralty ships and Galernaya docks. There is much resentment against the arrogant attitude of the Government. A street demonstration was attempted, but mounted troops suppressed it."

It was after the report of their Committee of the real state of affairs among the workers in Petrograd that Kronstadt did in 1921 what it had done in 1917. They immediately made common cause with the workers. The part of the sailors in 1917 was hailed as the red pride and glory of the Revolution.

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Their identical part in 1921 was denounced to the whole world as counter-revolutionary treason. Naturally, in 191⁴ Kronstadt helped the bolsheviks into the saddle. In 1921 they demanded a reckoning for the falsehoods raised in the masses, and the great promise broken almost immediately the bolsheviks had felt entrenched in their power.. A heinous crime indeed. The important phase of this crime, however, is that Kronstadt did not "mutiny" out of a clear sky. The cause for it was deeply rooted in the suffering of the Russian workers, in the city proletariat, Leon Trotsky, not the bourgeois peasantry. *(In the* sure, the former commissar, assures us that "the peasants reconciled themselves to the requisition as a temporary evil" and that "the peasants approved of the Bolsheviki, but became increasingly hostile to the 'Communists'". But these contentions are mere fiction, as can be demonstrated by numerous proofs - not the least of them the liquidation of the peasant soviet, headed by Maria Spiridonova, and iron and fire used to force the peasants to yield up all their produce, including their grain for their spring sowing.

In point of historic truth, the peasants hated the regime almost from the start, certainly from the moment when Lenin's ~~xxxxxx~~ slogan "rob the robbers" was turned into "rob the peasants for the glory of the Communist Dictatorship".

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Leon Trotsky tells us that the Kronstadt sailors in 1919 would not have given up provisions by "kindness" - not that kindness had been tried at any time. In fact this word does not exist in Bolshevik lingo. Yet here are these demoralised sailors, the riff-raff speculators, etc., siding with the City proletariat in 1921, and their first demand is for equalisation of rations. What villains these Kronstadters were, really!

The readers will find ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ the resolution of the Kronstadt men themselves at the end of the article. It was written under the greatest duress and under the fire of Bolshevik artillery. Yet every word brings home the singleness of purpose of the men who were ultimately crushed by the deadly machine of the dictatorship.

much is being made by both writers against Kronstadt of the fact that the sailors who, as we insist, did not premeditate the rebellion, but met on the 1st March to discuss ways and means of aiding their Petrograd comrades, quickly formed themselves into a Provisional Revolutionary Committee. The answer to this is actually given by John G. Wright himself. He writes - "It is by no means excluded that the local authorities in Kronstadt bungled in their handling of the situation ... It is no secret that Kalinin, let alone Commissar ~~Kuzmin~~ Kuzmin, was none too highly esteemed by Lenin and his colleagues ... In so far as the local authorities were blind to the full extent of the danger or

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failed to take proper and effective measures to cope with the crisis, to that extent their blunders played a part in the unfolding events ..."

The statement that Lenin did not esteem Malinin or Kuzmin highly is unfortunately an old trick of Bolshevism to lay all blame on some bungler so that the heads may remain ^{but} lily pure.

Indeed, the local authorities in Kronstadt ^{did} had "bungled". Kuzmin attacked the sailors viciously and threatened them with dire results. The sailors evidently knew what to expect from such threats. They could not but guess that if Kuzmin and Varsiliev were permitted to be at large their first step would be to remove arms and provisions from Kronstadt. This was ^{the} ~~the~~ reason why the sailors formed their Provisional Revolutionary Committee. An additional factor, too, was the news that a committee of 30 sailors ~~was~~ sent to Petrograd to confer with the workers ^{and} had been denied the right to return to Kronstadt, that they had been ^{and} arrested ~~is~~ placed in the Cheka.

Both writers make a mountain of a molehill of the rumours announced at the meeting of March 1st to the effect that a truckload of soldiers heavily armed were on the way to Kronstadt. Wright has evidently never lived under an air-tight ~~dictator~~ dictatorship. I have - when every channel of human contact is closed, when every thought is thrown back on itself and expression stifled, then rumours rise like mushrooms from the ground and

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grow into terrifying dimensions. Besides, truckloads of soldiers and checkists armed to their very teeth tearing along the streets in the day, throwing out their nets at night and dragging their human haul to the Cheka, was a frequent sight in Petrograd and Moscow during the time when I was there. In the tension of the meeting after Kuzain's threatening speech, it was perfectly natural for rumours to be given credence. (The news in the Paris Press about the Kronstadt uprising two weeks before it happened had been stressed in the campaign against the sailors as proof positive that they had been tools of the Imperialist gang and that the rebellion had actually been hatched in Paris. It was too obvious that this yarn was used only to discredit the Kronstadters in the eyes of the workers.

In reality this advance news was like other news from Paris, Riga or Helsinki, and which rarely, if ever, coincided with anything that had been claimed by the counter-revolutionary agents abroad. On the other hand, any events happened in Soviet Russia which would have gladdened the heart of the *Entente* Imperialists and which they never got to know - events far more detrimental to the Russian Revolution caused by the dictatorship of the Communist Party itself. For instance, the creation of the Cheka which undermined many achievements of October and which already in 1921 had become a malignant growth on the body of the Revolution. And many other similar events which would take me too far afield to treat here.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

Leon Trotsky Protests Too Much / Emma Goldman.— [1938 Nov.?, draft].—
20 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

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No, the advance news in the Paris Press had no bearing whatever on the Kronstadt rebellion. In point of fact no one in Petrograd in 1921 believed its connection, not even quite a number of Communists. As I have already stated, John G. Wright is merely an apt pupil of Leon Trotsky and therefore quite innocent of what most people within and outside of the party thought about this so-called "link".

Future historians will no doubt appraise the Kronstadt "mutiny" in its real value. If and when they do, they will no doubt come to the conclusion that the uprising could not have come more opportunely if it had been deliberately planned.

The most dominant factor which decided the fate of Kronstadt was the N.E.P. Lenin, aware of the very considerable *party* opposition this new-fangled "revolutionary" scheme would meet, needed some impending menace ~~for~~ the smooth and ready acceptance of the N.E.P. Kronstadt came along most conveniently. The whole crushing propaganda machine was immediately put into motion to prove that the sailors were in league with all the Imperialist powers, and all the counter-revolutionary elements to destroy the Communist state. That worked like magic. The N.E.P. was rushed through without a hitch.

Time alone will prove the frightful cost this manœuvre has entailed. The three hundred delegates, the young Communist flower, rushed from the Tenth Party Congress to ~~smash~~ crush Kronstadt, were a mere handful of the thousands wantonly.

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sacrificed. They went fervently believing the campaign a
vulification. Those who remained ^{alive} ~~alive~~ had a rude awakening.

I have recorded a meeting with a wounded Communist in a
hospital in my Disillusionment. It has lost nothing of its
~~xxx~~ poignancy in the years since.

"Many of those wounded in the attack on Kronstadt
had been brought to the same hospital, mostly Kursanti.
I had opportunity to speak to one of them. His physical
suffering, he said, was nothing as compared with his
mental agony. Too late he had realised that he had
been duped by the cry of 'counter-revolution'. There
were no Tsarist generals in Kronstadt, no White Guardists -
he found only his own comrades, sailors and soldiers
who had heroically fought for the Revolution."

~~Leon Trotsky thinks it ridiculous that the anarchists
should have been against the N.E.P. how the anarchists have
asked for the anarchists.~~

No one at all in his senses will see any similarity between
the N.E.P. and the demand of the Kronstadt sailors for the
right of free exchange of products. The N.E.P. came to
reintroduce the grave evils the Russian Revolution had attempted
to eradicate. The free exchange of products between the workers
and the peasants, between the city and the country, embodied the
very raison d'être of the Revolution. Naturally "the anarchists
were against the N.E.P." But free exchange as Zinoviev had told
me in 1920 "is out of our plan of centralisation". Poor
Zinoviev could not possibly imagine what a horrible ogre the
centralisation of power would become.

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It is the idea fixe of centralisation of the ~~dictator~~ dictatorship which early began to divide the city and the village, the workers and the peasant, not as Leon Trotsky will have it, because "the one is proletarian ... and the other petty bourgeois", but because the dictatorship had paralysed the initiative of both the city proletarian and the petty bourgeois peasant.

Leon Trotsky makes a sneering remark about the charge that he had shot 1,500 sailors. Whoever had made the charge was mistaken. It was indeed naive of the sailors to think that free Soviets can live side by side with a dictatorship. Actually the free Soviets had ceased to exist at an early stage in the Communist game, as the Trade Unions and the co-operatives. They had all been hitched to the chariot wheel of the Bolshevik machine. I well remember Lenin telling me with great satisfaction, "Your Grand Old Man, Enrico Malatesta, is for our soviets". I hastened to say, "You mean free soviets, Comrade Lenin. I, too, am for them." Lenin turned our talk to something else. But I soon discovered why Free Soviets had ceased to exist in Russia.

John B. Wright will have it that there was no trouble in Petrograd until February 22nd. That is on par with his other rehash of the "historic" Party material. The unrest and dissatisfaction of the workers were very ^{already} marked when we

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arrived. In every industry I visited I found extreme dissatisfaction and resentment because the dictatorship of the proletariat had been turned into a devastating dictatorship of the Communist Party with its different rations and discriminations. If the discontent of the workers had not broken loose before 1921 it was only because they still clung tenaciously to the hope that when the fronts would be liquidated the promise of the Revolution would be fulfilled. It was Kronstadt which pricked the last bubble.

The sailors had dared to stand by the discontented workers. They had dared to demand that the promise of the Revolution — all power in the Soviets — should be fulfilled. The political dictatorship had slain the dictatorship of the proletariat. That and that alone was their unforgivable offense against the holy spirit of Bolshevism.

IX Leon Trotsky is sarcastic about the accusation that he had shot 1,500 sailors. No, he did not do the bloody job himself. He entrusted Tuchachevsky, his lieutenant, to shoot the sailors "like pheasants" as he had threatened. Tuchachevsky carried out the order to the last degree. The numbers ran into legions, and those who remained after the ceaseless attack of Bolshevik artillery, were placed under the care of Dibenko, famous for his humanity and his justice.

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Tuchehovsky and Dilbeke, the heroes and saviours of
~~Krasnaya~~ the dictatorship! History seems to have its own
way of meting out justice.

Leon Trotsky, John G. Wright and the Spanish Anarchists -
During the four years civil war in Russia the Anarchists almost
to a man stood by the Bolsheviks, though they grew daily more
conscious of the impending collapse of the Revolution. They
felt in duty bound to keep silent and to avoid everything that
would bring aid and comfort to the enemies of the Revolution.

Certainly the Russian Revolution fought against many fronts
and many enemies, but at no time were the odds so frightful as
those confronting the Spanish Anarchists and the Spanish
Revolution. The menace of Franco aided by German and Italian
man power and military equipment, ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~
Stalin's blessings transferred to Spain, the conspiracy of the
imperialist powers, the betrayal ^{by} the so-called democracies
and not the least the apathy of the international proletariat,
far outweighed the dangers that surrounded the Russian Revolution.
What does Trotsky do in the face of such a terrible tragedy?
He joins the howling mob and trusts his own poisoned dagger into
the vitals of the Spanish Anarchists in their most crucial hour.

No doubt the Spanish Anarchists have committed a grave
error. They failed to invite Leon Trotsky to take charge of

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the Spanish Revolution and to show them how well he had succeeded in Russia that it may be repeated all over again on Spanish soil. That seems to be his chagrin.

Leon Trotsky tries a trump card, when he asks "where and when their great principles were confirmed, in practice at least partially, at least in tendency?" This card like all the others he has already played in his life, will not win him the game. In point of fact Anarchist principles in practice and tendency have been confirmed in Spain. I agree, only partially. How could that be otherwise with all the forces conspiring against the Spanish Revolution? The constructive work undertaken by the National Confederation of Labour, the C.N.T., and the Anarchist Federation of Iberia, the F.A.I., is something never thought of by the Bolshevik regime in all the years it was in power, and yet the collectivisation of the industries and the land stand out as the greatest achievement of any revolutionary period. Moreover, even if Franco should win, and the Spanish Anarchists be exterminated in rivers of blood, will the work they have started continue to live? The roots of Anarchist principles and tendencies are so deeply rooted in Spanish soil that they cannot be eradicated. Where and when has Trotsky's banner which he claims has never compromise with the enemy and represents the revolutionary current of the future, even remotely shown ~~xxxxxxxx~~ equalled the ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ splendid example of the men and women who are now fighting with their backs to the wall?

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The Emma Goldman Papers

The P.O.U.M. Trial in Barcelona / Emma Goldman.— 1938 Nov., draft.—
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... completed his symposium, the "L'Humanité" ... trial as being the fair ... I have done to "deserve" ... did not know enough of my ... to spell my name correctly. I want ... comrades, that I never ... from considering them ... convinced even before I arrived to Barcelona and the opening ... trial that the charges against them prepared by Stalin ... the same kind of doctored evidence ... used in Russia against everyone whom Stalin wished to disp ... If ever I had doubted the innocence of the P.O.U.M. members brought to trial, the proceedings in court during twelve days, the witnesses against and for the defence would have convinced me of the utter baselessness of the evidence used by the State Attorney. In fact I never witnessed such a crude a deliberate falsification of the facts and the truth as in all the material used against the prisoners.

Here I wish to give you one of the many methods used to incriminate Gorkin, Andrada, Donet, Girronella, Arquer, Escudora and Rabull. - "Joaquin Roca Mir (on trial for espionage, his case is still pending) states that he entered the espionage service of Dalmau-Riera of Perpignan. He sent all military information to Riera. One day they took him a letter for Riera and left him a valise to be picked up the following day. Three hours later the police appeared. He said that they kept him without food for forty eight hours, that he was coerced by the police to confess what they wanted! He retracted this confession by his DECLARATION before the Judge and in a letter rectifying the false testimony that he had any relations with the P.O.U.M. and added that he did not know any P.O.U.M. people.

This witness went on to state that "In the valise were found documents with plans for manufacturing a bomb. On them was written "Central Committee of the P.O.U.M.". There were other ciphered documents which revealed that secret groups of the P.O.U.M. were preparing to attempt an attempt against Prieto's life. He said that he did not know the man that took him the letter and the valise.

It is clear that knowing the man was suspected of being a spy Stalin's agents planted the valise in order to connect the indicted men with the fascist spy. This as well as the largest part of the prepared evidence was thrown out of court, since even a child could see the crudeness of the attempt to destroy the men on trial. There was no other such so called evidence; but it is hardly necessary to go into it because the court itself in imposing sentences on five and a verdict of not guilty on two, had completely rejected the charge of espionage and connection with either Hitler or the Gestapo.

The prosecution, however, tried his utmost to show that the P.O.U.M. had received support from Hitler and Mussolini for their executive committee in Spain and abroad; but this too failed utterly. In other words, the whole concocted conspiracy and outrageous propaganda carried on since the day events and 1937 ...

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I admit that similar evidence might have been produced by the enemies of Stalin to their death: but I do not believe in the liberality of the Soviet Government, and I must say that it has not yet reached the brutal dictatorship of the Russian Revolution. Perhaps this is not the virtue of the Soviet Government, but the historic and moral strength of the Soviet Government is the fact that it has still kept its spirit even in the face of the communist purge. It is still impossible for such a group of men to take an anti-fascist position as these men did in this trial.

I have been in courtrooms many times in my life. I have expected to find the Soviet Government, vindictive and unfair at the trial of the men. I was not at all surprised with the tone and the manner of the five days trial although it was a military court, there was no military uniform, no one in military uniform or military dignity used with the public which attended the trial freely, or the prisoners. Two guards brought the seven into court, and two other guards were at the back of the court room, never making themselves conspicuous in any way. The prosecuting Attorney was obviously either a communist or very strongly in sympathy with the Stalin followers. He was vindictive, hard and did his best utmost to incriminate the prisoners. At the close of his summing up he demanded no less than fifteen and thirty years imprisonment for them. The very fact that he did not dare to call for the death penalty was in itself proof that the whole fabricated charges had collapsed.

I was particularly struck by the objectivity of the superior Judge. At no time did he permit the prosecuting Attorney to drag in ulterior motives that had no bearing whatever on the guilt or innocence of the indicted men. When they were cross-examined and the prosecuting Attorney attempted to bully them, or rush them into a statement derogatory to their party or their ideas, the Judge immediately objected. On the other hand he listened patiently to a five hours defence speech of the defending Attorney. It was a masterly analysis of the various political parties that represent the anti-fascist front. He spoke in the highest terms of the C.I.T.-I.I., he made it very clear that the ideology of the P.O.U.M. and the personalities on trial precluded any possibility of any connection with spring of fascism. He also related the frightfulness imposed upon the workers of Barcelona during the May events by the henchmen of Stalin which resulted in the killing of our comrades, Janille Barnard and Martini, as well as a number of other victims whose names were not even known. In other words, the trial proceedings in the court during the twelve days impressed me as being absolutely free from partisanship, political trickery or communist venom against the men on trial. I have to admit there was that I stated before, the Minister of Justice, then together with other correspondents, I was asked for my impression of the trial, and the court was extremely objective and that it was the fairest trial ever witnessed.

My records now tell me that even in the five of the indicted members of the P.O.U.M. were given eleven years in prison. This is objectivity. Is that not a sign of the future. In reply to the

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It is hardly necessary for me to impress upon my readers that I do not agree with the idealism of the I.M. It is a Marxist party, and I have been and am still absolutely opposed to Marxism; but that cannot prevent us from paying respects to the mentality and courage of Gorkin, Andreda and their comrades. Their stand in Court was magnificent. Their exposition of their ideas clear cut. There was no evasion or apologies. In point of fact the seven men in the dock demonstrated for the first time since the demoralisation of all Socialists in Russia, how revolutionists should face their accusers. At the end, after the prosecuting Attorney had tried their patience to the breaking point, Gorkin, Andreda, Bonet, Cironella, Arquer, Escudore and Rebull rose to their full stature with their clenched fists held high in the air, sure of themselves and defiant against their enemies. That was indeed a splendid demonstration in the court which the people who unscrupulously prepared their undoing will not easily forget.

In view of the fact that much was rumoured abroad of the indifference of the GMR to the fate of the POW prisoners and to their trial, it is not out of place to say that the defending Attorney is a member of the GMR and that the testimony of Frederica Montseney was among the most laudatory of the personnel and the character of the man on trial. Perhaps I had better quote her statement:-

"I know some of the accused through their trade union work, and through their literary production, and also as proven anti-fascist militants. I was sent by the Government to mediate the May events and when full light can be thrown on this disturbance many things now obscure will be understood. NEITHER THE PCUM OR THE CNT-FAI WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE MAY EVENTS."

She added that this affair had all the earmarks of having been hatched in AN UNDERGROUND AND SECRETTIVE MANNER TO OVERTHROW THE LARGO CHADLERS GOVERNMENT AND THIS TO DO WAS WITH THE PROLETARIAT INFLUENCE IN THE GOVERNMENT WHICH ABSOLUTELY HURT THE WORKERS CAUSE.

In answer to the questions of the prosecuting Attorney she says that "upon my arrival from Valencia they held a meeting in the Generality to appease the excited spirits and to keep the situation in hand so that events would not follow the course that--~~the~~--developed out by the provocateurs. They were convinced that IRISH WERE NOT A THREAT AGAINST THE INTERESTS OF THE PORTUGUESE PEOPLE".

I cannot emphasize enough that it was the quiet and determined stand of the CIL-RLI to secure a fair trial for the 2001 members and to give them every conceivable assistance which has no doubt or ven-

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... as I have
... granted in not too
... already working
... every country should
... demand an amnesty.

October 1938.

October 1938.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

Emma Goldman in Spain / Emma Goldman. — p. 5 ; 29 cm. In Vanguard [New York]. — (Nov. 1938).

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in the province of Quebec, Canada. It must be remembered that "boring from within" is not the exclusive monopoly of the Communist Party. The Fascists also are adept in that art. This has been shown in Europe, in Canada and in the U. S. as well. The Fascist-Catholics as well as their Protestant brethren, in the crusade against "Communism" aim to wipe out *all* radical and even liberal elements from the unions. Workers should learn to recognize quickly these insidious elements in their manifold disguises, their spies, clubs and publications. The "Trans-Union News" is such a paper. Ostensibly it is out for rank-and-file control in the transport industry; actually it plays up the anti-communist sentiment of the members in a manner calculated to prejudice the workers against radical ideas as such. It manages to slip in articles extolling the "pro-labor" sentiments of the Pope and urges Government control and church guidance of unions. Strikes are sadly deplored.

The same goes for Father Coughlin's "Social Justice" and other similar journals. In justly attacking and exposing the manoeuvres of the C.P. let us not relent in our struggles against these wolves in sheep's clothing. Workers Beware!

Labor "Unity"

Clamor for Unity between the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L. resounds from all directions. President Roosevelt, "labor's friend," wants it in order to achieve the regimentation of labor. Lovestoneites, Trotskyites, Socialists, and even some "Libertarians" root for unity. At the risk of courting unpopularity by introducing a discordant note we take the liberty of asking a few questions.

Assuming that unity is achieved will such unity mean a more militant policy against the bosses? Will the workers then be enabled to fight off government control? Will business unionism cease? A study of the history and tactics of both outfits compels a negative answer to these questions. The mere amalgamation of accumulated evils inherent in both organizations can result only in the United Front of corruption.

The task of building revolutionary unions still remains. The first step in this direction is to proclaim the independence of the unions from all forms of bureaucratic control. To orientate the struggles of the workers on the basis of the class-war against the capitalists, their state organs, and their stooges in the labor movement—this is the job facing the revolutionary vanguard movement.

S.U.P. Re-Joins A.F. of L.

Latest reports inform us that the Sailors Union of the Pacific has been given a charter to organize all seamen on all coasts. The terms of the charter meet all the demands of the S.U.P.: complete autonomy, amount of per capita remittances to the A. F. of L. to be decided by membership, calling and settling of strikes by S.U.P., and

other stipulations too numerous to mention here.

The S.U.P. hopes to receive the moral and financial backing of the A. F. of L. in its struggle for existence against the C.P.-Lewis-C.I.O. maritime union combine. The A. F. of L. wants to use the S.U.P. in order to build a strong rival against the C.I.O. waterfront unions. In view of the S.U.P.'s unfortunate experience while in the A. F. of L. it is, to say the least, extremely doubtful that the A. F. of L. will give such support without demanding concessions of a far-reaching nature.

It should also be remembered that this move will strengthen the diminished prestige of the decrepit A. F. of L. Should unity between the C.I.O. and A. F. of L. take place, which seems likely, the united factions might then crush the S.U.P. The course taken by the S.U.P. is fraught with considerable danger. Let us hope for the best and prepare for the worst.

EMMA GOLDMAN IN SPAIN

COMRADE Emma Goldman, now in Spain on her third visit there since the revolution, writes in her first letter to America during this trip that the will of the Spanish people to carry through the war against Fascism and the social revolution is as determined as ever.

"As to the comrades of the C.N.T.-F.A.I., they are invincible," says Comrade Goldman. "I visited the Divisions of two of our comrades who had distinguished themselves by their valour, their courage and their endurance. They look at me in astonishment if one asks whether they will be able to hold out against the overwhelming mechanical forces of Franco's backers. 'Hold out?' they ask. 'Until the last man. Perhaps, if it were only a matter of winning the war some of us might not continue. But it is still the revolution which inspires us and urges us forward regardless of all hardships. The revolution in spite of the impressions of people outside Spain (not the least some of our own comrades) is still our supreme objective. We Spanish anarchists will either rise with the revolution and build our new life or we will go down with it.' A marvelous people these Spaniards. Still more marvelous are our own comrades in their faith and determination to overcome everything and everybody in their march towards their ultimate aim."

In our next number we hope to print a full report by Emma Goldman of the situation in Spain.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Emma Goldman conversa con el compañero Gregorio Jover [Emma Goldman speaks with comrade Gregorio Jover. In Spanish] / Emma Goldman. — p. 4 ; 36 cm. In Umbral [Madrid?]. — no. 51 (Nov. 5, 1938).

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EMMA GOLDMAN CONVERSA CON EL COMPAÑERO GREGORIO JOVER

Emma Goldman, queriendo informarse para poder continuar en el extranjero su obra de propaganda en favor de nuestra lucha, ha visitado a nuestro compañero Gregorio Jover. Ella no sólo quería informarse de las personas que se encuentran en la retaguardia, sino que también quería oír las opiniones de los compañeros que desde los primeros días de la sublevación fascista salieron para el frente y que todavía hoy se encuentran en las trincheras. El testimonio de estos compañeros—dice—es el más importante.

Hacia tiempo que la compañera Goldman estaba deseosa de conocer la opinión de Jover, cuyo comportamiento frente a la 28 División se bien conocido en el exterior por sus inesperadas resistencias y por las enormes bajas que ocasionaron a los fascistas, sobre el desenlace que tendrá la guerra.

La conversación entre la veterana de nuestro movimiento y el compañero Jover, quien también lleva bastantes años de lucha y que perseguido por las dictaduras tuvo que recorrer los países de Europa y América, fué extraordinariamente interesante.

Hoy reproducimos solamente unos pequeños fragmentos de la misma, aunque albergamos la esperanza de que, en su tiempo, la podremos reproducir íntegra.

Jover, sin precipitación, y meditando bien las respuestas—como hace siempre que se trata de algún problema—, contestó muy claramente:

—La guerra terminará con nuestra victoria; cuando la ganemos nosotros, los españoles.

—¿Qué quieres decir con esto?
—Lo que digo. La guerra la hemos de ganar los españoles y no los italianos, alemanes, portugueses y otros. Y la ganaremos! Que hasta la fecha los fascistas han adelantado más que nosotros! Eso nada tiene que ver con el desenlace final. El pueblo español ha de salir victorioso. Y te diré más: mientras en España haya españoles, habrá guerra contra el fascismo. Y afirmo esto: aunque las fuerzas que están al servicio de Franco llegaran al mar, la guerra continuará y la hemos de ganar nosotros, los españoles.

—No creo que los fascistas podrían adelantar tanto; pero en tal caso, tendrían que adoptar otros métodos de lucha.

—Eso tampoco tiene importancia. Adoptásemos los métodos que nos parezcan mejores. El Pueblo español ya ha demostrado en varias ocasiones de lo que es capaz y también demostrará al mundo entero que sabe derrotar al fascismo, cosa que hasta la fecha no ha hecho ningún pueblo.

—Por eso todo el mundo admira al Pueblo español y muy especialmente a sus luchadores que han sabido resistir en Madrid, en Levante y en el Ebro.

—Lamentamos que sólo admiren. Si siguen de la misma manera, correrán la suerte de otros pueblos que nos admiraban mucho, pero que no han sabido defenderse y han sido devorados por el fascismo.

—Ya sé que te refieres a Alemania, Austria y Checoslovaquia y también sé que no hasta con admirar al pueblo español, sino que hay que hacer algo más. Pero has de tener en cuenta que el pueblo inglés o el francés son muy diferentes del español. Les cuesta mucho entenderse y no se atreven a ayudarnos debidamente. Además, no están bien informados.

—No creo que no estén informados. Hoy que hay periódicos y radio, las noticias se divulgan rápidamente. Como tampoco creo que el pueblo inglés o el francés son muy diferente al nuestro. En nuestra época, y para esta clase de diferencias, ya están suprimidas las fronteras que en otros tiempos dividían a los pueblos.

—Sí; pero la masa, la mayoría del pueblo, los trabajadores, no saben lo que pasa en España. No comprenden por qué están luchando y debido a esto hasta la fecha no han demostrado una acción más decidida en favor de España.

—Que no está informado la mayoría del pueblo inglés, la masa, de acuerdo; pero que en Inglaterra no se sepa por qué estamos luchando nosotros, no lo creo. No creo que Inglaterra, que tenía fama de estar mejor enterada que nadie de todo lo que pasaba en el mundo, no sepa el porqué de nuestra lucha, no sepa las cosas que la han producido, lo que quiere implantar Franco y lo que nosotros queremos. Creo que, por mediación de sus agentes, estará tan bien informada como el mejor en España.

—Sí, algunos de ellos estarán bien informados, pero no la mayoría.

—Sí, entre estos bien informados, que son la minoría del pueblo, ¿no se ha encontrado al un "loco" que se atreviera a decir la verdad? En España siempre hemos tenido de estos "locos". Aun cuando reinaba la reacción más negra, siempre surgía algún bien informado que se atrevía a enfrentarse con el tirano o con el grupo que lo rodeaba y decir lo que debía decir.

—Esto es cuestión de temperamento, de educación. Además, en Inglaterra, por ejemplo, también se hace algo en este sentido. Hay varias fábricas donde los obreros dedican el sueldo de las horas extraordinarias para España. Hay sindicatos que se niegan a intensificar su trabajo si el Gobierno no permite vender armas a España. Hay muchas organizaciones benéficas que han hecho mucho en favor de España.

—Todo esto son cuentos de mal pagador. No es esto lo que debía hacer el proletariado internacional, el tampoco es una excusa el que no están informados. ¿Que no saben por qué luchamos y que no están al corriente de las finalidades que perseguimos? Lo que falta es el valor de enfrentarse debidamente con el problema que se les plantea. El proletariado español, que estaba menos informado que el de otros países y era más ignorante por ser analfabeta, no necesitó que le indicaran lo que debía hacer cuando hace 20 años los obreros rusos se sublevaron contra el monarca y sus adeptos. El pueblo español se puso en pie a más lo que debía hacer en favor de los obreros rusos.

—Es que el pueblo español es más idealista.

—No se trata de esto, cree—agrega Jover—. El pueblo y muy especialmente los obreros franceses e ingleses, es tan bueno y tan idealista como el nuestro. La diferencia que existe es que otros pueblos no se atreven a enfrentarse con el enemigo, como lo ha hecho nuestro pueblo, no tienen valor para ello. Creo que quieren la libertad, pero no saben cómo obtenerla; esperan conseguirla sin luchar, mientras que nosotros sabemos que todo lo que tenemos es obra de nuestros esfuerzos. También sabemos que para mantenerlo hemos de luchar y para nuevas conquistas hemos de luchar y vencer.



Emma escuchaba atentamente todo lo que el compañero Jover le exponía referente al ambiente de lucha, de sacrificio y de las finalidades de guerra. Luego, entusiasmada, abrumada, le decía:

—Mientras en España haya compañeros como tú, mientras haya un pueblo que se sacrifica tan entusiastamente, puedes estar seguro que estaré con vosotros y haré todo en vuestra ayuda.

—Quiero que lo sepas tú y que lo digas a todos—añade el compañero Jover—los compañeros y no compañeros, que luchamos por un ideal; y los amigos que nuestro ideal es el mismo ideal por el cual estamos luchando hace veinte años.

MARTÍN GARCÍA

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gift: Eleanor Fitzgerald (with letter)
 March 5, 1939
 (Agnes Inglis)

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Visiting the Fronts.

by Emma Goldman

The second anniversary of the death of our heroic comrade, Buenaventura Durruti, vividly brought back my visit with him at the Aragon front in 1936. I found him amidst deafening noises of workmen hammering together a wooden structure for Durruti and his staff, typewriters clicking, the telephone buzzing and scores of militias coming and going with reports or for orders. He was the soul of the column he had organized - the first to go with him to the Aragon front to conquer the Fascist enemies; yet regardless of the constant interruption I gained a better perspective from Durruti's account and the talks I had all through the night with our inspired comrades of the militia than in weeks of observation and study in the rearguard. Durruti especially made the 10th of July so vivid it seemed as if I were living through it myself and was witnessing the tremendous release of the pent-up energies of the workers and peasants. I had the same experience at the Huesca front, where I had a chance to come close to the simplest, unsophisticated workers who had flocked to the front to stake their all in freeing Spain.

Lastly but not least was my visit to the trenches in Madrid within hearing of Franco's snipers. Every contact with the fighting men added to my store of knowledge what the struggle really meant to them, and what it was that strengthened their fortitude. I therefore came to the conclusion that one cannot hope to understand the war or be able to give an adequate appraisal of its underlying motivations by merely getting the reactions of committees in the various bureaux. To most of them the struggle centred more on theoretic issues. To the men at the front the issues involved life and death and even more so also the death of their ideals for which they were so ready to sacrifice themselves. I promised myself last year to go back to the fronts whenever I returned to Spain.

Shortly after my arrival in September, 1938, in Barcelona, I began to pester Comrade Martin Gudiol about a trip to the front. Did I forget the scarcity of cars and the shortage of petrol he had warned me about in his letters? He did not know he would be able to get the cars for a long journey of 250 kilometres from Barcelona. He would try, however. Good old Martin - he simply could never refuse anybody anything, much less his mother, Emma, whom he had adopted as his own. A week later Martin announced he had succeeded in obtaining an auto and all the necessary documents, and we would start out at seven o'clock the following morning. Knowing how loath most Spaniards are to start life at such an

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unearthly hour, I had my doubts about leaving Barcelona at the time agreed upon, but sure enough the car, the chauffeur, Comrade Pedro Hererra, one of my favourites among the Spanish Anarchists, and faithful Martin Gudell, arrived on the dot. Fortified for the long trip with a large thermos of hot coffee, bread and some pieces of chocolate, we started out.

Gregoria Jover had been a close friend of Darruti and associated with him for years in their wanderings through Europe, their revolutionary exploits and the persecution they had endured from the Governments of every country. Somehow I imagined Jover not merely the same commanding personality but also of the same heroic spiritual stature as Darruti. Great was my surprise therefore when on our arrival I found Jover looking more like a college professor than a military man. Indeed, his poise, reserve and quiet manner indicated the polished gentleman rather than the dare-devil who had once been considered a veritable terror by constituted authority. Comrade Jover at once proceeded to ply me with questions about the attitude of public opinion in England to the anti-Fascist struggle in Spain. A people so highly civilised, progressive and liberal as English men and women must needs understand the world-wide importance of the Spanish War. I tried to explain that in spite of the boasted British civilisation and progress, very little is known in England about the real issues involved for the Spanish workers and peasants, should Franco win, and the disastrous effect on the masses everywhere as a result of this calamity. Our comrade was not in the least impressed by this. He insisted that with the power of the Press and the wireless, reaching to the remotest parts of the earth the English people could not possibly have remained ignorant about what loyalist Spain is fighting for, nor the designs of Hitler and Mussolini in backing Franco. Spanish naivete in European achievement and political affairs has always been a source of wonder to me. Still, I did not expect such childlike faith of Comrade Jover in the truth-telling or informative powers of the Press and the radio. I pointed out that both are the great medium of the capitalist system, hence printed and radio-ed such news as their masters thought good for the people.

Alas! the Labour Press is no more truth-loving. It also gives the workers only what its leaders consider necessary to their policy. In point of fact there has been in England a conspiracy of silence in regard to the real dominant force in Spain. Nothing ever appears about the militant workers of the National Confederation of Labour or the Anarchist Federation of Iberia, who have been from the very beginning and continue to be, the backbone of the anti-Fascist war. As to the rest of British public opinion, it is like everywhere else, a crazy quilt of many coloured patches without independent thinking or direction. However, this much can be said for the British

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workers and even for the liberal intelligentsia - they have been impressed immensely by the fighting spirit of the Spanish people and they are filled with admiration for the courage and sacrifice they have made, I told our Comrade Jover. Yes, yes, we know we are being admired, he replied laughingly. We should prefer less admiration and more direct help from the workers of England as well as the whole international proletariat: shipments of milk are very needed in Spain, and we appreciate these gifts. We know, however, that direct action in the form of boycotts and embargoes on Italian and German arms sent to Franco, and, more important still, general strikes to lift the Non-Intervention Pact, would prove infinitely more important to us. They would soon end the war and enable loyalist Spain to feed her own children. But you must be tired and hungry. Let's go and eat, Jover concluded. We had been standing all through our talk, and I certainly was tired.

At the hotel dining room I was introduced to the entire staff of officers somewhat in the same way as I had been in the textile factory, as "our venerable comrade, the pioneer in America of the Libertarian Movement and the champion in England of our struggle". The officers belonging to other sectors of the anti-Fascist front had probably never before heard my name or anything about my work, but they were duly impressed, perhaps more with the fact that I was the comrade and guest of their chief than with my championship of the loyalist cause. Whatever the reason, they gave me their military salute and treated me with special deference and in the grand Spanish manner. Nothing like being venerable - one receives more homage, respect and kindness than in one's youth. Moreover, one is surer that the intention is not prompted by ulterior motives, that it is entirely selfless, and so it is with the creeping years as with the clouds. They, too, have a silver lining.

Our real visit with comrade Jover began when he returned from the hotel to his private office. Here in the close circle of comrades, Gregoria Jover; Juan Mollana, the former editor of *Terra y Libertad*, his companion, Lola Urribe, a talented and ardent feminist, Pedro Hererra, Martin Gudell and several other comrades on the staff - I learned to know Gregoria Jover better during that afternoon. I saw that back of his reserve was tremendous emotional strength and an ardent faith articulated in measured phrases only to better impress his hearers. There was, however, nothing studied or prepared in his method. It was quite spontaneous - sparks from his own flaming spirit. Our talk touched on every gamut of Spanish life, ideas and ideals, and the supreme sacrifices already and still to be made by the people in order to win the war. "We Spaniards have already demonstrated what we can do. We were the first to rise against Fascism, and whether we win or lose we are determined to remain the last on the battlefield. We know that we will win. Wo,

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the Spanish people, not the Germans, Italians, Portuguese or even the treacherous Spaniards. We will win because our people are with us as one man, because the war is not only to conquer Fascism. It is also to defend our revolutionary achievements. We must, we will win," Jover proclaimed with fervent conviction. The whole room was filled with his strength and his fire. We all came under his spell and we would have continued all through the night, but the charm was broken by our comrade Maliana. He reminded us that it was ten o'clock and dinner was waiting for us.

Our host had been most lavish in all he had spread before us during the afternoon - coffee, cake, bread and butter, cheese, lovely apples, and even wine he had somehow succeeded in obtaining. It was a special fiesta, he said, to have such a guest as our old comrade; nothing is too good for such an occasion. I asked him where the rosy-cheeked apples were growing. With laughing eyes, Jover replied, "I don't know where they are growing. I only know they are here to eat." After dinner we were asked whether we would like to go to the cinema. Though not a great lover of films I was curious to see the militia that would be there. True enough, the cinema was packed with the men on furlough, their parents, sweethearts, wives and children. They thoroughly enjoyed the two Hollywood concoctions. It made them forget during an evening the horrors of war. As the entry of the Chief of Staff caused not the slightest ruffle, I wondered whether the discipline introduced in the Spanish army had had so little stifling effect. I was pleasantly surprised that none of the soldiers dutifully jumped up to give the salute or that their chief made his arrival obvious. It all passed over in the ordinary way as if a schoolmaster had entered a cinema filled with his pupils. There was no fuss made by either.

The following morning after we had all been photographed (the Spaniards are like children about being photographed) we took leave of our generous host and made our way to the headquarters of Comrade Ricardo Sanz of the 26th Division. We found him way up in the hills in much more rugged surroundings than our Comrade Jover. We had to leave our car at the foot of the hill and climb up. His headquarters, too, were primitive in a peasant's house and with peasant simplicity. It was all just the right background for Ricardo Sanz. He was himself as hewn from Spanish rock, tall and powerful, a proletarian risen from the depths and all members of his staff were proletarians or peasants. They were remarkably clear about their objective and passionately determined to live as free men or die in the attempt. Ricardo Sanz also spoke of the invincible spirit of the men in his Division, nearly all members of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. and the Libertarian Youth. They all resented the idea suggested in the European Press of mediation with Franco. Never would they consent to that. They were Spaniards and revolutionists

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and unlike the Czecho-Slovakians, they would never acquiesce to Spain's being dismembered. They would fight as guerillas inch by inch for the fulfilment of the promise of the 19th of July and the liberation of Spain from Fascism. Everyone surrounding Comrade Sanz expressed the same view.

On our way to Barcelona we talked of the remarkable types of men the C.N.T., the P.A.I. and the Youth had contributed to the anti-Fascist struggle. Darruti, the two Ascasio brothers, Cypriano, Mara, (mason turned into a general, the Toronto Star had once called him), Jover, Sanz, Mansana and scores of others - proletarians all of them who had never before had a chance to express their latent qualities and who had since proven of such strength, intelligence and ability at the front as well as the rearguard.

Comrade Mansana, too, had been a close friend of Darruti, with him at the Aragon front, and later fighting side by side with him in Madrid. He had been the only comrade near Darruti when he was stricken by the treacherous bullet. In 1937 when I had met Mansana in Valencia, I was told by everybody that he was among the best informed on military affairs and a great strategist. On this visit I discovered him cooped up in Barracks, doing work less important men could do. The same sinister force that had tried time on end to sabotage the chances of confederal men, was at work to prevent Mansana from taking the place he is eminently qualified to fill. I learned all this from a comrade everybody refers to as Michel, who told me he preferred to be a common soldier under Mansana than the right hand man of a general. He whispered in my ears that our comrade was too reticent to speak for himself or complain about the tricks used to keep him in the barracks when he should hold the highest post, not because of honours but because of his great intelligence and ability. A gracious and charming man Mansana is, one of the galaxy the Spanish Anarchist Movement has given to the world.

Attending the P.O.U.M. Trial.

I had come to Spain for two or three weeks and I wanted to leave. It had always been a painful wrench to depart from the comrades who had wound themselves round my heart with a thousand strings. I knew it would be even more painful this time, but I felt I should leave because the work of the C.N.T.-P.A.I. Bureau in London was left hanging in the air. The comrades of the Peninsular Committee of the P.A.I. said they would not hear of it. I must remain for the two forthcoming plenums, they said, where the difference which had arisen between them and the C.N.T.

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Committee would be thrashed out. I wanted very much to be present at the session, but also I dreaded the outcome. I had read the material prepared by the Peninsular Committee, setting forth its opposition to the growing encroachment of the Negrin Government on the libertarian achievements and the critical attitude to the timid stand of the National Committee. Not wishing to remain one-sided in my judgment, I had also listened to a long explanation of the steps taken by Comrade Mariano R. Vazquez. I realised that the relations between him and the comrades of the Peninsular Committee had become very strained. Not for a moment could I doubt the personal integrity of the contesting comrades. I had found them all of sterling quality, deeply sincere and passionately devoted to the struggle. True, their temperamental differences had no doubt contributed to the quarrel.

Comrade Vazquez' rough-hewn manners and thunderous voice easily roused antagonism. I myself had at first been shocked by them until I learned to know his earnestness and his fine qualities back of his savage exterior. On the other hand was Comrade Pedro Herrera, thoughtful, tender and rather shy in his ways, though a fighter when need be; and all the other comrades. I was sure that the strained relations had deeper reason, the comrades of the Peninsular had begun to see that there is danger ahead for the libertarian movement if the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. will not take a more aggressive and consistent stand. The comrades had reached the breaking point of their endurance of the manoeuvres of Stalin's satraps. They had prepared a formidable dossier powerfully documented of some of the outrageous acts against the libertarian ranks. They felt the time had come to check their nefarious activities. I conceded the justification of the criticism and demands of our comrades of the F.A.I. Still, I felt like a hen for her chicks. I trembled for them.

While I was waiting for the delegates to arrive, the P.O.U.M. trial was announced, and I immediately decided to attend it. I have already written a report for Vanguard and the Freie Arbeiter Stimme. I need not repeat what I recorded of the amazing fabrication of so-called evidence on which the seven Proumists were to be sent to their death. Its most striking point to me was its identity with the kind of evidence used in nearly every trial in Russia, just as villainous and completely barren of originality or fact.

There are, however, a few sides that need some elucidation which I did not give in the report. First, the striking difference in the quality of witnesses for the prosecution and the defence. I have mentioned the spy, Roca Mir, known as such and yet used by Stalin's detractors of the men on trial to swear away their lives. Another witness was Virgilio Llano, Commissar of the Eastern Army. He delivered himself of a fantastic yarn about the 29th Division manned by P.O.U.M. members who on May 5th

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1937, had marched on Lerida against the Government and who had been found in league with the Fascists. To make his story plausible to the Court, he referred to Garcia Vivancos whose 125th Division had been the first to break into Teruel and who has since distinguished himself at the Ebro Front. On being told of the use of his name, Comrade Vivancos wrote an open letter to Virgilio Llano, protesting against the liberty the man had taken with his name to prop his so-called evidence. In the letter Comrade Vivancos writes: "While there had been unrest in the 29th Division during the May events, the fault had been the arbitrary measures of the authorities, but there is no scintilla of truth in the charge against the 29th Division, of Fascist alliance. I had ample opportunity to be in close contact with the boys and I can say most emphatically that aside of some political foolishness of which not only they but many others had been guilty, I had found them absolutely devoted to our struggle. They showed their real metal in all offensive and defensive actions we had undertaken. I here speak of the Muesca Front where the 26th Division had participated."

On the other hand, were the witnesses for the defence, such as Aussuge Largo Cabellero, a former Premier of the Republic and War Minister, Aussuge Manuel Irujo, former Minister of Justice, Aussuge S. Rubet, former Minister of the Interior, Signor Luis Baraquistain, former Ambassador in Paris, Federica Montseny, whose testimony I have already recorded, and over so many men in republican public life. Everyone of them repudiated the charges against the P.O.U.M. as preposterous, and they all emphasised the anti-Fascist and revolutionary integrity of Gorkin, Andrada and their comrades.

The sentence imposed on the five P.O.U.M. members is atrocious, but I must point out that it would have been much graver and more fatal had not the United Libertarian Movement stood back of the prisoners. As long ago as June, 1937, the C.N.T. addressed a vigorous protest to the President of the Republic, the President of the Cortes and all the other members of the Government, against the persecution of the P.O.U.M. Party and its leaders, and it also sent a warning against any attempt to railroad the men on perjured testimony. It soon became known that the force of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. and the Libertarian Youth would be brought to bear to safeguard the rights of the defendants. It was also the C.N.T. who had secured Counsel for their defence. After the man had been threatened by Stalin's worshippers he was forced to flee for his life. Thereupon it was again the C.N.T. who engaged another attorney, a member of the C.N.T., because no other attorney dared to take the case. In fact, our comrades Santillan and Herrerra were the ones to negotiate with Vincente Rodriguez Revilla, a brilliant young criminal lawyer, to take charge of

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the case. His plaidur in court which lasted five hours, impressed everybody as one of the most scholarly and profound analyses of the conspiracy against the defendants, the aims of their party, the significance of the May events and the position and importance of the C.N.T.-P.A.I. in the life of the Spanish workers and peasants. There is no doubt that his defence speech knocked the bottom from under the prosecution. Added to this, as I have already said, was the moral backing of the C.N.T.-P.A.I. that completely spoiled the game of the Spanish Cheka. These people kept up a violent attack in their Press, trying their utmost to influence the Court. It was left to the press of the C.N.T., the evening paper by this name and the Solidaridad Operaria to keep silent during the trial and then to come out in a dignified article condemning in unmistakable terms the miserable campaign carried on by the Communist Press.

I should not have written all this were it not for the fact that I have recently come across an attack against the C.N.T. in the Independent News published in Paris by the Poumists. I consider this outburst uncalled for, ungracious and unjust. I cannot imagine that the men now serving time would approve of such cheap tactics, only used to discredit the C.N.T. I am sure the outburst in the Independent News is doing their comrades and party irreparable harm, while in no way detracting from the moral strength of the C.N.T.-P.A.I. I see that some papers who call themselves Anarchist have reprinted the contention that the C.N.T., because of its member in the Government as Minister of Culture, Segundo Blanco, is responsible for the heavy sentence imposed on the men on trial. All I can say is that these Anarchists are pulling the chestnuts out of the fire for the 150 varieties of Marxists now afloat in their world. They will only burn their own fingers, as Anarchists have done before.

In conclusion I want to emphasise once more that far from being responsible for the sentence imposed on the Poumists, the strong support given them by the C.N.T.-P.A.I. has prevented a repetition in Spain of the terrible methods used in Russia against the old Bolsheviks.

*Written by
 Emma Goldman*

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S.I.A.: Its Tremendous Achievements / Emma Goldman. — 32 cm. In S.I.A. Bulletin [London]. — no. 4 (Dec. 1938).

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S.I.A. BULLETIN *№ 4.*

S. I. A. : Its Tremendous Achievements

*Christmas Issue
1938.*

On my arrival in Barcelona on the 15th September of this year I immediately visited the headquarters of S.I.A. I found there a perfect beehive engaged in intensive work to organise Guarderías (childrens' colonies), canteens where colonies had not yet been established, popular restaurants serving meals for 5 pesetas, a hospital, an ambulance in charge of a group of volunteers to give first aid, and a lot more.

The London Section of S.I.A. had been kept informed of the growth of the work in Spain. Still, the actual pro-

By
EMMA GOLDMAN

gress made was far beyond my expectations.

A tour of inspection for me was immediately organised and a small antediluvian car found to take me to a number of colonies inside Barcelona and to various villages where S.I.A. Sections, colonies and centres of relief had already been established.

My first visit was to Beguda-Alta, about an hour from Barcelona. There I found a spacious house in a large gar-

ber of the Libertarian Youth from being ever on the look out for additional food-stuffs to the supply S.I.A. is furnishing. His resourcefulness knows no bounds. The physical improvement of the children and their gay and playful spirit testify to the affection and care given them by their friend. They idolise their Batista and he truly loves them.

Next we went to Badalona. This colony is called "Ilar de L'infant" had been visited before me by the Dean of Canterbury. I was told that he had been enchanted with the place and the care given to the children. What a pity the Dean did not consider it important enough to write about his visit in the London Press. It would have dispelled the ignorance of many people about the work of S.I.A. in Spain. Thereby the Dean would also have rendered a great service to the colony in Badalona.

The beginning of this colony was by far more difficult than at Beguda-Alta. There the estate and the house were ready to receive the children. In Badalona S.I.A. had to remodel an old half-broken house. In fact, while I was there, masons and carpenters were still at work, but a number of rooms had already been put in perfect condition, the walls covered with colourful drawings of Andersen's stories. In addition a



A corner of the dining-room in a S.I.A. Colony

den with a beautiful view of a range of mountains, where 190 children were housed. The greatest asset of the colony is a young militia, Batista by name. He had fought heroically at the front, had been severely wounded in his arm and taken captive by the Fascists. He succeeded in escaping. He then made his way to Barcelona, gathering up destitute and hungry children in the Aragon villages he passed through. He needed an operation, but he refused to have it until his wounds were safely housed. He brought them to Beguda-Alta, and after the operation Batista became the very soul of the colony.

His arm is still in a sling and will probably have to be so for a long time, but that does not hinder this brave mem-

ber of the Libertarian Youth from being ever on the look out for additional food-stuffs to the supply S.I.A. is furnishing.

The number of children housed in Badalona is 300. During the month of September the colony gave a hot midday meal to 300 additional children from the village. In appreciation the Municipality of Badalona is now co-operating with S.I.A. to make the colony the largest and finest for children under the care of S.I.A.

At Masnou, also not far from Barcelona and facing the beautiful Mediterranean, is the colony partly supported by Spain and the World, though of course in care of S.I.A. Here, too, I found sympathetic and loving care of the children it contained. I was informed that

Continued on page 4, col. 1

S.I.A. : Its Tremendous Achievements

Continued from page 2, col. 2

when the kiddies were brought to Masnou they were half-starved, many of them covered with scurvy and suffering from deep depressions. With the exception of half a dozen who had not yet regained their full health, the rest gave no indication of their former condition. They had gained weight, their skins were clear and they were full of frolic and play. The blessing in this colony is that the children can spend the whole day at the beach, and thus enjoy the warm sunshine ever present in Catalonia as well as the benefits of sea bathing and sea air.

The two colonies that had been organised last-year for Basque children, and which I had visited, also showed very marked improvement in the condition of the children as well as their educational advancement.

My limited time did not permit me to visit the other colonies of S.I.A. They were nearly all located at a considerable distance from Barcelona, some even in Valencia and Madrid, now most difficult to reach, but those I did see convinced me that they could well compare with many children's homes and orphanages in countries that still boast of peace and plenty.

At the end of this report readers will find a list of colonies and schools created by S.I.A. When I left Barcelona plans were already being made to establish many more. This was made possible by the very handsome contribution sent by the numerous sections of S.I.A. in the United States and by the friends in Sweden.

ARRANGEMENTS FOR MEALS.

I was particularly keen to see the canteens, in some of the villages where children are given a glass of hot condensed milk and a substantial slice of bread. To reach one of these centres (Vich) we had to start out at 6 in the morning. We arrived, after a trip over bumpy and neck-breaking roads through beautiful scenery to delight the eye, at about 8 o'clock. I was there met by a sight that would have gripped the heart of the most callous and indifferent person. The children, hundreds of them, some led by their mothers, some by their older brothers and sisters, streamed into a large, specially prepared place where they were given their breakfast. What struck me most about the scene was the cleanliness of the children. Despite the scarcity of soap and hot water the little ones looked spotlessly clean, their hair braided, and their frocks, though in patches, freshly laundered. The mothers, looking thinner and hungrier than the children, had also done their very "best" to look decent and respectable. And then to see the children feed; little ones who could not reach the table stood up on their chairs and broke pieces of bread with their teeth, putting them in the hot milk and eating with a relish those used to heavily laden tables could hardly appreciate. An average of 200 to 300 children are given their breakfasts in Vich every day, and in a number of other cities similar canteens have been established.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

A Correction / Emma Goldman. — 29 cm. *In Spain and the World* [London]. — (Dec. 3, 1938).

Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

IN AND THE WORLD, DECEMBER 3rd, 1938.

INDIGNATION TO ORDER

It is understood that the measures taken in Germany against the Jews should provoke general indignation. But it is odd to observe that those who show the most righteous indignation are frequently those with the fewest scruples and the least right to feel this indignation. There were a good many members of Parliament who protested when Hitler ordered the gutting of shops and the burning of synagogues but not one of these was heard to raise his voice when British aeroplanes

bombarded Palestinian villages. When Hitler burns and sacks shops the whole world is disgusted, even Roosevelt takes up his pen; when Hitler's aviators make hundreds of victims every day in Spain we may perhaps find a paragraph of three or four lines in the daily newspapers.

The misfortune of the Spanish people is that they are fighting for liberty. Consequently there are no powerful financial interests anxious to defend their cause.

B.

British Imperialism In India

(I.A.M.B. Press Service).

The Central Legislative Assembly of India has passed a law which renders indictable every activity aimed at keeping anyone from enlisting for military service, or the object of which is to incite future recruits to mutiny or insubordination.

The Government claims that in the past 18 months a great many speeches have been made which had the forementioned tendency, and that the results thereof have become perceptible in a falling off in the number of voluntary enlistments. The intention of the law is clear: in a future war the British Empire will more than ever be dependent on human material from the colonies, and it is only too well known that there is fiercest opposition in India to the use of Indian troops for imperialist objects. The new law makes it possible for the Govern-

ment to crush any action against such use. Could there be more eloquent proof of the increasing tension in the world than this law?

The Central Legislative Assembly passed the law by 63 votes against 55. This proportion of votes, says the Press Service of the All India Congress Committee, does not represent the real situation. Actually the new measure on the part of the Government has been strongly criticized and rejected by practically the whole nationalist and socialist-Indian press. The Central Legislative Assembly, however, does not represent the nation. It consists of 145 members, 41 of whom are appointed by the Government, in addition to nine European members. The other 95 are chosen on a communal basis: the law obtained a majority because the Mohammedan group took the side of the Government.

For the present, the law applies only to the Punjab, but it can be extended to all the other provinces at the desire of the provincial governments.

The resistance against this law is not based on non-violent or anti-militarist principles, as clearly appears from the speeches of the opponents. India wants the right to decide for itself whether it will take part in a war of the British Empire or not. It wishes the same rights as the dominions in this respect. At present India has not even the slightest control over the army—one thing alone is expected of India: that it supply men, and pay. Therefore, Desai, the leader of the Congress delegates, declared: When you speak

A CORRECTION

To The Editor,
Spain and the World.

Dear Comrade,

Please make the following corrections in the interview with me about Spain in your issue Vol. II, No. 44, November 12th. In the 2nd column, 2nd paragraph, I am quoted as saying that "S.I.A. has also equipped many schools with canteens." That is wrong. It has only equipped special canteens of its own where rations, of condensed milk and bread are daily given to each child. The schools are not under the protective wings of S.I.A. They are being looked after by the Catalan Government, the Generality. True, some of these schools have canteens, but that does not have anything to do with the work of S.I.A.

First page, third column, 7th paragraph in re prison. I am quoted as saying that the prisons I visited were "on the whole good." What I said was that they were antiquated and without proper sanitation.

Third error—First column on the last page, 2nd paragraph. I am being quoted as having said that it was "our comrade, Secundo Blanco, Minister of Culture" who had helped me to liberate our comrade Jannette, well-known as an active Anarchist in Poland and France. What did happen is as follows. On my arrival I found that Mariano R. Vazquez, the General Secretary of the C.N.T. Committee, had already protested to the authorities against the arrest of our comrade, but because I wanted the matter rushed, since Jannette had already been three months in Communicado, I spoke about her case to Secundo Blanco and begged him to intercede. He then communicated with Vazquez and added his authority to the request of the immediate release of our comrade. That, however, did not prevent the S.I.M., the military supervision of prisons, almost exclusively all Communists, to keep our comrade an additional week in their own prison and to subject her to all sorts of cross examinations, photographing and fingerprinting her and adding more insults to the injury she had already endured.

The same paragraph also contains the error that Jannette has resumed her work as an electrical engineer. She has no intention of going back to her old syndicate, but she has been promised by our comrade, Puig Elias, who is the brain of the cultural work carried on by the ministry, a place as assistant of one of the professors of physics.

In the same column, 9th paragraph, the name of our comrade at the head of the 24th Division should be spelt Jover, and not Roveres as spelt in the article.

I must also correct the false impression I must have given as regards my visit to the two fronts, of the Division under Comrade Jover, and the 26th Division under Comrade Sanz. Unfortunately I did not get to the trenches, but I had an opportunity of talking to some of the men who comprised the Division, and it is from them that I got their wonderful spirit.

I am sorry to take up so much of your valuable space, but I dislike being misquoted—in this case most inadvertently, I am sure.

Fraternally,
EMMA GOLDMAN.

ORPHANS' FUND.

GROUPS

LONDON

Anarchist Federation of Britain

21, Frith Street, W.1

C.N.T.-F.A.I. Bureau

21, Frith Street, W.1

GLASGOW

Anarchist-Communist Federa-

tion, 287, Netherton Road,

Glasgow.

The Emma Goldman Papers

Revolutionary Economy in Spain: Collectivised Milk Industry / Emma Goldman. — p. 3; 22 cm. In Spain and the World [London]. — (Dec. 23, 1938).
Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

SPAIN AND THE WORLD, DECEMBER 23rd, 1938.

3

Revolutionary Economy in Spain

THE socialised milk industry was reorganised by the workers of the C.N.T. after July 19th, 1936, and placed on a modern and hygienic basis. This was the more necessary because the supply of milk in Barcelona had formerly been in the hands of small traders more interested in profits than the quality of the milk. In point of fact milk was adulterated with considerable admixtures of chemical substances. Cows were kept in filthy sheds without air, sunshine or a chance to be taken to pasture. As a result of it, a large percentage of the cattle were tuberculous. In addition was the fact of outrageous exploitation of the workers engaged in the milk dairies and industries. The reorganisation was begun entirely under the guidance of the C.N.T. (Anarcho-Syndicalist Organisation). As a result, Industria Lactea Socializada (Socialised Milk Industry) became a special branch of the food industry. Among the immediate steps taken was to create entirely new and modern methods to increase the quality and quantity of milk. Cooling stations were established. Seven of these were opened in Catalonia alone. The peasants from the surrounding villages bring the milk to the cooling stations. Here it is reduced to a temperature from 5 to 7 degrees above zero, and put into thermos flasks. Thus the milk reaches Barcelona at an even temperature.

We visited several cooling stations, at Las Franquesa, Clot near Girona, Satoville, at La Perpetua de la Moguda, since renamed Granja Germinal. The first of these stations was placed in a former wine depot. It was completely renovated

and equipped with machinery brought from Barcelona. Five men and five women work there, their wages being paid them by their syndicate in Barcelona. It averages 160 pesetas per week. Instead of 30,000 litres of milk that could easily be cooled in this station, only 1,000 a day actually pass through the process. The reason for this was lack of fodder which unfortunately induced the peasants to slaughter a number of cows.

In Clot a large factory was established and condensed milk and butter are being produced there. The entire produce is regularly taken by the military authorities for use at the front. In Clot we came upon an interesting case which, like so many other phenomena one meets, can only happen in Spain. Although the cooling station is collectivised, the widow of the former owner is being paid off the cost of the place in

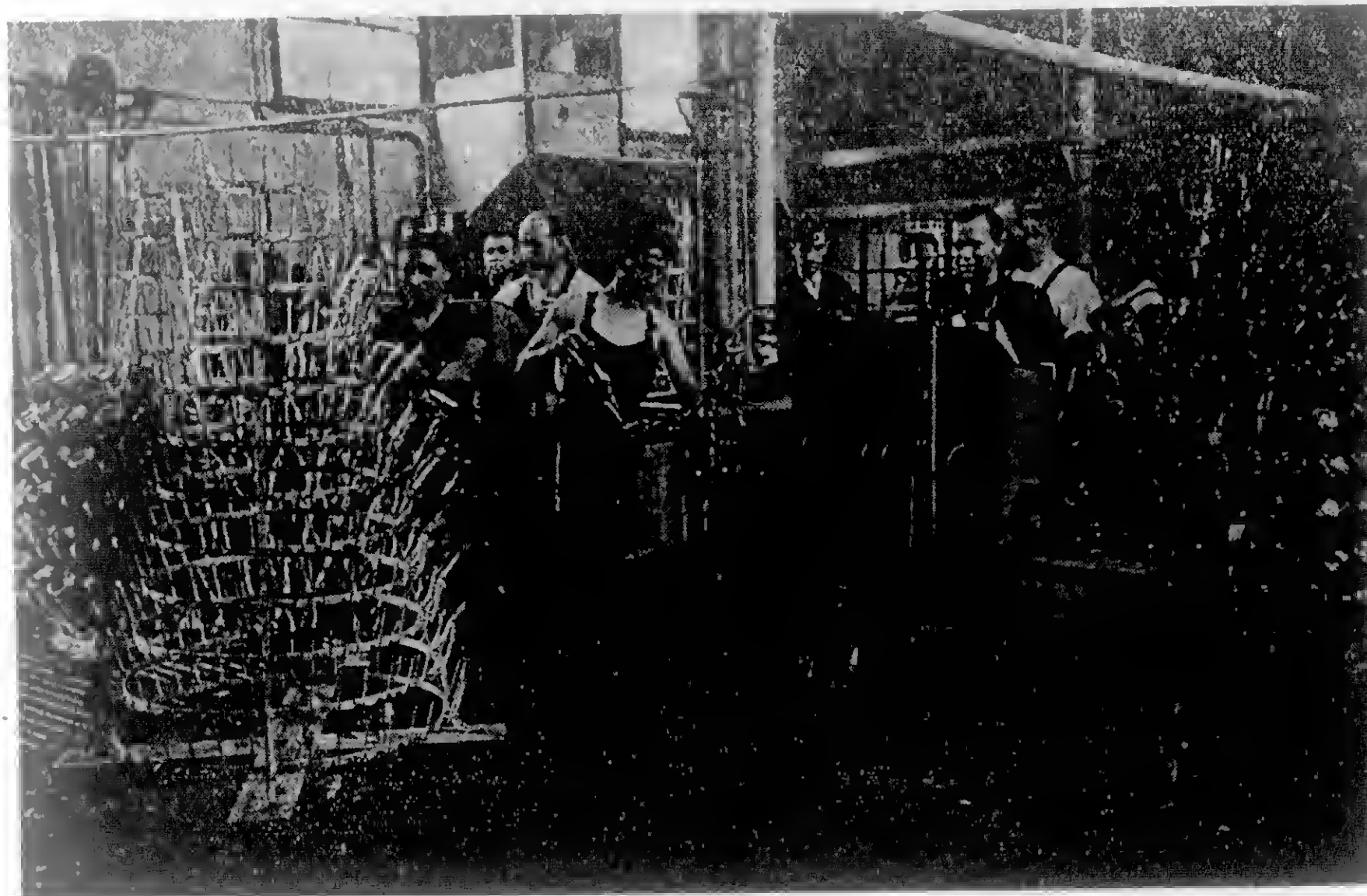


"Collectivized Milk Industry C.N.T.-A.I.T."

For a better understanding of the Spanish Workers struggle all should read our new pamphlet

SOCIAL

COLLECTIVISED MILK INDUSTRY



A SECTION OF A FACTORY OF THE COLLECTIVIZED MILK INDUSTRY.

monthly rates; in addition she is permitted to keep her living quarters—much more comfortable than the homes of many workers in the large cities—and is

deliver him from the "Reds" who had turned his neglected estate into a well-organised and prosperous farm.

Ninety-four cows, many pigs and

the largest enterprise of the milk syndicate. It is housed in the former Frigo Factory which manufactured milk by-products; all kinds of modern equipment in the way of

had turned his neglected estate into a well-organised and prosperous farm. Ninety-four cows, many pigs and sheep, as well chickens and rabbits, make up the live stock in Granja Germinal. Thirty-two hectares of land are under complete cultivation. Sixty peasants and an equal number of dairy workers are employed in this place, their pay averaging from 160 to 200 pesetas a week. Already this socialised venture has spent 90,000 pesetas on new cowsheds and other improvements to bring the estate up to date, and to make it yield returns it never had before.

We returned to Barcelona to visit

syndicate. It is housed in the former Frigo Factory which manufactured milk by-products; all kinds of modern equipment in the way of pasteurising machinery, butter churners, machinery for the production of cheese and Yoghurt, skimming appliances and a new ice-cream producing plant, had been established. In addition a number of model dairy depots were built for the retail sale of milk. Before July 19th this factory had a working capacity to produce 7,000 litres of milk daily. Now it could handle 100,000. The number of workers also had to be reduced from 350 to 200. The syndicates have reason to be proud

of their great achievement. Far from that, they are most discontented because they cannot produce the increased amount of milk needed for the population in Catalonia. Formerly 200,000 litres of milk daily were used in Barcelona—to-day 300,000 are necessary owing to the great influx of refugees and the increase of the population. Formerly Catalonia used to buy large quantities of condensed milk in the north of Spain, now in the hands of Franco. Also large numbers of cows from Switzerland, Holland and the north of Spain, used to be imported. All that has been made impossible since the beginning of the war. Another explanation for the famine in milk is to be sought in the calamity which had befallen Catalonia in May, 1937. Owing to the plot against the C.N.T.-F.A.I. in Barcelona which resulted in the great disturbance, the former owners of the cattle evidently thought that the good old days had come back; they raided the collectives and led the cattle to their own sheds. When they realised that the syndicates were still in control, they slaughtered their cows rather than give them back to the collectives.

Yet with all the drawbacks, all the vicissitudes, the socialised milk industry stands out as a very great achievement. In point of truth, the milk syndicate have demonstrated that they were able to create a remarkable venture in a short period of months, which had taken the peasant co-operatives in northern Europe decades to grow.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

the C.G.T., the legal parliamentary issue was still undecided and the days before the strike were passed in continual visits and interviews between the ministers and the leaders at the workers' centres.

Blum and Frossard were trying to persuade Daladier to give way in favour of a government of National Union. The communists declared themselves ready to make any sacrifice in the support of such a government headed by Herriot.

THE GOVERNMENT ACTS

But on this occasion the blackmail failed to achieve its object. Daladier stood firm and neither the efforts of the parliamentary group of the U.S.S.R. nor the offer of mediation of the "Association d'Anciens Combattants" (Ex-Servicemen's Association) resulted in the dismissal of the ministers. Confident in the support of England and of all the reactionaries, the government were able to gain time and to delude their opponents by spinning out the official negotiations. Counting on the weakness of the syndical Federation the Ministry decided to fight.

On Tuesday the C.G.T. found itself holding the baby—a general strike for which it had made no practical preparation, and with public opinion equally unprepared.

The following day the strike began. At eight o'clock in the morning the order to strike given to the transport workers was cancelled; at two o'clock the order for the P.T.T. (Postal Workers) was given.

Only the members of the Printers' Federation had come out solidly. The metal workers and builders unions also held out, and the numbers were greatly swelled by the workers employed by individual firms. In Lille, Marseilles, Nantes, Toulouse and Clermont-Ferrand, there were local strikes of the miners, tramway workers and dockers. In the last mentioned towns the workers threatened to interfere, the "mobiles" not venturing to interfere.

Nevertheless it was clear the strike had failed completely, and Jouhaux admitted the fact the next day.

Measures were now taken by the owners to profit by the Syndicalist defeat. In the metal industries, there were lock-outs in many shops. The workers when re-engaged found that they had not only lost days of their holidays with pay, but that their delegates had been suppressed. (A worker must have been employed for three months before he has a voice as an elector, and six months before he is eligible as a delegate). The minister of finance was able, in certain branches of

FRANCE

The History of a Defeat

The Decree-laws of Paul Reynaud, minister of finance, were published at the time when the C.G.T. was holding a session at Nantes.

The decrees constituted a terrible blow to the working classes. Articles of common consumption, such as tea and sugar, were heavily taxed, the price of popular transport, the metro and buses was greatly increased and all salaries were taxed 20 per cent. The 40 hour week was done away with and the rates of pay for overtime reduced. The corresponding sacrifices demanded from the rich were purely theoretical. True the income tax was raised, but absence of control makes this rise fictitious. Moreover incomes exceeding 500,000 francs are not to be taxed and furthermore the control of wholesale prices was abandoned.

For several weeks the press conducted a campaign which prepared the way for the sacrifices necessary to meet the enormous expenses of national defence.

Nevertheless the first reaction among salaried workers was of indignation. Already hit by the increased cost of living, which the slight rise in wages had failed to keep up with, they rebelled. The Congress of the C.G.T. was held at Nantes, turned towards the Congress of the C.G.T. There were many speeches but no results. Several proposals for an immediate general strike, but Jouhaux and the communist section, whilst utilizing the emotion aroused by the government as tending to unity, did not insist on any

definite action being taken. The Congress broke up with only a somewhat vague decision that fight against the decrees "might be carried even so far as a strike."

The decrees made little impression, the restrictions to workers liberties and particularly the repression of foreign workers, whether or not political refugees, called for action.

During the days that followed the C.G.T. elected its administrative Commission. These elections were not free from dishonest deals and bargains between the reformists and the Stalinists.

In many industries where the owners, confident in the decrees, took the offensive against the workers, the discontent was growing.

POSITION OF COMMUNIST PARTY
The visit of Mr. Chamberlain to Paris announcing the settlement of the war in Spain, and a drawing together of the

leaders to evacuate the workshops. The Stalinists acted as intermediaries between the oppressors and the strikers and devaloured to facilitate the occupation of the factories by the police.

This however was not accomplished without difficulty owing to the metal worker's failure to grasp the subtle policy of the Soviet, which aimed at overthrowing the Daladier cabinet but did not favour any action of the workers which might frighten the bourgeois partisans of the Franco-Soviet pact. It was owing to this misunderstanding that so much damage was done before the last strikers had been driven out by tear gas bombs. It was two or three weeks before the factories were functioning normally once more. Disorder reigned in the workshops, machines were destroyed and windows broken.

In the north, the strike was smashed by the requisition order of the government.

The first result of the communist move was that the C.G.T. (General Workers' Union) though hesitant and divided, gave way under extreme pressure and opted for a demonstration strike of 24 hours.

On Friday, November the 25th, the C.G.T. announced its decision to call on the proletariat to cease work on Wednesday the 30th.

THE GOVERNMENT'S REACTION

The Franco-German pact was announced. The indignation against the decrees had subsided a little. During the five days which the government had been

The Emma Goldman Papers

Save Arthur Bartolotti / [Emma? Goldman?].— [1939? Jan?, draft].—
1 p. ; 29 x 22 cm.

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1939

SAVE ARTHUR BORTOLOTTI

The case of Arthur Bortolotti is now reaching its most critical stage. Over three months in jail this comrade has successfully fought back against the trumped-up charges under the War Measures Act, and the ridiculous "revolver" charge. With the effectiveness of the defence measures taken, complete acquittals were secured on these charges.

But the authorities are not to be so easily deprived of their victim, and if anything the failure so far to fasten a conviction on Arthur Bortolotti has only pressed them on with more determination to find other means of dealing with him. Defeated on Criminal Code and War Measures Act charges, the latest and most critical attempt is a charge now laid under the Immigration Act. No particulars are yet available but every indication appears that the attempt now is to destroy, on technical or political grounds, Bortolotti's legal status in Canada so that he may be shipped to Italy to satisfy appetites there.

After a great deal of struggle we have at last been able to obtain Arthur's release, pending the hearing and trial of the immigration charges, upon a cash bail of \$4,000.00 supplied by friends and even mere acquaintances who had learned both to admire Bortolotti's courage and fidelity, and to resent the malice and persistence of police and government authorities. Fourteen weeks unjust confinement in jail, with its wretched fare and almost complete absence of medical facilities, have unfortunately seriously affected Arthur's health. Since his release from jail about two weeks ago he has been almost completely under doctor's care, but every attention is being given him and we hope to have him soon restored to full health.

Valiant support so far has made it possible for us to continue this fight and successfully to save this comrade from a fate surely worse than death, but much more effort will now still be needed so that we can frustrate this last attack upon Arthur Bortolotti. Save Arthur Bortolotti and strike a blow for liberty and freedom!

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Tom Mooney's Resurrection / Emma Goldman. — [1939?, draft]. — 14 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

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TOM MOONEY'S RESURRECTION.

By

Emma Goldman.

A sensational newspaper published in San Francisco was sent to me by a friend of mine. It is filled with news about Tom Mooney's pardon and resurrection from his living death. It also reports the joyous and enthusiastic reception given him by representatives of all Labour organisations of San Francisco. I, too, rejoiced with Tom's final liberation, but my joy was intermingled with considerable sorrow that the man who loved him most and was the first to proclaim Tom Mooney's innocence was no longer among the living to rejoice with me. I mean Alexander Berkman.

At the time of the bomb explosion in the Preparedness Parade July 22nd, 1916, I was in San Francisco as one of the cities in ~~my~~ ^{of my} annual ~~itinerary~~ ^{itinerary} for lectures. I had already addressed large audiences for a whole week. On the historic day I went to my dear co-worker, Alexander Berkman, and ~~his~~ ^{my} friend, M.E. Fitzgerald, to lunch with them and spend the afternoon. While we were joking and laughing over our meal, the telephone rang, and Alexander Berkman stepped into his office to answer it. When he returned I noticed the extremely serious expression on his face, and I intuitively

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felt that something had happened.

"A bomb exploded in the Preparedness Parade this afternoon", he said: "There are killed and wounded."

"I hope they are not going to hold the Anarchists responsible for it," I cried out.

"How could they?" Fitzl retorted.

"How could they not?" Sasha answered: "They always have."

On the way to my apartment I heard newsboys calling out Extra Editions. I bought the papers and found what I had expected — glaring headlines about "An Anarchist Bomb" all over the front page. The papers demanded the immediate arrest of the speakers at the Preparedness Meeting of July 20th. ^{Healy} ~~First's~~ Examiner was especially bloodthirsty. The panic that followed on the heels of the explosion exposed strikingly the lack of courage, not only of the average person, but of the Radicals and Liberals as well. My largely-attended meetings dwindled to a mere fifty persons on the evening after the explosion. ^{and the masses following} The rest of the audience consisting of detectives and police.

A reign of official terror followed the explosion. Revolutionary workers and anarchists were, as always, the first victims. Four labour men and one woman were immediately arrested. They were Thomas J. Mooney and his wife, Rhia, Warren K. Billings, Edward D. Nolan and Israel Weinberg.

Thomas Mooney, long a member of Moulders' Union, Local 164, was known throughout California as an energetic fighter in the cause of the workers. For many years he had been an effective factor in various strikes. Because of his incorruptibility, he

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was cordially hated by every employer and Labour politician on the coast. The United Railways had tried, a few years previously, to put Mooney behind the bars, but even the former jury had refused to credit the frame-up against him. Recently he had sought to organize again the motor men and conductors of the Street Car Combine. He had attempted, unsuccessfully, to call a strike of the platform men a few weeks before the parade, and the United Railways marked him for their victim. They posted bulletins on the car barns warning their men to have nothing to do with the "dynamiter Mooney", on pain of immediate discharge. On the night following the posting of the bulletins, some power - towers of the company were blown up, and those who knew smiled at the obvious attempt of the railway bosses to "get" Mooney by the peculiarly "timely" branding of him as a dynamiter.

Warren K. Billings, formerly President of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, had for years been active in Labour struggles, and the employers had once before succeeded in railroadine him to prison on a trumped up charge in connection with strike troubles in San Francisco.

The other comrades of Mooney and Billings were also known active labour men, while Mrs. Mooney, ^{was a music teacher} though sympathising with her husband's ideas and efforts on behalf of the workers, was removed from his field of action by giving lessons to children in music.

To charge her, her husband and the other ^{men} ~~comrades~~, with the responsibility for the Preparedness Parade explosion, was a deliberate attempt to strike Labour a deadly blow through its most energetic and uncompromising representatives. We expected a

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concerted response on behalf of the accused from the liberal and radical elements, regardless of political differences. Instead we were confronted by complete silence on the part of the very people who had for years known and collaborated with Tom Mooney, Billings, Nolan and their fellow prisoners.

There was not a single prominent man in the unions on the coast who now dared speak up for his arrested brothers. There was no one to offer a penny for their defence. Not one word appeared even in "Organised Labour," the organ of the powerful building trades. Not a word in the "Labour Clarion," the official weekly of the San Francisco Labour Council and of the State Federation of Labour. Even Free an Oldor, who had so staunchly defended the Macnamara brothers, *implicated in the explosion of the Gas Angeles* sentenced for life in 1912, and who had always bravely championed every unpopular cause, was silent now, in the face of the evident Chamber of Commerce conspiracy to hang innocent men. *Imp. Bly*

It was a desperate situation. Only Alexander Berkman and I dared speak up for the prisoners. But we were known as Anarchists and it was a question whether the accused, of whom only Israel Weinberg, was an anarchist, would wish to have us affiliated with their defence. They might feel that our names would hurt their case rather than do them good. I myself knew them but slightly, and Warren K. Billings, I had never met. But we could not sit by idly and be party to the conspiracy of silence. ~~We should have come to their assistance even if we had thought them guilty of the charges, but~~ Alexander Berkman knew all of the accused well, and he

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was absolutely certain of their innocence. He considered none of them capable of throwing a bomb into a crowd of people.

During the two weeks following the tragedy of July 22nd, the Blast, the militant paper published by Alexander Berkman, and my meetings, were the only expression of protest against the terrorist campaign carried on by the local authorities at the behest of the Chamber of Commerce. Robert Minor, then an ardent Anarchist, had been summonsed by Comrade Berkman from Los Angeles, to come and help in our preparation for the defence of the accused innocent men.

It required several weeks of the most strenuous effort on our part to awaken some semblance of interest even among the radicals. We succeeded in raising at my meetings \$100 and in borrowing a considerable sum for the defence of the arrested labour men. But so terrified was San Francisco that no Attorney of standing would accept the case of the prisoners, who had already been condemned by every paper in the city.

Worn out by a long cross country tour, and depressed by the events in San Francisco, I decided to retire for a month into the country for a much-needed rest. I felt confident that the cases of Tom Mooney and his comrades in the hands of Alexander Berkman, Bob Minor and M.E. Fitzgerald, would receive as much attention as if I were in San Francisco myself. Besides I knew that the struggle would take more than a month, and that I would be back in New York to do my utmost in the east for the accused men.

However, there was no rest for the wicked. Unable to procure legal help, my co-worker and old pal, Alexander, bombarded me with

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telegrams insisting that I had no right to a holiday when five lives were at stake, but that I must immediately go to New York and find an important attorney who would undertake to defend the prisoners. I therefore immediately returned to New York and began my quest for a man with courage and legal standing who would be brave enough to defend innocent victims in the face of the terror in San Francisco. After I had been refused by several well-known lawyers, among them Frank P. Walsh, an eminent attorney in Kansas City, I had to report to the friends in San Francisco that the situation looked hopeless. Thereupon I received word that the International Workers' Defence League, organised in San Francisco, had requested Alexander Berkman to go east to secure an able attorney and to arouse the labour element to the peril of the ~~arrested~~ *prisoners* men.

Early in November Alexander Berkman arrived in New York, and in less than two weeks he was able to rally to the support of the San Francisco fight nearly all of the organised Jewish labour, as well as a number of American trade unions. He was equally successful in his efforts to secure an attorney. By the aid of some friends, he prevailed upon Mr. W. Bourke Cochran, the famous lawyer and orator, to examine a transcript of the Billings case. He was so impressed by Sasha's presentation of it and so aroused by the obvious frame-up that he offered to go to the coast without a fee and take charge of the defence of Mooney, Nolan and the other San Francisco ~~prisoners~~ *victims*. Sasha also prevailed upon the United Hebrew Trades, the largest and most influential central Jewish labour organisation in the country, ~~the~~

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to call a mass meeting in Carnegie Hall to protest against the conspiracy of big business in California. The delegates of that body being fully occupied with their own duties, the entire brunt of organising the mass meeting and securing speakers, fell to Sasha and the active and efficient young comrades who were helping him in the campaign.

In San Francisco the "Blast" had been suppressed and its office raided twice, because of the papers, anti-war work and its efforts on behalf of Mooney. During the last raid our friend Fitzl was brutally handled, and her arm almost broken by an official ruffian. It became impossible to continue the publication on the coast, and Fitzl brought it to New York, where she joined Sasha in his activities for the California defence.

Tom Mooney had been convicted and sentenced to death. Neither the eloquence of W. Bourke Cochran, nor the absolute demonstration that the leading witnesses of the prosecution had perjured themselves availed an thing. The grip of the Chamber of Commerce upon official justice in California, proved to be stronger than the most unshakeable evidence in favour of the labour defendant. There was hardly a citizen in San Francisco who did not know that the State witnesses, the MacDonalds and the Osmans, were of the very dregs of debased humanity. Their testimony bought and paid for by District Attorney Charles Ficketer, the willing tool of the employers. But innocence did not count. The bosses who had declared themselves for the "open shop" (non-union employees) had determined to hang Tom Mooney as a warning to other labour organisers and leaders.

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Warren K. Billings had already been railroaded to prison for life, without much ado.

Meanwhile the world-stirring event happened in Russia, the February-March Revolution. Thousands of Russians and Russian Jews in America rushed back to what they thought was their liberated, beloved Russia. Many of our comrades were among them. Our resourceful Sasha conceived the idea ~~the~~ of a manifesto to the Russian workers, peasants and soldiers, and we wrote it just in time to send it with our own group, among them were a number of men and women who had worked with us in our various campaigns in the Blast and Mother Earth. The manifesto was entrusted to one of the most courageous women anarchists, who had come to America, Louise Berger, and S.F., our closest and most dependable friends. It was an appeal to the masses of Russia to voice their protest to Washington against the condemnation of Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings. We thought it the only method left to save the innocent, convicted men. ((Shortly after we received the following telegram - "San Francisco, May 25th, 1917. Superior Court to-day held Oxman for trial. Chief Justice Angellotti said evidence of Oxman's guilt overwhelming. Special committee appointed by San Francisco Labour Council and Building Trades Council appear in person before Attorney-General Webb requesting answer on his disposition of Judge Griffin's request confessing error in my case. Attorney General said that records did not show error and it would be impossible confess same.

"Powerful publicity, monster demonstration, absolutely necessary for successful outcome. California lunch law crowds fighting desperately to save themselves.

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"This precludes new trial unless the unforeseen happens. these facts wide publicity." Signed - Tom Mooney.

Thax Fickert, the Prosecuting Attorney, realised that some of his old witnesses, exposed as perjurers and professional prostitutes, could not be used against Mooney, although they had been used against Warren K. Billings. He therefore prepared others of a similar calibre, the star among them being a certain Frank G. Oxman, an alleged western cattle man. It was mainly on the evidence of Oxman that Mooney was convicted. He testified that he was in San Francisco on Preparedness Day, and he identified Mooney as the man whom he saw placing a suitcase (supposedly of explosives) on a street corner along the route of the march. An investigation proved that Oxman had not been in San Francisco on the date of the parade. Moreover, a letter by Oxman to his friend, F.E. Bagall, was produced, in which Oxman urged him to earn "a piece of money" by coming to testify against Mooney. The proof of Oxman's perjury was so overwhelming that District Attorney Fickert was compelled to bring him to trial.

Notwithstanding all these developments, in spite even of the admission of the trial judge, Franklin A. Griffing, that Mooney had been convicted on false testimony, the Supreme Court of California refused to intervene. Mooney was doomed to die.

The ^{carefully} ~~cojett~~ wide campaign that Sasha had started for Mooney almost a year previously, had meanwhile borne fruit. The case had been taken up by radical and progressive labour organisations throughout the length and breadth of the land, and many little

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organisations as well as influential individuals, had become interested. Work to save the convicted men from the gallows continued without abatement. It was, however, Alexander Berkman (Sasha) who carried the whole brunt of the campaign, working 18 to 20 hours a day, knocking at the doors of every union, buttonholing every man and woman of importance to help him save MOONEY.

Meanwhile we became involved in an anti-conscription and anti-war campaign when President Wilson rushed America into the world war almost without the knowledge of the American people. After a month's strenuous meetings in the largest hall of New York, posters and manifestoes, we were both arrested and shortly tried and sentenced to two years' imprisonment, \$10,000 dollars fine each, and deportation from America at the end of our prison term. While we were out on bail pending our appeal to the United States Supreme Court, on \$25,000 bail each, Fickert played his trump card - he had the grand jury indict Alexander Berkman as the instigator ~~and~~ of the bomb explosion and the accessory to the crime. He sent his men to New York in order to prevail on the Governor ^{Whitman} of the State of New York to extradite Alexander Berkman to the State of California. Our comrade was then hopping about on crutches as a result of a very serious accident to his knee. We all felt that he could not be trusted to be about the streets of New York alone, as he would ~~have~~ most assuredly have been kidnapped and rushed across the border as had happened on a number of occasions with other labour men. We decided therefore to let him remain in the Tombs Prison on the ground that we could not raise \$50,000 for both our bail, while I consented to be bailed in order

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to throw all my energies in a desperate campaign to save my friend and comrade from the same doom as Tom Mooney.

~~Our activities for Sasha~~ Our activities for Sasha and the San Francisco cases received an unexpected and far-reaching impetus through news from Russia - demonstrations on their behalf had taken place in Petrograd and Kronstadt. It was the answer to the message we had sent to the councils of workers, peasants, soldiers and sailors, by the refugees who had departed in May and June. We had followed it up with cables that good friends of ours ~~and~~ had succeeded in getting through to Russia, after we had learned of Sasha's indictment in San Francisco.

The problem was now how to use the demonstrations in Russia to best advantage. We had wide collections and channels to bring the matter to the attention of the labour bodies, by meetings and circulars, but other means were needed to interest those who were in a position to intercede for our friends in San Francisco. It was again Sasha who suggested that I confer with his friend, Ed Morgan, a former socialist, now an Industrial Worker of the World. He had been very active on behalf of Mooney and he might prove of great help in his case. Sasha thought.

Ed Morgan proved a wizard. In a short time he succeeded in getting more publicity for our purpose than we had got in months. His first step in the capital had been to find out President Wilson's favourite morning papers, his second to bombard them with news items about the agitation in Russia over the San Francisco frame-up. Then Morgan buttonholed influential officials in Washington, made them familiar with the happenings on the coast and enlisted their

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sympathy.

Shortly afterwards came further news from Russia of still greater moment. A resolution proposed by the sailors of Kronstadt and ~~the~~ adopted at the monter meeting, called for the arrest of Mr. Francis, the American Ambassador in Russia, who was to be held as hostage until the San Francisco victims and Sasha should be free. A delegation of armed sailors had marched to the American Embassy in Petrograd to carry out the decision. Our old comrade, Duaise Berger, who with other Russian refugees had returned to his native land after the outbreak of the Revolution, served as their interpreter. Mr. Francis had solemnly assured the delegation that it was all a mistake and that the lives of Mooney, Billings and Berkman, were in no danger. But the sailors were insistent, and Mr. Francis in their presence cabled to Washington and promised to exert himself further with the American Government to secure the release of the San Francisco prisoners.

The threat of the sailors evidently had an effect on the Ambassador, and on President Wilson, with the result that the latter prevailed upon the Governor of California, to commute the death sentence of Mooney to life imprisonment. He must also have prevailed on Governor Whitman of the State of New York, to be careful about his decision in extraditing Alexander Berkman to California.

In other words, it was the indefatigable activities of Alexander Berkman with the help of a few others, who saved the life of Tom Mooney. I feel therefore that the majority of labour leaders in California and from other States who had come to pay

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In other words, it was primarily the tireless activities of Alexander Berkman and his resourcefulness which helped to save the life of Tom Mooney. More than any of the labour leaders who had refused to believe in Mooney's innocence and who 22 years later came to pay homage, it was Alexander Berkman who all through the years held high the defence and innocence of Tom Mooney.

While we were serving the two years in prison for daring to oppose the world war, it was our faithful friend, Pizzi who continued the work for Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings. She had organised a conference in Chicago attended by all the labour leaders, but she had found that the labour politicians were busy side-tracking the Mooney activities. There was a disheartening lack of unanimity in favour of a general strike on behalf of Mooney and Billings, she wrote us in prison. Moreover, there was a deliberate attempt to hush up publicity. ~~More than~~ "Diplomatic" methods were to be used to liberate the man. The participation of Anarchists was to be discouraged. They had been the first to sound the alarm in the San Francisco cases, and Sasha had consecrated himself to the work, at the jeopardy of his own life. Now the Anarchists and their efforts were to be eliminated from the fight. It was not the first time, nor would it be the last, that Anarchists burnt their fingers in pulling the chestnuts out of the fire for others, but if Billings and Mooney should regain their freedom we should feel our work amply repaid. ~~From the very beginning we felt~~ confident that Mooney would be liberated if the campaign would

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continue in the same militant and uncompromising manner begun by Alexander Berkman, but we were deported to Russia and could do no more for the imprisoned men. That Tom Mooney had to wait for 22 years for his resurrection is due entirely to the political wire-pulling which had been carried on on his behalf. But the main thing is that Tom Mooney is free. As I said, I rejoice in his liberation. I only wish my comrade had remained alive to share the happiness with me and with those who really remained staunch to Mooney and never wavered in his innocence.

In other words, it was primarily the tireless activities of Alexander Berkman and his resourcefulness which helped to save the life of Tom Mooney. More than any of the labour leaders who had refused to believe in Mooney's innocence and who 22 years later came to pay him homage, it was Alexander Berkman who all through the years held high the defence and innocence of Tom Mooney.

(Compiled from "Living My Life" by Emma Goldman).

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THE LURE OF THE SPANISH PEOPLE.

By

Emma Goldman.

Those who have been in Spain during part of the gallant struggle of the workers and peasants, will I am sure understand why I must always go back to Spain. Ever since my first visit in 1936, I have felt a consuming nostalgia for the masses risen as one man from the depths to become the masters of their own lives and the builders of a free and beautiful social world. Since then the longing has grown almost to an obsession. It has fairly driven me back each time with irresistible force.

This year the Spanish comrades, no doubt motivated by their concern for my safety, advised against my visit. The danger from the air, the strain of miles of walking because of the scarcity of street cars and buses, the necessity of climbing hundreds of stairs and not the least the food shortage, they insisted would prove beyond my strength. On the other hand were the comrades outside Spain, no less apprehensive about my life, especially those who see the Spanish situation only in black colours, assured me the war was no longer in defence of the Revolution and that my going would prove futile as well as disappointing - "why then take the risk?" they asked. They simply could not know that the inner urge was more powerful than all other considerations.

Certainly, there is danger in Spain. During the six weeks of the seven I was there, Franco's harbingers of death made daily visits often three or four times, striking young and old alike and leaving havoc and destruction behind. Yet I felt stronger and younger while there. Nor is this surprising. The apathy and cold detachment one meets in England have always paralysed my energies, while the hopelessness of ever overcoming the impenetrable reserve of the English people makes every effort for Spain as hard as dragging heavy stones up a steep mountain path.

Not so Spain. Life there means struggle, but also it means strength, courage and daring. The very air is charged with a terrific will to conquer the enemy or perish. Nothing else matters. Such an atmosphere must needs enrich one's blood and raise one's

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spirit. I felt this even more on this visit directly I reached Spanish soil, and that everything is possible in this land of wonder. For have not the Spanish people already proved the inexhaustible capacity for wonderful deeds? Who else but they have risen against the Fascist ogre, who else but the Spanish workers and peasants have held their own for nearly thirty months against German and Italian most modern arms and Franco's hordes? Such valour must needs kindle one's smouldering fires. That is exactly what happens to me on each return to Spain.

In Paris on my way to Barcelona I received the shocking news of the arrest of our Polish comrade, Jeannette, and that she was being held under suspicion of espionage in communicado. I have known Jeannette for years, not only as a splendid worker in Poland for our ideas but also in a closer way. She had been with me for a month when I was still living in San Tropez recuperating from a serious illness. It was preposterous to arrest such a valiant fighter. I promised myself to make her release my first objective on reaching Spain. I succeeded better than I had anticipated. In point of truth, however, I merely needed to add my shoulders to the wheel started rolling by Comrade Mariano R. Vazquez, two weeks before I arrived. He had sent a strong protest to the authorities against the arrest of Jeannette and made demands for her immediate release, but such things move slowly in Spain. To hasten her release I turned to Segundo Blanco, Esturian member of the C.N.T. and now Minister of Education and Culture. Who dares to suggest that Ministers are not occasionally good for something? Blanco has so far retained his proletarian interest in the abuses of power. After I had explained to him who Jeannette really was and the outrage of suspecting her of espionage, he promised to intercede on her behalf without delay. In this case and many other instances Comrade Blanco proved himself most helpful.

After Jeannette was liberated we learned that no official charge against her had been made. She had been arrested and kept three and a half months in communicado on the mere statement of a miserable informer, perhaps out of personal spite, or for some other inexplicable reason. But though she had actually been released as a result of the efforts made for her by Vazquez and Blanco, she was transferred to one of the private prisons of S.I.M. entirely under the control of Stalin's followers. Only there was she cross-examined, finger-printed, photographed and finally set free much against the desire of these gentlemen, I am sure. After such an experience, I thought our Jeannette would want to leave Spain without delay, but she was adamant in her refusal. She felt that to go away now and leave the comrades in their struggle would mean a real betrayal. She would stay to the end.

As the representative of the London Section of S.I.A. (International Anti-Fascist Solidarity) I was of course kept informed of the progress of the work of the comrades in Spain, but what I found on this visit was far beyond my expectations. As our Bulletin contains

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a full report of the efforts of S.I.A. I will not use up space to describe the extraordinary result of one year of a small group of dedicated people. Suffice it to mention here that S.I.A. sections have spread like wildfire all through loyalist Spain, taking root in every city, town, village and hamlet. Everywhere along the road from Barcelona almost as far as Lerida, 250 kilometres from Barcelona, S.I.A. streamers with bold letters are stretched across so that no one can escape its existence. Nineteen children's homes, and canteens where colonies had not yet been established, popular restaurants, student lodgings, supplies of cigarettes, writing paper and soap to the various fronts, care of disabled militias, a hospital and dispensary treating an average of 30 patients daily, an ambulance with a staff of young nurses giving first aid to the victims of the daily frightfulness from the air, and a lot more represent the magnificent achievement of the S.I.A. Further plans are in process of being carried out, largely due to the generous support from S.I.A. Sections in the United States, Franco and Sweden.

Without a desire to undervalue the activities of the other organisations and groups in Spain, I must say that S.I.A. stands out as a veritable beehive. Our comrade, Lucia Sanchez Sauornal, one of the most gifted women writers in Spain and an able organiser, with her secretary whom everybody calls by her given name Christina, as well as Baruta, who is at the head of the National Council of S.I.A., together with a staff of active young people, must be credited with the tremendous amount of work sponsored and carried on by S.I.A. In addition to all this there is a social welfare centre, presided over by a very efficient comrade who had organised the maternity hospital in Barcelona in 1936 and who had been its guiding spirit until this spring. It is her function to minister to the health and needs of expectant mothers as well as to mothers and infants in Barcelona and outside it.

Intensely interested as I was to visit as many places as possible and to see for myself how well the children fared in the different colonies, I did not neglect to visit a number of schools and children's homes under the protecting wings of other organisations. I was greatly aided in this by Comrades Blanco and Juan Puig Elias. Some day soon I hope to find time to write a pen picture of Juan Puig Elias who is the real brain of the Ministry of Education and Culture. I had met him for a short moment in 1936 at a Teachers' Conference attended by delegates from all over Spain, where he introduced his plan of La Escuela Nueva Unificada (the New Unified School) which was accepted by the entire assembly with enthusiasm and which had since been turned into fact. Actually Comrade Puig Elias is one of the most outstanding modern pedagogues in the world, a man of wide culture and a profound psychological understanding of the life of the child. S.E.N.O. (the abbreviation of the new unified schools) has since come under the jurisdiction of the Generalidad, but no amount of effort on their part has succeeded in eliminating the fundamental libertarian principles laid down by their originator. Comrade Puig Elias put me

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in charge of his private secretary, Professor Mawa, the liveliest wire in all Spain. He is the man who can attend to a dozen jobs a day and still find time to respond to every request one makes with the utmost precision and in the friendliest manner. Thanks to this fine guide, I saw more in a few days of schools and colonies than I might have seen in several weeks.

Of nine schools we visited in one day, six had already established canteens. Each child is given breakfast, consisting of hot condensed or powdered milk with a substantial slice of bread, or a hot midday meal of soup, vegetables, sometimes cooked with meat, and a roll. I arrived in one school just in time to see 1,100 pupils fed. A group of teachers in every dining room ate with the children the same food. I was pleasantly surprised to find among the pupils a lovely-looking girl of twelve, the daughter of Mariano Vazquez, general secretary of C.R.T. The schoolrooms were all airy, flooded with sunshine, and made gay with flowerpots on each table. As last year I again coveted a collection of the most interesting drawings of children of all ages. They represented the impressions and the reactions of the children to the dangers surrounding them. Nearly all of them show vivid imagination and very considerable artistic talent.

One school was in process of construction. It was formerly a seminary that had been demolished during July, 1936. Comrade Puig Elias determined that a beautiful school should rise out of its ruins, a school that would open large vistas to the children of a new social life. He had laid the cornerstone and had chosen the ablest architects to build this dream school of his. I saw the plans and the model. They already represented one of the most beautiful buildings in Barcelona, that will house 3,000 children. Special attention is given to the kitchen which will have all modern equipment and where the meals of those children will be prepared. The day would have been a happy one indeed, had it not been marred by the poor condition of three schools. I found children there from the poorest, most congested and repeatedly bombarded quarters of Barcelona. Most of them are forced to walk long distances to and from school, as trams and buses are scarce. With very little food in their so-called homes and nothing in school all day, the children looked quite emaciated and they were poorly clad. They presented a heartrending picture, and yet the schools were safer than their hovels, because farther removed from Franco's furies from the air.

The sight of these children haunted me, so I decided to go back to Blanco to find out why canteens had not also been established in these three schools. He told me that he was painfully aware of the malnutrition of these people, but they were only a small number of the 75,000 children under the care of the Ministry of Education. In addition to which there were another 150,000 children in Barcelona exposed to possible death from hunger and cold this winter, unless

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large quantities of food and clothing were to come from outside Spain. "If only the damnable Non-Intervention Pact were lifted", Blanco said with bitterness, "Spain could and would feed her own children and give them everything child life should have. Go back to England and proclaim as loud as you can the heinous crime committed by the British Government which alone is responsible for the murderous effect of the Non-Intervention Pact." Little did our comrade know how difficult it is to make English people see the monstrous offence against humanity on the part of the highest officials in the National Government, and how much more difficult it is to get the people to act.

Recent statistics of the desperate needs of loyalist Spain give the following appalling picture of the situation:

Civilian Population of Catalonia and the Central Provinces.

Children under 1 year	319,079
Children from 1 to 3 years	794,331
Children from 4 to 12 years	2,406,585
Persons from 12 to 30 years	6,736,850
Persons over 30 years	2,056,812
	<u>12,314,657</u>

It is necessary to add to this figure 4 million refugees. To feed this population of 16½ millions, it is necessary to provide each month:

	<u>Kilos.</u>	<u>lbs.</u>
Sugar	7,140,200	15,708,440
Dried cod	2,578,300	5,672,260
Coffee	987,700	2,172,940
Preserved Meat	2,400,000	5,280,000
Dry Vegetables	5,569,500	12,252,900
Potatoes	89,660,400	197,252,880
Fats	1,140,200	2,508,440
		<u>Tons</u>
Wheat		13,712
Dried Milk		450
		<u>lbs.</u>
Eggs	19,257,885	42,367,347

About 200 million francs per month are required to import the products that are absolutely indispensable to the civilian population of Republican Spain.

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In the face of these staggering figures, the efforts of S.I.A. on behalf of refugee children are very little indeed, yet it is fortunate that at least a few can be saved from the appalling starvation and cold confronting Spain.

If after reading this people will still not see the devastating effect of the Non-Intervention Pact, nothing will convince them.

Regardless of all these superhuman difficulties, the sufferings and sorrow of the Spanish people, much is still being done to safeguard the innocent victims of Fascism. In addition to the various homes of the S.I.A. there are also colonies organized by various syndicates, the railroad workers especially that has organized the Spartacus colony in 1936. It was this anarcho-syndicalist section of the Railroad Collective that furnished and equipped the colony at its own expense, providing their wards with every care and comfort. This colony and its standard have been maintained ever since.

Then there are the colonies created by Segundo Blanco and Juan Puig Elias since their entry in the Ministry six months ago. They are situated at Sitges, the former aristocratic summer place on the shore of the Mediterranean. Colonies housing 2,000 children have already been created, and it is being stipulated that an additional 20,000 children should be established in that place. It is but just that the children of the drones who had built the magnificent houses and who never before were permitted to come anywhere near to them, should now occupy the dwellings formerly the pleasure places of the Spanish grandees and the bourgeoisie. The children can now enjoy the soft beds, eat in sunlit dining rooms on white linen-covered tables, be taught in large, light and airy classrooms and have a chance to romp in the gardens and along the walk that separates the houses from the beach of the Mediterranean. It was indeed a feast for the eyes to see their young and healthy appetites served with decent food, consisting of soup, vegetables, salad and dessert, sometimes also meat. The motherly housekeeper in charge of the children told me with much glee that some militias from the front had sent them a whole sheep and some fruit for the children. That was not at all an exception, as I learned later. The Spanish militias from various divisions by no means satiated with food, nevertheless managed to contribute in all sorts of ways to the colonies for refugee children. Photographs of Setges as well as all the other homes I visited had been taken specially for me. I only wish I could have them reproduced in this report. That being impossible, I plan to get out a small album to be sold for the benefit of the colonies.

The most interesting visit with children happened in the very heart of the Pyrenees. My good guide, Professor Kawa, had told me about a colony there, but he wisely said nothing about the steep climb in order to reach the place. He probably thought that I

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would not have been so willing to visit it. By way of confession I have to own up that I was literally pulled up a mountain of 4,000 feet above the level of the sea, and this only with the help of Professor Hava on one side and the young son of Comrade Puig Elias on the other. A troop of children singing lustily led the way. Another troupe with a cinema operator followed. I admit it was an exhausting feat, but I would not have missed it for worlds. On the very top of the mountain we found a small white peasant house, and a patch of land. We were greeted by a large streamer which contained in bold letters the name of the colony - MON NOU (New World). Its credo reads as follows:

"Children are the new world. And all dreamers are children; those who are moved by kindness and beauty, those in whose bosoms palpitates the love for liberty and culture and rejoice at the happiness of others; those who feel their hearts beat when they are able to mitigate a sorrow; they who abhor wickedness and for the good have their arms wide open at all times.

"You who arrive: If you are sincere and possess a heart so big that your love for one being does not diminish the stock of your love and tenderness towards others; if you feel that freedom is the supreme objective and to attain it you work with enthusiasm imparting knowledge and culture among the little ones, please enter: you are a child.

"You who arrive: If you have lost your faith in the goodness of man and fail to see a brother in your fellow creature; if selfishness and arrogance enclose and harden your heart; if ingratitude is part of your personality, do not come in: you are not a child."

Mon Nou is indeed a new world, not only in the letter but in the spirit as well. The life there is primitive and hard, cut off from the outside world, but a new world is being painfully born for these innocent victims of Franco's savagery, and the mother tenderly nursing the young plant is the companion of our comrade, Puig Elias. Her name is Signora Mille Roca; she is not only mother, but teacher, friend and adviser to the thirty parentless children she has taken under her protecting wings.

Herself of peasant stock and the inheritor of the ancestral house and piece of land, Madame Roca has turned them into a sanctuary for children. She was a teacher by profession, but she gave up her position in order to be able to devote herself to the children who needed her most. Out of her earnings and those of Comrade Puig Elias she manages somehow to feed and clothe her wards. True, the Government contributes bread rations and other provisions, but in no way sufficient to maintain the health and vigour of the thirty children.

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In addition to them, Madame Roca has her own son, my gracious escort, twelve years old, who helps with the teaching of the smaller children. There are also two young people, a girl and a boy, who do the teaching, with a peasant woman to help with the work in the kitchen and an old peasant Jack-of-all-trades about the place. These, together with Madame Roca, make thirty-six people living on the scanty supply her resources can furnish. In her the biblical legend of Christ feeding the multitude on two loaves of bread is being enacted in real life. The hardships to keep going were increased by the difficulty of hauling up the weekly purchases from the valley below. It was done by the peasant factotum on a mule. When we arrived the patient beast had died out of exhaustion or insufficient food. A poor-looking horse was now taking its place; probably he too will not last very long.

Of course we had to share the frugal meal served to the children. To refuse because we feared we were depriving the little ones would have been a deadly insult to our hostess, for nothing so hurts Spanish people to the quick as a refusal of their generous hospitality. Ask a Spaniard for a cigarette, and he will offer you the whole box—that is no exaggeration. When I remonstrated with Comrade Roca because she was not eating, she assured me she partook only of one meal a day. The growing bodies of the children needed everything and she had so little to give them, she said. When I expressed surprise at the health and wholesome condition of the children, she ascribed it more to the invigorating mountain air and the healing sun. They had been in a frightful state when they came to her. They have nearly all recovered, but how long will it last without the most essential food supplies—milk, sweets, fats, dried vegetables and fruit? Then the rigours of the winter in the mountains are awaiting them, without warm clothing, shoes or woollen socks. She dreaded that, she told me in a trembling voice. She was keeping her anxiety from the children. They had only recently begun to outgrow the terrors they had suffered. They are at peace now, their child life again in bloom. No, they must not know what is awaiting them this winter unless help comes from outside Spain. She was right. The children had blessedly forgotten their past in the loving care and warm friendship of their new-found mother. They were full of play and frolic. They bathed in the swimming pool she had provided for them. Their young bodies sparkling in the sun. They performed lovely Catalan and Spanish folk dances and songs. Young Puig Elias displayed remarkable dramatic feeling and talent in an heroic poem he recited. The smallest tot would not be outdone by him. She, too, must entertain the foreign guests.

The wildest hilarity came when the film operator began his job. The surprise of surprises when we unpacked our small gifts, chocolates, notebooks, colours for painting. It was a never-to-be-forgotten day. At the end, escorted by a group of older children, the son of our comrades on horseback proudly leading the way, we took leave of the guardian angel of Mon Nou. The descent proved no less

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arduous than the climb, but who cared? Not I, who had been filled to overflowing by the glowing day, the rich fount of love and generosity, the gaiety of the children and the ravishing mountain view.

To come from Mon Nou to the old murderous world was a great shock. Barcelona had again been bombarded, one of the many times since my arrival, with ever-increasing toll in wounded and dead. I do not think I could have pursued my quest which brought me back to Spain were it not for the inspiring example of stoicism and utter fearlessness of the Spanish people. What an amazing people they are and what inexhaustible capacity to rebound to life, activity and even laughter the moment the safety signal is given. Their reckless daring was too infectious for one to pay much attention to one's own safety.

As for myself, the sights and scenes in the shelters were too harrowing for me to join the packed places with terrified women, their children and old people trembling for their lives. Besides I am a fatalist. I do not believe one can escape the inexorable. In point of truth I dreaded the sound of the siren and the consciousness of being all alone in my hotel room (all the other guests dashing down to their shelters) more than the actual bombardment. Why I should have this feeling I do not know, but the sirens did pierce my nerves and the cluck-cluck of the descending feet made me wince. But once that was over, I sat through each bombardment conscious only of the death and destruction they left behind.

Our comrades were far more concerned about my safety than I was myself. After each siege they would call to make sure I was still alive. Several expressed indignation that I had been placed in an hotel on the very corner of Place Catalunya, one of Franco's favourite objectives. I should have been taken to the hotel set aside for leading foreign Communists and correspondents, they insisted. It was far away and had so far escaped the Fascist visits. I assured my good friends that I should feel less secure in the midst of Stalin's followers than in my hotel. In any event I had come to share the hazards of the Spanish people and not to partake of privileges.

There were so many things to see and places to visit that one could not hope to cover all the ground in months, let alone in the original three weeks I had intended to remain in Barcelona on this visit. To see even part of the ground it was necessary to do intensive work, sometimes leaving at six in the morning to reach some collectivised village, to visit two fronts, that of the 28th Division, headed by our gallant comrade, Gregoria Jover, and the 26th whose guiding spirit is our equally heroic comrade, Ricardo Sanz.

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Then of course the collectives old and new in Barcelona and the villages that are very much alive, although they have been declared dead and gone by some of the critics of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. Not the least were the prisons and concentration camps I had promised myself to see. In addition to all this were two interesting plenums of the Peninsular and Regional F.A.I. and the larger one attended by the three Libertarian bodies, C.N.T., F.A.I. and the Youth, and also to be present at the P.O.U.M. trial. All this would fill a large volume. I certainly have enough material for it. Here I can only give the briefest outline of the rich and colourful panorama I was able to watch for seven weeks.

I was naturally interested to see how far the C.N.T.-F.A.I. were still the moral force in the ranks of the workers and peasants, and their influence in the industrial and agricultural life in Spain. This was the more essential because a number of comrades outside Spain are so easily susceptible to whatever derogatory reports about the C.N.T.-F.A.I. come to them. Now it is true that the war industries and the railroads have been nationalised. It is also a sad fact that Negrin has turned over to the former owners the electrical plants, collectivised by the C.N.T.-F.A.I. immediately after July 19th, 1936. Yet even in the nationalised industries I found that the Spanish Anarchists were still very much in evidence. On the other hand, the collectives, such as transport, wood industry, textile and garment workers and the milk industry and many more, continue to be manned by members of the C.N.T. The same holds good of the collectives on the land. Moreover this applies not only to Catalonia, which I was able to revisit, but to Castilia, the Levant and the unoccupied part of Andalusia. I have this not only from our comrade, Augustine Souchy, but also from the many delegates from these parts who attended the plenum. Comrade Souchy has spent months in all these places and has collected an immense amount of material which he is now preparing for a book. In other words, whatever thrusts the Spanish Revolution has received, and I know better than many other visitors to Spain how deep the wounds are, I must nevertheless insist that collectivisation and socialisation still represent the most potent revolutionary achievement of the Spanish Anarchists, and what is more to the point, is that even if Franco should possess himself of all Spain, which no one on the loyalist side considers possible, collectivisation will continue. This not only because of the influence of the C.N.T.-F.A.I., but also for the reason that the idea of collectivisation is deeply ingrained in the workers and peasants. One might even say collectivisation is the very breath of their life.

Neither Lister's devastating march through the collectives in Aragon nor the equally brutal destruction of other collectives by the Carl Marx Brigade, or the interference of the Government itself, had succeeded for long to keep the people from collectivisation.

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I had ample proof of that last year, and perhaps more convincing demonstrations on my recent visit. For lack of space the few examples I will give must suffice, but before I do so I want to point out the childish claim of some comrades in America that collectivisation is not Anarchism and that therefore our Spanish comrades had gone back on their ideals. Apart from the fact that these critics had never in their lives been called upon to demonstrate in practice their Anarchist theories, their enduring power and courage to face a whole world, it is necessary to point out to them that our Spanish comrades do not pretend that collectivisation or socialisation is Anarchism. They insist, however, that these two forms of reconstruction represent the first steps towards the realisation of libertarian communism (Communismo Libertario). They are not only right, but they have proven the truism of Bakunin's principle that revolution is not only the power of destruction but also the will to reconstruction. Only narrow-minded bigots in the Anarchist ranks will overlook the fact that our people were the first in the history of the social struggle and revolutions who have begun to reconstruct society in the midst of chaos and death, and in the face of a conspiracy of the democracies no less than of the Fascist countries. They have thereby set a glorious example to the international proletariat; for that and many other reasons the Spanish Anarchists have deserved better from their own comrades who pose as the only Simon Pure 100 per cent. Anarchists. All these people have done is to stab their Spanish brothers in the back.

I have already stated that even in the nationalised industries the C.N.T. is still a formidable force. A case in point is the Metal Syndicate. In the early July days, these militant C.N.T. members soon became the very backbone of the Revolution. With their co-operation, Comrade was able to perform a very great organisational feat. Within 48 hours he had succeeded in transforming a famous automobile factory into a munition plant, and when I arrived in September, 1936, it was already working three shifts and producing the only arms loyalist Spain had at her disposal during that critical period. I had visited the works and had met its able manager, but he was so much in demand that I had only a few moments with him. Yet even in the brief interview he impressed me as a man of keen mind and tremendous energy.

On my visit in September this year I had better luck. He had more time, he told me over the 'phone, and he would send a car for me at once. I found our comrade somewhat aged, his face deeply lined, but he had lost nothing of his keenness of mind that had struck me so

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forcibly on my first visit. I wanted to know about that marvellous achievement of his, the first great munition plant he had created, and how many more had been added to it. He told me that that venture had gone into history, but that a number of other works had been organised and that they were producing the largest percentage of modern arms that have enabled loyalist Spain to stand out against Franco and his backers. He was sure a great deal more could have been achieved but for the criminal Non-Intervention Pact and something he considered equally criminal, the political manoeuvres of the Communists. He felt that the time was not far off when it will be possible to disclose all the underhand and shady activities of this sector in the anti-Fascist front. It will prove an amazing story, most painful to read. It will, however, go a long way to dispel the legend of the comradely help Spain had received from the ruler of the "Workers' Fatherland". Also it will show the machinations in Spain of these revolutionists of yester year who are now such meek democrats.

On my arrival in Barcelona I had been informed of the critical attitude of the comrades of the Peninsula and Regional F.A.I. against the Committee of the National Confederation of Labour. Curiously enough, some of the foremost comrades shared this difference of opinion, who until this year had been in accord with the steps taken by the National Committee. I was interested to know what my host was thinking about the change. If anything he was even more emphatic in his critical analysis of the concessions made by the C.N.T. Committee. He admitted that most of them had been imposed on the libertarian organisations by the conspiracy of world imperialism of all colours, to crush loyalist Spain. He felt, however, that these concessions have proven futile and some even disastrous. He was of the opinion, therefore, that a more aggressively consistent stand was imperative against the ever-growing encroachments on the Revolution by the government and some of its political sectors. He hoped that the new orientation now represented by the comrades of the F.A.I. would bring about a change in the methods and tactics of the C.N.T. Committee, but whether it will or not, he was convinced that the rank and file of the Libertarian movement was still aware of its objectives and was in no way swayed by the mistakes made on the part of the C.N.T. He therefore wanted me to take the message to all the comrades outside Spain that while everybody must agree on the necessity of winning the war, the Revolution is ever before the militant workers and peasants, and that in this respect the C.N.T. is still a formidable body to reckon with. I was carried away by the sincerity, the earnestness and the intensity of our comrade, to the oblivion of time. When I left I discovered that I had spent two hours with him.

The following day I was escorted by my faithful guide and interpreter, Comrade Martin Gudell, to the Transport Syndicate. I had visited this place before in 1937. At that time the Secretary of the Committee, Comrade Ponciano Alonso "Mingo", was the only member

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of the C.N.T. who had expressed complete disagreement with the concessions of the C.N.T. Committee. Now when so many comrades have come to see his point, Comrade Ponciano Alonso would have been justified in saying, "I told you so". There is, however, no such cheap bravado among the Spanish Anarchists. Comrade Alonso welcomed the gradual realisation of the danger to the libertarian movement by the timid stand of the C.N.T. He was more than ever convinced that the Libertarian Movement must return to first principles if the sacrifices and untold suffering imposed by the war are not to prove in vain. In this view he was backed by the entire Committee of the Transport Syndicate. I met them all, fine types of proletarians, alert men with iron will.

Comrade Alonso gave me a pamphlet he had written consisting of an address he had given in one of the Athenias in Barcelona in May of this year. Many college men would have reason to be proud of this clear-cut presentation by a proletarian self-taught and self-made. I wish I could quote extensively from *El Transporte y la Guerra* (Transport and War), but I still have so many other interesting things to report, and my story is already growing into a book. I must, however, give some of the most salient points to prove to our comrades outside Spain the continued moral standard and fighting spirit of our gallant comrades of the C.N.T.-F.A.I.

Comrade Alonso begins with the following: "On the 19th of July, 1938, a glorious day for the people of Iberia, never surpassed by any other people in the social political world, the business of transport abandoned by the Fascist owners, passed into the hands of the workers. They rapidly put it in motion, reorganising it in a manner quite different from its former stand and with particular stress on the living improvement of the transport workers and for the greater comfort of the public at large. It was necessary now to refresh the minds of many people that the Transport Syndicate placed themselves from the very first day at the disposal of the anti-Fascist cause and that it had remained loyal always willing to give what the conditions demanded. Thus Catalonia alone had provided 7,624 volunteer drivers, the Levant 7,000 and Extramadura 8,000, with Andalusia following with 5,200 men. Unfortunately the collectives of the Transport Workers Syndicate have been the victims of officialdom and have on several occasions been dispossessed of their working tools and their vehicles taken for private use while our comrades were left without employment, besides suffering a decrease in the takings of 50 per cent.

"The bitter experience which we have gone through has demonstrated how fatal and pernicious certain political activities have been for the people. We leave to history the task of placing the blame on the sectors responsible for such a policy, but the truth remains that

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great abuse had been made of politics with the consequence that its manoeuvres have brought us to the state of things which we now so much deplore."

Our comrade refers here to the many outrages committed in 1937 by the police and their Communist allies - the raid on the house of the collectives of the transport. They came armed to the teeth to dispossess the syndicate. When they saw that the Committee, though unarmed, showed no fear and that they refused to budge, the worthy worshippers of the Soviet ruler vented their wrath on the furniture of the collective and everything else they could destroy. They even broke open the safe only to find it empty, much to their chagrin. I wish I could reproduce the photograph I brought with me of the wreck and ruin the pseudo allies of the anti-Fascist front had left behind. The reader would find it difficult to distinguish between the havoc wrought by Franco and them.

The comrade went on to say, "Winning the war, however, does not mean to do away with the collectives, neither the abandonment of the revolutionary conquests. It must be and has to be to win the war and respect the victories of the Revolution, both in their economic and social aspects; to act contrary to these principles would mean losing the war and converting Spain into an Italo-German colony. Today as yesterday the transport workers of the C.N.T. demand for their collectives, for their revolutionary conquests, wider recognition and consideration, since nobody can charge them with perturbing the rear and much less with being enemies of the people's cause. Now as always they respond as real anti-Fascists to every call that reaches the depths of their being. At all times are they ready for every disinterested initiative. Let us then understand the struggle is not solely for the liquidation of Fascism, it is at the same time the fight to create a free world with free men and women, with temper of steel and the rebel heart, a clear mentality and strong will. These are important factors in the forward struggle of our enterprise."

It is hardly necessary to add anything to this fiery plea and the importance of collectives as well as the defence of their revolutionary values. Comrade Alonso proves conclusively that regardless of all obstacles they continue to function, and that the C.N.T. has lost little of its moral strength and power.

My short stay in Spain did not permit me to visit even a small number of collectives, but those I succeeded in reaching showed that while a great deal of the collectives had been destroyed, many were working at high speed and were demonstrating the indestructibility of

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collectivisation among the Spanish people. Among others I came upon a most unique collective of the textile and needle trade. It had been started by three members of the C.N.T. Now it can boast of a membership of thousands. Its factories are housed in a large modern building containing airy workrooms and offices. Neither the building nor a single piece of material has been expropriated; the comrades rented the house and are paying 50,000 pesetas annually for it. Also they bought their stock of material and paid for it with hard cash. The majority of workers of this collective are women and girls. Owing to the shortage of electric power during the day, the work has to be done at night from 10 p.m. till 6 a.m. The advantage of this schedule is that street cars run more frequently at this time and the workers have the chance to ride to and from work.

I discovered in the head of the collective a Spanish comrade who had been in the United States. Evidently I needed no introduction to him. On the contrary, he knew all about my activities in America almost better than good Comrade A.S. who acted as my interpreter. He immediately proceeded to make me known to the workers in every room. He was sure the women and girls would be proud to know the pioneer fighter who had done so much "for us". I had to declare that I unfortunately had not been in a position to do something for the Spanish comrades, but that I wanted terribly to help them to the best of my ability now - that is why I am returning to Spain again and again. It was embarrassing to go through with the ordeal of the numerous speeches our comrade-manager made in every room, introducing Companiera Emma Goldman, but there was no stopping him. Besides the intermission and the speeches were greatly enjoyed by the women and girls, so I had to let them be.

As in everything else, so too when the Spanish comrades have a chance to display their conquests, they are so generous they cannot bear to let you miss any part, and so up and down we went the many stairs to every room in order to see the truly marvellous achievement of this collective. Needless to say, all the men and women employed in this collective are members of the C.N.T., each one socially conscious of the imperative necessity to triumph over Fascism. For the present the collective produces entirely for the front - wages range between 75 and 200 pesetas per week. Whatever surplus derived from the work, is used to improve and perfect the building and machinery, for contribution to the care of the sick among the workers, and a very considerable contribution to educational and cultural efforts. In parting, the good comrade from America begged me to make known to their brothers and sisters in Europe and the United States that they too are staking their all to win the war and to realise the promise of the Revolution. I assured him that I would like to write his message in letters of fire on the consciousness of the masses everywhere, and not the least also on some of our hyper-critical though insincere comrades outside Spain.

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My good old faithful friend, Augustine Souchy, who had been with me on many tours through Spain, took me on a tour of inspection of the socialised milk industry. Knowing how reliable and painstaking he is in taking notes, I cheerfully left this task to him during our visit to a number of the collectives. Part of the material here used comes from the copious notes he had taken. The credit for it is therefore his and not mine.

The socialised milk industry was reorganised by the workers of the C.N.T. after July 19th, 1936, and placed on a modern and hygienic basis. This was the more necessary because the supply of milk in Barcelona had formerly been in the hands of small traders more interested in profits than the quality of the milk. In point of fact milk was adulterated with considerable admixtures of chemical substances. Cows were kept in filthy sheds without air, sunshine or a chance to be taken to pasture. As a result of it a large percentage of the cattle were tuberculous. In addition was the fact of outrageous exploitation of the workers engaged in the milk dairies and industries. The reorganisation was begun entirely under the guidance of the C.N.T. (Anarcho-Syndicalist Organisation). As a result, Industria Lactes Socializado (Socialised Milk Industry) became a special branch of the food industry. Among the immediate steps taken was to create entirely new and modern methods to increase the quality and quantity of milk. Cooling stations were established. Seven of these were opened in Catalonia alone. The peasants from the surrounding villages bring the milk to the cooling stations. Here it is reduced to a temperature from 5 to 7 degrees above zero; put into thermos flasks the milk reaches Barcelona at an even temperature.

We visited several cooling stations at Las Franquesa, Clot near Gerona, Satoville and La Perpetua de la Moguda, since renamed Granja Germinal. The first of these stations was placed in a former wine depot. It was completely renovated and equipped with machinery brought from Barcelona. Five men and five women work there, their wages being paid them by their syndicate in Barcelona. It averages 160 pesetas per week. Instead of 30,000 litres of milk that could easily be cooled in this station, only 1,000 a day actually pass through the process. The reason for this was lack of fodder which unfortunately induced some peasants to slaughter a number of cows.

In Clot a large dairy factory was established and condensed milk and butter are being produced there. The entire produce is regularly taken by the military authorities for use at the front. In Clot we came upon an interesting case, which like so many other phenomena one meets, can only happen in Spain. Although the cooling station is collectivised, the widow of the former owner is being paid off the cost of the place in monthly rates; in addition she is permitted to

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keep her living quarters - much more comfortable I found than the homes of many workers in the large cities - and is also given a daily ration of milk. No wonder she assured me that she was very contented and that the Companieras were most kind to her.

The estate of Satovillo, about 50 kilometres from Barcelona, had been abandoned by its owner in the July days. He retired in safety to Barcelona, where he died in 1937. Although he was known to have Fascist leanings, he had in no way been molested. No doubt he ended his days hoping to his last breath that Franco would soon come to deliver him from the "Reds" who had turned his neglected estate into a well-organised and prosperous farm.

Ninety-four cows, many pigs and sheep, as well as chickens and rabbits, make up the live stock in Granja Germinal. Thirty-two hectares of land are under complete cultivation. Sixty peasants and an equal number of dairy workers are employed in this place, their pay averaging from 160 to 200 pesetas a week. Already this socialised venture has spent 90,000 pesetas on new cowsheds and other improvements to bring the estate up to date, and to make it yield returns it never had before.

We returned to Barcelona to visit the largest enterprise of the milk syndicate. It is housed in the former Frigor Factory which manufactured milk bye-products, all kinds of modern equipment in the way of pasteurising machinery, butter churners, machinery for the production of cheese and Yoghourt, skimming appliances and a new ice-cream producing plant had been established. In addition a number of model dairy depots were built for the retail sale of milk. Before July 19th this factory had a working capacity to produce 7,000 litres of milk daily. Now it could handle 100,000. The number of workers also had to be reduced from 350 to 200. The syndicates have reason to be proud of their great achievement. Far from that, they are most discontented because they cannot produce the increased amount of milk needed for the population in Catalonia. Formerly 200,000 litres of milk daily were used in Barcelona. To-day 300,000 are necessary, owing to the great influx of refugees and the increase of the population. Formerly Catalonia used to buy large quantities of condensed milk in the north of Spain, now in the hands of Franco. Also large numbers of cows from Switzerland, Holland and the north of Spain used to be imported. All that has been made impossible since the beginning of the war. Another explanation for the famine in milk is to be sought in the calamity which had befallen Catalonia in May, 1937. Owing to the plot against the C.N.T.-F.A.I. in Barcelona which resulted in the great disturbance, the former owners of the cattle evidently thought that the good old days had come back; they raided the collectives and led the cattle to their own sheds. When they realised that the syndicates

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were still in control they slaughtered their cows rather than give them back to the collectives. Yet with all the drawbacks, all the vicissitudes, the socialised milk industry stands out as a very great achievement. In point of truth, the milk syndicate have demonstrated that they were able to create a remarkable venture in a short period of months, which had taken the peasant co-operatives in northern Europe decades to achieve.

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ANARCHISM: Libertarianism as opposed to Authoritarianism.
The ideal of equal freedom for all in opposition to invasive rule by violence or force, whether exercised by individuals, groups, or governments. (Continued below:)



Detroit Times
May 19
1939

Emma Goldman, 70, Holds Fast to Anarchy

"The most dangerous woman in the world," now 70 years old, today is in a small tourist home in Windsor, still hopeful that the world will reach the state of anarchy she has been seeking for the last 50 years.

Emma Goldman has despaired of communism. She despises fascism and has no faith in democracy. She is anti-everything except anarchism.

A world philosophy of a new social order, proposed for broadscale practical application, whereby equal freedom for all is unrestricted by invasive man-made laws.

A theory that rulership exercised by one set of men over others is the result of invasive compulsion, on the basis that Might makes Right, which is wrong, wasteful, harmful and needless.

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70th Birthday Commemorative Edition / Emma Goldman. — Los Angeles : Libertarian Committee, 1939. — 8 p. ; 24 × 17 cm.

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Windsor (Ont.) Star, May 19, 1939

'Red Emma' Goldman Stumps For Anarchy

Social Revolutionary Predicts War And Regards Rebellion as Only Alternative

By DOUGLAS MACFARLANE

EVERYTHING'S red about Emma Goldman but her hair. She isn't a Communist. She isn't a Fascist. As a matter of record, she condemns both. But she is a philosophical Anarchist who became known as "Red Emma" on both sides of the Atlantic because of her constant preaching of a social revolution.

SPEAKING TONIGHT

She's preaching in Windsor at the Dom Polski Hall tonight and will answer her topic question: "Who Betrayed Spain?" for those who would know.

Emma isn't a big woman—physically. It can be truthfully said that the first impression she conveys, on introduction is a trifle disappointing. Her hair is gray and straight. Her face is plain. Her eyes are covered with thick-lensed glasses.

Her face is lined. Her mouth holds some of the bitterness that marked her early life. She is 69 years old and beginning to show it.

But Emma Goldman is a human dynamo if there ever was one. She talks with the sureness and rapidity of a woman who for decades has made others listen. Her finger-tips grasp of international affairs seems unlimited. She has theories which, although they may be labelled far-fetched and seditious to the nth degree, are definitely thought-provoking.

FORD CASE RECALLED

Henry Ford once sued a Chicago newspaper for \$1,000,000 because an editorial described him as an Anarchist. Mr. Ford's definition of an Anarchist from the witness stand was a "bomb thrower." He was given judgment for exactly six cents.

Emma makes no bones about being an Anarchist but she is equally definite about her opposition to this business of bomb-throwing and the like. She stoutly denies—and always has denied—that she is an advocate of violence. But she predicts with no more trepidation than a weather bureau hands out the "probs" that the world is going to see violence aplenty and it's going to see it pronto.

Sitting in the quiet of a tourist

home on Ouellette avenue, Miss Goldman—who has been married twice—stated simply but with a conviction that could not go unrecognized:

"War, world war, seems inevitable. There is only one alternative to world war and that is rebellion. But I believe that this world war will come

before the peoples of this world move with potent force against government.

HAS WRITTEN ON "SPAIN"

"I am still writing. My most recent work is 'Spain.' I went to Spain in 1936 and travelled extensively in the country. I went back to England to lecture on behalf of the anti-Fascists in Spain. And then returned to Spain in 1937 and stayed there on into 1938.

"The Spanish struggle was one of the most marvellous and really great epics this world has ever seen," the king-pin Anarchist asserted. "The Spanish peasants were first to rise against Fascism as the people of Germany and Italy have not done.

"Hitler and Mussolini had it easy compared to Franco. Franco would never have been able to win the Spanish war like he did had it not been for the help of the democracies and Italy and Germany. I say the help of the democracies because Franco was definitely assisted by means of the Non-Intervention Pact. "England and France held off and in so doing they showed both poor statesmanship and a selfish interest in their own country.

"Certainly Germany and Italy are waiting to collect their spoils in Spain. And when they do it will bring England and France to war. All this business of Chamberlain's appeasement has been a farce. The appeasement was merely because England was not prepared for war.

REVOLUTION AS ALTERNATIVE

"But just so long as they are prepared, the English will not try to appease the impossible. And the only alternative to war seems to be revolution.

"I am opposed, and always have been, to imperialistic wars. I went to prison in 1917 because I was. I have not been convinced of the failure of the so-called peace that was brought about by the Great War. And I shall oppose war.

"War today is merely a scramble for power and loot, with the people

paying the price more so now than in 1914-18."

There you have the typical Emma Goldman continuity on the kaleidoscope of world affairs. She appears to be at home on any subject of universal interest that you may pull out of the hat. Her opinions may not tie in with the accepted Canadian feeling but there is a possession of knowledge that demands a degree of acceptance.

TALKS ON ROYAL VISIT

Regarding the popular topic—the royal visit to Canada—the Russian Jewess coincides with opinion held in many circles:

"Obviously there is a definite reason for the King and Queen coming to Canada. It is not news to say that England is preparing for war. And England sees definite need of support from her dominions. The royal visit is undoubtedly a move aimed to cement the British Empire into greater unity.

"And behind the move is that one word which the world has come to fear but which the world is coming to expect—war."

Miss Goldman's theories, in general, have been known for many a year in many a country. She declaims the need for organized government, provided mass intelligence is sufficiently trained. She does not admit that government holds society together but rather asserts that the binding force is industrial and cultural effort.

EXPLAINS HER THEORY

Hence, instead of being governed, people should learn to govern themselves—in the manner of a co-operative or syndicate, is her claim. But, in her own words, she makes it very plain:

"We don't believe in folksting anything on any country. Any change must take place from within. Otherwise, it is a grievous mistake. If social and economic conditions arise where millions are without work and suffer a drab and miserable life, they will arise from within.

"Why do I lecture? Why do I travel through Canada? Why do I travel through those countries that will admit me?

"Because people are so burdened with their worries and troubles that they have no time to think of action to remedy them. I, and others with me, merely awaken them. We do not force any violent change upon them. The change must come from the soil and needs of the country.

The Emma Goldman Papers

70th Birthday Commemorative Edition / Emma Goldman. — Los Angeles : Libertarian Committee, 1939. — 8 p. ; 24 × 17 cm.

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"That is what happened in Spain at the time of the revolution. That was merely a bursting of forces that had accumulated.

"My definition of revolution is nothing else but the bursting point of the accumulated evolutionary forces that have preceded it."

OPINION OF FASCISM

In expressing the Goldman opinion of Fascism, this 69-year-old native of Russia provided much food for thought. The mere question: "What do you think of Fascism?" brought an unhesitating 10-minute prediction of the downfall of Fascists and their system.

"In Fascism, I see the last attempt to bolster the capitalistic system," she said. "International finance all manufacturers of arms, all large industrial interests have backed Fascism in Italy,

Germany and other countries where it is a force.

"Representatives of the capitalistic system believe that Fascism will bolster the debris of the system—foolishly, because it won't. In putting labor in a straitjacket and throttling culture, Fascism cannot hope to continue. Temporarily? Yes. But in no way permanently.

"The people do and will rise against it. There is unrest in Fascist countries now. Fascism leads to its own defeat. War or revolution? I think war first. But I also think that in some countries, war will end with revolution.

OPPRESSED "RISE UP"

"I am afraid that revolution is the only alternative to war. When the people are oppressed and rise up, there is no way of stopping them. And the democracies, by reason of the existence of Fascism, are forced to become more reactionary.

"England, with its fear and panic of the Fascists and its new war measures, is placing such restrictions that mark a terrible decline in the political liberties that England has enjoyed. It is a vicious circle. One thing leads to another. The only solution that I offer is the social awakening of the masses, all people who create."

Touching on more personal subjects, Miss Goldman stated that she expected to conduct a coast-to-coast lecture tour of Canada during the next 10 months. Following her visit to Windsor, she will return to Toronto and mark time there until autumn when she will head for the Pacific Coast.

"I expect to continue lecturing as long as I am physically and mentally able," she observed. "If my voice fails me, then I will have to turn solely to writing. I have only written four books but I have turned out innumerable pamphlets, articles for both magazines and newspapers.

"BRITAIN MY COUNTRY"

"Great Britain is my country. I am one of His Majesty's subjects," she went on, with a wry smile. "I have the distinction of being the first American citizen to be robbed of citizenship for deportation. That was in 1919. I was re-admitted to the United States for three months in

1934 by special amnesty of President Roosevelt."

Miss Goldman explains that she is a very poor sleeper and seldom does she give in to the "sand man" for more than four hours. She has acquired the habit of reading or writing until 4 and 5 a.m. and this, in itself, accounts for her brief rest periods.

"You know, I really need six hours sleep to be half-way human but I seldom get it," she advised. "Do I eat very much. I eat very, very extensively."

When it comes to reading, the Anarchist leader plays no heavy favorites but does show a slight preference for modern biographies. She is extremely fond of plays and has lectured extensively on the theatre and drama.

AIDED BY FRIENDS

When she is on tour, she stays with friends and she has thousands of them throughout the world. Her largest expense is postage as her correspondence is a job in itself. Her passage to Canada from England was contributed by Canadian friends. When she was in the United States, her women friends "rigged" her out from head to toe.

Money is merely a means to an end to Emma.

Born in Kovno, Russia (now in Lithuania), June 27, 1869, Miss Goldman went to the United States when she was 15 years old. Her childhood, she has indicated in her memoirs, was bitter. She wrote that her father, Abraham, frequently beat her and she worked for small pay in a factory making gloves and shawls.

For a time the family lived in Rochester, N.Y., and there, in February, 1887, she married Jacob Kersner. She has written that she never quarrelled with him but that she was going through "a tremendous spiritual upheaval and he did not follow." The "upheaval" was her definite conversion to Anarchistic philosophy, largely because of her reaction to the hanging of the Chicago Haymarket bombers.

RECORD IN NEW YORK

She went to New York City, joined a young radical group on the lower East Side and obtained a job in a factory. She quit when refused a raise in pay. In 1888, she helped lead a strike of factory girls.

For making speeches "urging revolution, violence and bloodshed" in connection with the Debs Railway strike in 1893, she was arrested in New York and served seven months on Blackwell's Island. Part of the time she was in the dungeons because of trouble with the head matron.

On September 6, 1901, Leon Czolgosz shot President McKinley at Buffalo, N.Y. In his confession, the assassin said he had been influenced by the writings of Emma Goldman and by some speeches he had heard her make in Cleveland. She was arrested in Chicago and questioned for two weeks.

She was released without prosecution but 18 years later, in December, 1919, after serving a short prison term for obstructing the World War draft, she was sent to her native Russia.

She soon fell out with Soviet leaders denounced Bolshevism as tyrannic and has spent the years since wandering restlessly about Europe, always casting a longing eye toward America shores.

She is still wandering but has shifted the scene to Canada.

From the DETROIT TIMES
May 19, 1939.

EMMA GOLDMAN

"The cause of anarchy has been strengthened by the failure of the democracies," Miss Goldman said.

SPAIN BETRAYED

"The collapse of the Communist government in Spain strengthens our cause. The forces of liberty were on the way to victory in Spain. They were defeated not because their ideas were not good, but because the Loyalist government was betrayed by the democracies."

Miss Goldman predicted the downfall of Franco in a very short time, saying:

"As long as there is a single revolutionary left in Spain there will be an uprising against the reactionary victors of the war. You can't keep the Spanish people down. They are not like the Germans, who put up no fight against Hitler. They are born champions of freedom."

BARRED FROM U. S.

The woman whose presence in the United States was considered so menacing that she was deported in 1919, still is barred from this country. Across the river she spoke on "Who Betrayed Spain" at a rally in Dom Polski Hall.

"I still consider the United States my country," Miss Goldman said. "I spent more than half my life and all my formative years there. It is the most progressive country in the world."

"Anarchy will win, but not with kid gloves," Miss Goldman said. "We do not preach the theory of violence, but we do not believe in fighting violence by temperate measures."

Miss Goldman was brought to Canada by the Libertarian Group, an organization of anarchists.

"The Libertarians are not really an organization," she said. "It is impossible to tell how many members there are as there are no dues paid and no lists of members."

The Emma Goldman Papers

70th Birthday Commemorative Edition / Emma Goldman.— Los Angeles : Libertarian Committee, 1939.— 8 p. ; 24 x 17 cm.
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THE EVENING TR

Stalin Was Real Judas
In Spain, Speaker Says

Spaniards Defeated But
Not Conquered, Asserts
Miss Emma Goldman—
Speaks Here

The people of Spain have been defeated but not conquered, although they were betrayed by the democracies and the Communist party, Emma Goldman, 70-year-old workers' crusader, told an audience in the Oddfellows' Temple last night.

After having spent several months in Spain during the revolution, the veteran lecturer brought to her listeners a first-hand picture of the Spanish scene. She arrived in Toronto a few days ago direct from Europe.

"The Spaniards are a proud people and are still fighting for their own freedom," she declared. "They're not Germans who bow before the sight of brass buttons."

It shouldn't be surprising, she said, that England and France betrayed the Spaniards as the two countries had large holdings in the natural resources of Spain which they were afraid would fall into Communist hands. On the other hand, the speaker pointed out, Stalin did not

wake up to the fact that he had had a chance to establish a Russian government in Madrid until three months after the war started. All the so-called aid which came from Russia, she said, was sent with one purpose—not to overthrow Franco, but to establish a Communist stronghold in Spain.

RAP FOR CHAMBERLAIN

The French capitalists, Miss Goldman declared, had great fortunes invested in Spain and it would be ridiculous to have expected Leon Blum, the French premier, to have done anything else but betray Spain.

"It wasn't at all surprising that M. Blum was the first to sign the non-intervention pact at the behest of England," she declared.

She termed Chamberlain "the spokesman for the Bank of England." "Naturally they preferred Franco to the Loyalists," she said.

The Spanish people, she affirmed, were the first to take a stand against the terror and spread of Fascism, in July, 1936. No one, save the Spaniards, she declared, had the fortitude

Windsor (Ont.) Star
May 20, 1939

Terms Reds
'Betrayers'

Emma Goldman States
Spain Double-Crossed
by Russia

Communists Irked

Anarchist Is Protected by
Squad of Syndicalists
From Detroit

With a strong-arm squad of "wobblies" on hand to quell Communist-provoked disorder, Emma Goldman last night branded Stalin and his Soviet regime the arch-betrayers of the Spanish people.

APPLAUSE AND JEERS

Storms of applause and scattered jeers greeted "Red" Emma as she addressed an audience of 350 in Dom Polski Hall.

Pistcuffs threatened to mar the meeting when Bert Levy, Windsor veteran of the Spanish War, clashed with a member of the 12-man delegation sent by a Detroit I. W. W. union to assure order during the gray-haired Anarchist's address.

Disorder flared when Alan Clark, a young Detroitier with a bright red I. W. W. button in his lapel, spoke up during a question period following Miss Goldman's talk:

"How is it that the Communists come back from the Spanish war so healthy they can get up and talk, when the Anarcho-Syndicalists are all shot to h—l?"

Levy, who related he was released from hospital only last week after treatment for wounds suffered in the Spanish struggle, didn't like the remark and emphatically said so.

"KEEP YOUR YAP SHUT"

"Keep your yap shut or you'll get your teeth knocked down your throat!" was his angry cry.

Trouble was in the air. The two men were only a few feet apart. Levy stood up in the audience. Clark was on the sidelines. Heated language came from Levy.

Keen resentment on behalf of members of the International Brigade was voiced by Levy. He pointed to the number of Spanish war victims who lost limbs or eyesight.

An outburst of booing from the audience followed.

But the tension eased when the short, stout woman on the platform who boasts half a century of militant Anarchism appealed for freedom of speech. The crowd quieted.

"I suggest this friend of yours, Miss Goldman, go to the hospitals in Toronto and see men without legs, or arms or eyes," Levy called.

The disturbance was over and the Windsor man sat down with a parting shot at the Detroitier—"Keep quiet. . ."

SYNDICALIST GUARD

At a meeting in Detroit, members of Metal Machine Union No. 440, Industrial Workers of the World, voted to send a 12-man delegation to prevent Communists from disturbing Miss Goldman's meeting. Branch Secretary Ralph Verlainne said.

"We were ready to go into action and throw them out if they got rough," Verlainne added. "We wobblies try to help the Anarchists."

Clark explained he meant no slight to the International Brigade in the remark which caused so much dispute. It was just a passing reference, the Detroitier said.

Whatever they thought of Anarchism the crowd filling Dom Polskie Hall was with Miss Goldman most of the way. She didn't pull her punches in a fiery address in which she answered her own question: "Who Betrayed Spain?"

And the audience came through nobly when "Red" Emma, once called the most dangerous woman in America, issued a stirring appeal for aid for Spanish war refugees.

\$103.50 COLLECTED

No less than \$86 in bills and \$17.50 in silver poured to the aging woman who spoke with authority of international affairs. All the money will go towards its avowed purpose, she pledged the crowd.

With vitriolic tongue Miss Goldman lashed Josef Stalin and his Russia. With potent phrases she blasted the

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ELEGRAM, TORONTO, FRIDAY, APRIL 28, 1939

to move against Hitler.

By accepting the policy of non-intervention the democracies of the world demonstrated that they would rather have Franco than the Spanish people.

"The democracies knew that Franco might be bought off and would recognize the holdings of England and France in Spain," the speaker pointed out. "Representatives of labor and trade unions in England supported the policy of non-intervention at the start but when they found out its vicious workings they asked questions of Mr. Chamberlain. But that's all they did—ask questions. The leaders of the labor groups knew how to hold their masses in check.

"Mr. Atlee and Mr. Greenwood knew how to put a damper on the ardor of the labor people so far as Spain was concerned," Miss Goldman declared. "From Stalin's point of view he knew that if he could establish a Communist stronghold in Spain he would be able to force France and England to his terms."

RUSSIA SENT OLD GUNS

She revealed that Stalin had sent practically useless and out-moded tanks, machine guns and rifles to Spain for Spanish gold. In addition to arms he sent his Gestapo police "who confiscated passports from the boys of the International brigade and threw scores of them in prison."

"The moment Stalin put his iron hand into the Spanish situation he undermined the forces of the Loyalists and sacrificed the chances of the Spanish people in their war against Fascism."

She said that "not a single can of milk" ever reached Catalonia because of the undermining efforts of the Communists in that section of the country.

"The real Judas Iscariot is Stalin and he will have to answer for his destructive work in the anti-Fascist struggle," the speaker declared firmly. "In the last stages of the struggle Negrin became like putty in the hands of the Communists. It was with the aid of Negrin that Franco was successful in conquering the

revolutionary forces.

"Now the struggle is over, the Spanish people are under the yoke of Franco but there is a comeback for the people of Spain—and none for the Communist party. The day is fast approaching when Italy and Germany will be demanding their share of the dividends of Spanish soil. The imperialists will have to watch out."

If the democracies of the world had risen to stop the Fascist invasion of Spain, she suggested, Mussolini and Hitler wouldn't be so brave in marching on helpless countries to-day.

"What should Canada do now in the face of events in Europe?" she was asked.

"There is no more principle involved in the coming war than there was in 1914," the speaker replied. "The English-speaking people should take a stand against it. As the old gentlemen make war they should be sent first to the front lines. I would oppose it even if it means going to prison."

Fascist states and the democracies, but her most bitter language was saved for the Comintern and its leader.

"It was Russia who betrayed the Spanish people and the Spanish cause," she clipped.

"The Spanish people came to hate the Communists and Communism even more than they hated Fascism, for they knew Fascism for what it was.

"The Communist regime was the great deception, the great illusion."

AUDIENCE APPLAUDS

The audience burst forth with applause.

"I have enough documentary evidence to prove the Judas Iscariot in the Spanish struggle, more than anyone else, was Stalin and the Soviet Government."

Warming to her work, Miss Goldman went on:

"Stalin is not afraid of the democracies, of the capitalist class, but he's afraid of his own satraps. He knows dead men don't speak—that's why they're all eliminated."

Confidently she declared:

"The Spanish people are defeated but not conquered."

From the first the Communists sought to disrupt the people's revolution in Spain, hating with a bitter hatred Barcelona and the Catalanian district, said Miss Goldman.

EXCUSE FOR DEMOCRACIES

While Miss Goldman held the democracies had sold out Spain, she found some excuse, in their "capitalist viewpoint." She had none at all for Communist Russia.

"What are we to say of the man Stalin who has destroyed the Russian revolution, who has killed off the best of the Bolsheviks, who has played a most treacherous and despicable part in the Spanish war?" she asked.

"Hoey!" cried a male voice from the audience, but others murmured in protest at the interruption.

"The Cheka was established in Spain," the undaunted Anarchist went on. "It began a system of terror. Hundreds were arrested, tortured and destroyed."

Yet Miss Goldman is confident that the Spanish people will emerge triumphant in the end.

"The Spanish people are defeated but they are not conquered," she declared. "As long as one Spaniard has the revolutionary spirit, there is no peace, no security for Franco."

"SPAIN WILL BE FREE"

For nearly an hour Miss Goldman spoke, and she closed with the ringing promise:

"Spain will be free!"

Veterans of the Spanish war differed with the speaker in her remarks on lack of Russian aid in furnishing arms other than weapons from the last war, purchased from munitions makers "for a song." Several told of using Russian rifles and seeing many machine guns and tanks of Russian make in Spain.

But Miss Goldman wasn't stopped. Yes, she agreed, but they were members of the International Brigade and as Communists, got the best equipment. Not so the Spanish people.

Miss Goldman lashed out again at Russia and Communism.

"The Communist must abide by the party line," she commented. "If he's in Russia and he doesn't, he's made one head shorter. If he's in Europe, he's expelled from the Communist Party."

STALIN'S "ONE AIM"

She went on:

"There's only one aim for Stalin, and that's to strengthen his power in Russia and get ground in every

Terms Reds 'Betrayers'

Emma Goldman States
Spain Double-Crossed
by Russia

country, not for the world revolution, but for his power."

Miss Goldman noted:

"I think many of the Communists in the International Brigade were sincere idealists who fought heroically at the front. Many were wounded, some mortally, and so were the Anarchists."

"I do not think the bullets of Franco were any respecters of individuals or political creeds."

A final challenge to Red Russia was flung by "Red" Emma.

"As long as I will have a breath in my body, I will go forth from one end of the world to the other to expose the treachery of Stalin and the Soviet Government."

Miss Goldman is staying over in Windsor today, returning to Toronto Sunday. She will deliver a single lecture there, then cease speaking for the summer.

Miss Dorothy Rogers, Toronto, was in the chair for last night's meeting.

The Emma Goldman Papers

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Toronto Star April 22/39

EMMA GOLDMAN, ANARCHIST CRAZY ABOUT CATHEDRALS

Hitler and Mussolini Merely
Puppets—Advises People
Shake Shelves

HELPING REFUGEES

Emma Goldman, heading into her 70th year, still talking anarchy in her deep, throaty voice, her home still in her suitcase, arrived in Toronto last night, this time to fight a battle for Spanish refugees.

Gray hair peeping from under her hat, a grim smile still arriving on her features exactly at the moment photographers' bulbs flashed, Emma seemed to have changed not a whit since last she was in Toronto fighting battles for birth control.

She doesn't look like an anarchist, "the mother of anarchy in America." When cameras are not around, her smile is gentle and friendly. She never did care much about clothes, but when she got off the train last night in her soft felt hat and neat ulster, umbrella in hand, spectacles perched above rosy cheeks, she looked like anyone's kindly grandmother.

Her mission to Toronto is to lecture, this time to arouse sympathy for Spanish refugees.

She has been in Spain on three trips in the last three years.

"I am here for two things," she said. "I want to put the English-speaking people straight on what is happening in Spain, to tell them the Spanish struggle is by no means finished, and also to arouse interest in the frightful conditions of the Spanish refugees."

Communists, "not the real Communists but the kind that Russia produces," were responsible, she declared, for the collapse of the Spanish government's struggle. That, she said, and starvation and the assistance lent by dictators to the rebel forces.

Blames Sabotage

"They (Communists) tried to establish their methods, but the Spanish people are not pliable, and they undermined everything the people did."



EMMA GOLDMAN

Real Communists, says Emma Goldman, are not "extremists."

"There are no Communists in Russia," she declared. "They are just opportunists. In Spain they claimed to belong to the anti-Fascist front, but they only wanted to impose their own dictatorship."

Russia is one of the many countries that won't admit Emma Goldman. She fled from there in 1919, when deported "home" by the United States, after a bitter quarrel with the Soviet leaders.

"Hitler and Mussolini. Who are they?" she asked and then answered. "Just puppets and if the people would only shake themselves, they would fall off and they would be free of both tyranny and war."

Imprisoned When 24

In 1918 she was imprisoned and then deported from the United States to Russia. She was used to prisons by then.

"The first time," she recalled last night, "was when I was 24. I went to prison then for supporting some strikers. Then the next time—it was just for two weeks, was for talking birth control. Then the next time was in 1919. . . ."

"But you've seen inside palaces too?"

"Hmmp." snorted the rugged, stocky little woman. "Lots of them. But I didn't find them especially interesting. I like cathedrals, though. I think some of the cathedrals in France and Spain are marvellous."

Though she visited United States in 1934, under amnesty granted by President Roosevelt to all who had demonstrated against participation by the United States in the great war, she doesn't believe she will be allowed to return again this year.

"Times have changed some since then," she said. "I don't think they will be as likely to welcome again Emma Goldman the anarchist."

In Toronto For Summer

She plans to stay in Toronto for the summer, and will celebrate in August her 50th anniversary as an anarchist. As an anarchist, she has never advocated violence, she claims. She urges people to learn to govern themselves. She has not been discouraged, she declared, for all the rise of fascism.

"To me it is just a passing phase in the social struggle. I am not discouraged because I measure the world in historic events."

She was born in Russia and was 14 years old when she first worked in factories there at \$1.50 a week. A year later she went to the United States and first won the attention of authorities when she led a factory workers' strike when she was 20.

Since then she has popped up here and there almost everywhere in the world. She has been married twice, last time just before she entered Canada in 1926 as a British subject, newly married to James Colton, a Scottish mine worker. He died, she said last night, just two and a half years ago.

"If you had it to begin all over, would you still choose so hard a life?" she was asked.

Emma Goldman smiled. She tucked a gray hair under her hat, adjusted her gold-rimmed spectacles.

"I would never take the easy way," she said. "I think if I have had any experience at all, if I have accumulated anything in my long struggle it is that I am temperamentally unfitted for what you call the easy way. No. I'm still going on."

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FRIDAY, MAY 19, 1939.

THE DETROIT NEWS

Anarchist Then—and Now

Emma Goldman in Windsor, Keeps Faith

By RUSSELL BARNES

A short, stout woman in a brown silk dress, bobbed grey hair and thick glasses, sat in an upstairs bedroom of a tourists' home in Windsor, and as she rocked back and forth in her chair, in beautifully-chosen words, blasted communism, fascism, democracy and capitalism.

She was Emma Goldman, once known as "the most dangerous woman in America," who was deported in 1919 to Russia, along with 247 other alleged revolutionaries. She arrived last month in Canada on a British passport to lecture, and will speak at 8:30 o'clock tonight at Dom Polski, Langlois and Ottawa streets, Windsor, on "Who Betrayed Spain?"

Considering her 70 years, grandmotherly demeanor, and the circumstances of an upstairs tourist bedroom, by all story-book maxims this should have been an Emma Goldman broken in spirit, repentant of a misused life, eating her heart out to cross the river to the America represented by the lighted towers of Detroit, visible through the branches of the elm trees outside the window.

THE SAME EMMA

But it wasn't. It was the old Emma Goldman, unrepentant, staunch in spirit, vitriolic of tongue, still convinced that the happiness and prosperity of mankind can come only through abolishing political parties and governments, and rooting society in community cultural and economic organizations. And still maintaining that she has always preached that her type of anarchic socialism must be achieved by peaceable means.

"We are in a period of reaction," declared Miss Goldman. "I don't know how long it will last. The world has been in such periods be-

fore, and has come out of them. My faith in anarchy is unshaken. I think that the behavior of modern imperialistic governments and their leaders will help convince the mass



EMMA GOLDMAN

of people that chances for happiness and prosperity do not lie with political parties and political governments. And like Lincoln, I do not believe that you can fool the people all the time.

"I believe now that another world war is inevitable, although I think

it could have been stopped last year without a shot, if the democracies had not surrendered Czecho-Slovakia and Spain.

NOT MUCH CHOICE

"But in a war between modern democracies and the fascist powers, I do not believe that it makes much difference for the people involved who wins. The only difference is the difference between being shot and hanged.

"Modern democracy is only fascism in disguise. The liberties of the people are being constantly curtailed. The latest example is conscription in England. And, of course, the present preparation of another imperialistic war. The people always lose in such wars.

"Communism is finished. It has failed in Russia, and set back the attainment of true socialism. Stalin sold it out, and now is throwing the resources of Russia to support of bourgeois capitalism. If Stalin had stayed out of Spain, I think the Spanish people would have won. Franco's rebellion would have become demoralized and collapsed.

SEES FRANCO'S FINISH

"The Spanish people paid dearly in gold and blood for Russian help. The Russians tried to establish their terrorist regime in Spain, and the people came to hate communists worse than they did fascists.

"But Franco will not last long. He is trying to use German terrorist methods on the Spanish people, and the Spanish people won't take it the way the Germans did. Franco is not only faced with deep-rooted opposition of the people, but also dissension in his own ranks."

"Are you going to try to enter the United States?" Miss Goldman was asked.

"No," she replied. "I have not applied and, judging by the Dies committee and other evidences of reaction in the United States, I doubt if they would let me in. But the United States is still my country, as much as an anarchist can have a country."

WPA expenditures in New York City in 1938 were \$186,938,166.

EMMA GOLDMAN on "POLITICAL EXILES" in THE NATION, Oct. 10, 1934

"All political movements are at each other's throats--more bitter, vindictive and downright savage against each other than against their common enemies. The most unpardonable offender in this respect is the so-called Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. Not only is it keeping up a process of extermination of all political opponents in and outside its territory, but also is engaged in wholesale character assassination."

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The Emma Goldman Papers

70th Birthday Commemorative Edition / Emma Goldman.— Los Angeles : Libertarian Committee, 1939.— 8 p. ; 24 × 17 cm.

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TO COMRADES AND FRIENDS ON THE NORTH AMERICAN CONTINENT:

As you see, I am now very near to you in the United States, yet still very far away. Fortunately, there are no spiritual boundaries to the all-embracing force of comradeship and solidarity. I, therefore, feel very close to all of you regardless of arbitrary frontier divisions. I feel certain that you also feel close to me.

August 15, '39, will be exactly a half century since I entered our ranks and took up the battle for Anarchism. Far from regretting this step, I can say honestly I am more convinced than in August, 1869, of the logic and justice of our ideal. True, we are passing through a period of the blackest reaction in every country. The Fascists, the so-called democracies, and even "the workers' fatherland" are competing with each other to further forge the chains of economic and political slavery and to destroy the individual altogether. By this very scramble for Power, the State in every country has proven its utter inability to meet the needs of the people and to maintain even a modicum of freedom and well-being.

Only one country and one people have attempted to translate Anarchist thought and ideas into action. They were Spain and the Spanish people. By their heroic struggle against Fascism, and in defense of the Spanish Revolution, and even more so, by their magnificent constructive work, they have silenced forever the contention that Anarchism is a wild idea, utterly impractical and never to be realized. If they have been defeated in the end, it was entirely due to the conspiracy of the Democracies and Soviet Russia to crush the Spanish Revolution at all costs. No less guilty was the International Proletariat. By its acquiescence to the half-hearted sympathy on the part of its leaders with Spain, the workers have betrayed their Spanish brothers and have thus helped Franco to defeat the glorious beginnings in Spain.

Yes! Franco has defeated the Spanish Revolution, but he has not conquered the Spanish workers and peasants of the National Confederation of Labour, the Anarchist Federation of Iberia and the Libertarian Youth. Forced to flee the tender mercies of Franco, subjected to the most barbarous treatment in the French concentration camps, our Spanish Comrades continue to be imbued with their ideal. Those that I was able to see before sailing for Canada entrusted me with a message to the comrades in Canada and the United States. It is:- "Tell all the comrades that though defeated, we are not conquered. As long as we will draw a living breath, no power will succeed in crushing us and in extinguishing our flaming spirit and our determination to come back to Spain, and take up once more the battle to realize the promise of July 19th, 1936."

Let me impress upon all, especially comrades of U.S. and Canada, the need of increasing your fervour and energy for our gallant Spanish Libertarians now suffering beyond belief in concentration camps and exile.

Issued on my 70th Birthday, Fraternally,
June 27th, 1939.
295 Vaughan Road,
Toronto, Ont., Canada.

Emma Goldman

PUBLISHERS NOTE: To this appeal of our UN-OFFICIAL—but well recognized—LIBERTARIAN AMBASSADOR To The World At Large, we add assurances that every single cent of support sent through Emma Goldman, or this Committee, to Spanish Libertarians, who escaped Franco's

"blood-spilling machine" will reach such Spanish persons. Most are exiles, facing death, if they return to Spain. They face near-starvation till they learn to make a living in foreign lands.
—LOS ANGELES LIBERTARIAN COMMITTEE.

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Lure of the Spanish People / Emma Goldman. — pp. 2-3 ; 22 cm. In Challenge [New York]. — (Jan. 7, 1939).

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Page 2

CHALLENGE

Saturday, January 7, 1939

Labor Reporting

(Continued from Page 1)
manager. I heard a rumbling from the benches behind me. Suddenly somebody on one of the rear benches mustered enough courage to ask a question. "If the leadership of the Union is so much interested in securing the work for the members, as the manager stated," he asked, "why then do they permit Mr. S.'s firm to import finished plates from the Soviet Union, instead of forcing him to have his work made in his New York shop?"

Pandemonium broke loose. A dozen "Points of Order" were hurled at the questioner from the front seats and platform. The chairman rapped his gavel and gave the men a lesson in parliamentary procedure, in the great good of the Proletarian Fatherland and in the vicious selfishness of furriers who want to gobble up all the work in the United States without giving the Proletarian Republic an opportunity to get some American valuta. . . .

I scribbled fast on my crumpled up leaflet that I was using instead of a pad and showed my notes to my teacher in labor reporting. Here is a real story, I told him, that any newspaper will gladly print.

He looked down on me with pity. "It's only about an hour," he said, "since I gave you the rules of the game and you have forgotten already. I told you, 'Know the truth, but never tell what you know.' Who do you think is interested in publicizing a fact like that? The Fur merchants and importers are not eager for the public to find out how they are chiseling the American worker out of jobs, and the government out of the higher import duties they would have had to pay for ready made fur coats; the attitude of the officials of the Fur Workers union you know from the lecture of the chairman. The only ones who may be inter-

Two Opinions On The

THE LURE OF THE SPANISH PEOPLE

By EMMA GOLDMAN

Those who have been in Spain during part of the gallant struggle of the workers and peasants, will, I am sure, understand why I must always go back to Spain. Ever since my first visit in 1936, I have felt a consuming nostalgia for the masses risen as one man from the depths to become the masters of their own lives and the builders of a free and beautiful social world. Since then the longing has grown almost to an obsession. It has fairly driven me back each time with irresistible force.

Life in Spain means struggle, but also it means strength, courage and daring. The very air is surcharged with a terrible will to conquer the enemy or perish. Nothing else matters. Such an atmosphere must needs enrich one's blood and raise one's spirit. I felt this even more on this visit directly as I reached Spanish soil, and that everything is possible in this land of wonder. For have not the Spanish people already proved their inexhaustible capacity for great deeds? Who else but they have risen against the Fascist ogre, who else but the Spanish workers and peasants have held their own for nearly thirty months against Germany's

can you expect to be elected if eleven officers of the union are begging him to run?"

Mr. Perlmuter smiled. "I see," he said, "that you interviewed my opponents and he sold you the same story that he has been handing out to the other reporters. This, however, is but half the truth. He did not tell you who

and Italy's most modern arms and Franco's hordes. Such valour must needs kindle one's smouldering fires. That is exactly what happens to me on each return to Spain.

L'Affaire Jeannette

In Paris on my way to Barcelona I received the shocking news of the arrest of our Polish comrade, Jeannette, and that she was being held under suspicion of espionage incommunicado. I have known Jeannette for years, not only as a splendid worker in Poland for our ideas but also in a closer way. She had been with me for a month when I was still living in San Tropez recuperating from a serious illness. It was preposterous to arrest such a valiant fighter. I promised myself to make her release my first objective on reaching Spain. I succeeded better than I had anticipated. In point of truth, however, I merely needed to add my shoulders to the wheel started rolling by Comrade Mariano R. Vazquez, two weeks before I arrived. He had sent a strong protest to the authorities against the arrest of Jeannette and made demands for her immediate release, but such things move slowly in Spain. To hasten her release I turned to Secundo Blanco, Asturian member of the C.N.T., now Minister of Education and Culture. Who dares to suggest that Ministers are not occasionally good for something? Blanco has so far retained his proletarian interest in the abuses of power. After I had explained to him who Jeannette really was and the outrage of suspecting her of espionage, he promised to interest

plies of cigarettes, writing paper and soap to the various fronts, care of disabled militias, a hospital and dispensary treating an average of 80 patients daily, an ambulance with a staff of young nurses giving first aid to the victims of the frightfulness from the air, and a lot more represent the magnificent achievement of the S.I.A. Further plans are in process of being carried out, largely due to the generous support from S.I.A. Sections in the United States and in Sweden.

Without desire to underrate the activities of the other organizations and groups in Spain, I must say that S.I.A. stands out as a veritable beehive. Our comrade, Lucia Sanchez Sauornal, one of the most gifted women writers in Spain and an able organizer, with her secretary whom everybody calls by her given name, Christina, as well as Baruta, head of the National Council of S.I.A., together with a staff of active young people, must be credited with the tremendous amount of work sponsored and carried on by S.I.A. In addition to all this there is a social welfare centre, presided over by a very efficient comrade who had organized the maternity hospital in Barcelona in 1936 and who had been its guiding spirit until this spring. It is her function to minister to the health and needs of expectant mothers as well as mothers and infants in Barcelona and outside it.

Schools and Children's Homes
Intensely interested as I was to visit as many places as possible and to see for myself how well the children fared in the different

tion to which there were another 150,000 children in Barcelona exposed to possible death from hunger and cold this winter, unless large quantities of food and clothing were to come from outside Spain.

About 200 million francs per month are required to import the products that are absolutely indispensable to the civilian population of Republican Spain.

In the face of these staggering figures, the efforts of S.I.A. on behalf of refugee children are very little indeed, yet it is fortunate that at least a few can be saved from the appalling starvation and cold confronting Spain.

If after reading this people will still not see the devastating effect of the Non-Intervention Pact, nothing will convince them.

Regardless of all these superhuman difficulties, the sufferings and sorrow of the Spanish people, much is still being done to safeguard the innocent victims of Fascism. In addition to the various homes of the S.I.A., there are also colonies organized by various syndicates, the railroad workers especially who organized the Spartacus colony in 1936. It was this anarcho-syndicalist section of the Transport Collective that furnished and equipped the colony at its own expense, providing their wards with every care and comfort. This colony and its standards have been maintained ever since.

Status of Collectives

There were so many things to see and places to visit that one could not hope to cover all the ground in months, let alone in the original three weeks I had intended to remain in Barcelona on this visit. To see even part of the ground it was necessary to do intensive work, sometimes

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government and the higher support duties they would have had to pay for ready made fur coats; the attitude of the officials of the Fur Workers union you know from the lecture of the chairman. The only ones who may be interested, are the unemployed fur workers. What newspaper cares about them?"

While in the neighborhood, I thought I would interview the general manager of the Joint Board Cloakmakers Union, Mr. Nagler, who announced his resignation last week to run for manager of Cutters' Local 10. His action, as any man acquainted in union politics knows, is a bit unusual. To give up a higher office that one holds and risk an election to a lower office is not to the taste of a politician. I therefore thought, there must be a "negro in the wood pile somewhere."

After a hunt through the cafes, I succeeded in finding him in one of his favorite places near the Joint Board office on West 33rd Street. "What is the reason for your changing offices?" I inquired.

"Believe it or not," he assured me, "I could not refuse the boys. Eleven of them, all officers of the union, came and begged me to save the union and save them by taking over the management of the Local."

He spoke with evident sincerity and I was really moved by the unselfishness, the readiness to sacrifice that this labor leader was showing. However, to verify his statement, I thought it my duty to see the incumbent in the local managers' office, Mr. Perlmuter.

It was not an easy job to find him so late in the evening. But luck was with me that evening, and one of the cutters I met told me where I could locate him.

"Are you running for office against Mr. Nagler?" I asked.

"No!" he spit out words like bullets. "He is running against me, the double crosser."

"What difference does it make how you put it?" I inquired. "The fact is, the two of you are running for the same position. How

Mr. Perlmuter smiled. "I see," he said, "that you interviewed my opponents and he sold you the same story that he has been handing out to the other reporters. This, however, is but half the truth. He did not tell you who the eleven officers are."

"Who are they? and what is the difference?"

"Here is who they are!" he said, "And the rest you can judge for yourself. Three are local managers who are sick and tired of his leadership and want to palm him off on the Cutters to rid the Joint Board of him. Six are Department managers who don't want to take the blame for all of his blunders and inactivity that all but ruined the Cloakmakers. The tenth one is the candidate who hopes to get his vacated job."

"And the eleventh one, who is he?" I inquired.

"You're a greenhorn," he told me. "Can't you guess? Mr. Nagler himself is also an officer. And be sure he was not the eleventh but the first of the crew who begged him to resign his office and try to muscle in on our Local. Mr. Nagler felt that the game is up. The Cloakmakers are restless. Unemployment, out-of-town shops that take away the work and produce it at much lower standards, overlapping, and many other problems that beset the industry. All of them are too hard and complicated for Mr. Nagler to solve or even suggest a solution. The best thing to do under the circumstances is to "run" while the running is good. . . ."

I managed to get two stories in one evening. And good stories they are. But will I get a publication to print it? On that depends my future as a labor reporter. A swell racket if there ever was one.

I'll try the "Challenge." By the great wealth this paper amassed during the eight months of its existence I suspect that it cares more for the poor slob than for the moneyed interests and the Union officials. Yes, they may accept it.

good for something? Blanco has so far retained his proletarian interest in the abuses of power. After I had explained to him who Jeannette really was and the outrage of suspecting her of espionage, he promised to intercede on her behalf without delay. In this case and many other instances Comrade Blanco proved himself most helpful.

After Jeannette was liberated we learned that no official charge against her had been made. She had been arrested and kept three and a half months incommunicado on the mere statement of a miserable informer, perhaps out of personal spite, or for some other inexplicable reason. But though she had actually been released as a result of the efforts made for her by Vazquez and Blanco, she was transferred to one of the private prisons of S.I.M. entirely under the control of Stalin's followers. Only there was she cross-examined, finger-printed, photographed and finally set free much against the desire of these gentlemen, I am sure. After such an experience, I thought our Jeannette would want to leave Spain without delay, but she was adamant in her refusal. She felt that to go away now and leave the comrades in their struggle would mean a real betrayal. She would stay to the end.

S.I.A. Aids Spain

As the representative of the London Section of S.I.A. (International Anti-Fascist Solidarity) I was of course kept informed of the progress of the work of the comrades in Spain, but what I found on this visit was far beyond my expectations. S.I.A. sections have spread like wildfire all through loyalist Spain, taking root in every city, town, village and hamlet. Everywhere along the road from Barcelona almost as far as Lerida, 250 kilometres away, S.I.A. streamers with bold letters are stretched across so that no one can escape its existence. Nineteen children's homes and canteens, where colonies had not yet been established, popular restaurants, student lodgings, sup-

infants in Barcelona and outside it.

Schools and Children's Homes. Intensely interested as I was to visit as many places as possible and to see for myself how well the children fared in the different colonies, I did not neglect to visit a number of schools and children's homes under the protecting wings of other organizations. I was greatly aided in this by Comrade Blanco and Juan Puig Elias. Some day soon I hope to find time to write a pen picture of Juan Puig Elias who is the real brain of the Ministry of Education and Culture.

Of nine schools we visited in one day, six had already established canteens. Each child is given breakfast, consisting of hot condensed or powdered milk with a substantial slice of bread, or a hot mid-day meal of soup, vegetables, sometimes cooked with meat, and a roll. I arrived in one school just in time to see 1,100 pupils fed. A group of teachers in every dining room, ate the same food with the children.

The day would have been a happy one indeed, had it not been marred by the poor condition of three schools. I found children there from the poorest, most congested and repeatedly bombarded quarters of Barcelona. Most of them are forced to walk long distances to and from school, as trams and buses are scarce. With very little food in their so-called homes and nothing in school all day, the children looked quite emaciated and they were poorly clad. They presented a heart-rending picture, and yet the schools were safer than their hovels, because farther removed from Franco's furies from the air.

Spain Hungers

The sight of these children haunted me, so I decided to go back to Blanco to find out why canteens had not also been established in these three schools. He told me that he was painfully aware of the malnutrition of these children, but they were only a small number of the 75,000 children under the care of the Ministry of Education. In addition

could not hope to cover all the ground in months, let alone in the original three weeks I had intended to remain in Barcelona on this visit. To see even part of the ground it was necessary to do intensive work, sometimes leaving at six in the morning to reach some collectivized village, to visit two fronts, that of the 25th Division headed by our gallant comrade, G. Jover, and the 26th whose guiding spirit is our equally heroic comrade, Ricardo Sanz. Then of course the collectives old and new in Barcelona and the collective villages that are very much alive, although they have been declared dead and gone by some of the critics of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. Not the least were the prisons and concentration camps I had promised myself to see. In addition to all this were two interesting plenums of the Peninsula and Regional F.A.I. and the larger one attended by the three Libertarian bodies, C.N.T., F.A.I. and the Youth, and also to be present at the P.O.U.M. trial. All this would fill a large volume. I certainly have enough material for it. Here I can only give the briefest outline of the rich and colorful panorama I was able to watch for seven weeks.

I was naturally interested to see how far the C.N.T.-F.A.I. were still the moral force in the ranks of the workers and peasants, and their influence in the industrial and agricultural life in Spain. This was the more essential because a number of comrades outside Spain are so easily susceptible to whatever derogatory reports about the C.N.T.-F.A.I. come to them. Now it is true that the war industries and the railroads have been nationalized. It is also a sad fact that Negrin has turned over to the former owners the electrical plants, collectivized by the C.N.T.-F.A.I. immediately after July 19th, 1936. Yet even in the nationalized industries I found that the Spanish Anarchists were still very much in evidence. On the other hand, the collectives, such as transport, wood industry, textile and garment work-

(Continued on Page 3)

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Saturday, January 7, 1939

CHALLENGE

Page 3

Spanish Revolution

WHILE THE WAR CONTINUES

Government Parties Pass But the People Remain

By D. A. DE SANTILLAN

The Monarchy had a great number of parasitic functionaries; to this parasitic body the Republic added the clients of the republican parties; the events of July, 1936, permitted us to play our hand and increase the number of those who live on the government treasury. Is this what they call the conquest of positions? With only half the reverence, the Monarchy would have offered us some thousands of sinecures. We did not need the Republic of 1931 or the Revolution of 1936 for such a simple goal.

In short: the well-being and comfort of a few comrades cannot become the measure of our conquest of positions. The cornerstone of all progress, of every genuine conquest, is the solution of the problems of the people. Everything else is falseness and hypocrisy.

Let us not confuse the transitory, the accidental, with the permanent. Political parties are born, prosper and die, after a more or less short reign of power. The campaign for power of all the different parties has proven only one thing until now: that all the different banners and programs arise, as from a single crucible, with a single aspiration: to conquer power when they are in the opposition, enjoy it when it is in their hands, and derive the maximum profit out of the labor of others for themselves, their friends and their relatives. During the three quarters of a century of our collective existence as an organized movement, we have seen an unending caravan of government parties. In general, they all worked in the same manner, used the same methods, and disappeared in the same way, in disrepute, overcome by their despotic ambitions, cut off from the people whose favor they carried with flattery. But we remained, because we were an integral part of the people and synthesized its aspirations. Countless government parties have passed away, but the people remained with their eternal problems; and we survived because we did not raise any bars between ourselves and the people or their problems. Will we do so now that, due more to the pressure of circumstance than our own desire, we have had a taste of

others is equivalent to directly stealing the rights and fruits of the efforts of the producers. We wouldn't try to say just how disgusted the workers are, who kept Spanish economy running when the rebel capitalists abandoned their directing positions, to see their conquests liquidated, with the consent of their own organizations, and their authentic organs of production destroyed, after they had improvised and developed them so admirably, with their flesh and blood, their vigilance, enthusiasm and faith.

Political, economic and social privileges of all kinds are in flagrant contradiction to the interests of the Spain that labors. The two cannot be harmonized any more than fire and water can be harmonized. The least observant and least intelligent can see the daily resurgence of the old privileged classes, with greater vigor and greediness, and a bureaucratic mass that absorbs the best resources, and endangers the war and the future of the country with its parasitic weight alone.

From the point of view of social liberty, even if we discount the restrictions imposed by the war, tolerated by the Spanish people with singular patience, everything warns us that we are retrogressing to a period scarcely known in the past, the thought of which made us rise on July 19th, 1936. We are retrogressing without justifiable cause, and thereby endangering the war itself, for which we are giving everything we have and can possibly give.

In measure that our precious liberty is being surrendered into dictatorial hands, and just as in all dictatorships, the eternal victims are the people who work, even when the dictatorship is supposed to be directed against some other, phantom enemy, so at present we see no solid basis for the establishment of justice. If the rights of private capitalism are restored, the best foundation for social justice is destroyed. And more is yet to come. When justice does not reign, there is no liberty, and bread is also lacking. The historical lessons of capitalism cannot be forgotten, not even in the holocaust in which we find ourselves now because of the war, unless we disregard truth liberty and justice.

THE FIGHT AGAINST FASCISM

Fascism must be fought, to free humanity from that scourge, and return to the road of progress, however slow, but still progress. Such a position should not be ours alone; it ought to be the attitude of all who consider themselves liberal,

Spanish People

(Continued from page 2)

ers, milk collectives and many more, continue to be manned by members of the C.N.T. The same holds good of the collectives on the land. In other words, whatever thrusts the Spanish Revolution has received, and I know better than many other visitors to Spain how deep the wounds are, I must nevertheless insist that collectivization and socialization still represent the most potent revolutionary achievement of the Spanish Anarchists, and what is more to the point, even if Franco should possess himself of all Spain, which no one in the loyalist side considers possible, collectivization will continue. This, not only because of the influence of the C.N.T.-F.A.I., but also for the reason that the idea of collectivization is deeply ingrained in the workers and peasants. One might even say collectivization is the very breath of their life.

Detractors Challenged

Neither Lister's devastating march through the collectives in Aragon or the equally brutal destruction of other collectives by the Carl Marx Brigade, or the interference of the Government itself, had succeeded for long to keep the people from collectivization. I had ample proof of that last year, and perhaps more convincing demonstrations on my recent visit. For lack of space the few examples I will give must suffice, but before I do so I want to point out the childish claim of some comrades in America that collectivization is not Anarchism and that therefore our Spanish comrades had gone back on their ideals. Apart from the fact that these critics had never in their lives been called upon to demonstrate in practice their Anarchist theories, their enduring power and courage to face a whole world, it is necessary to point out to them that our Spanish comrades do not pretend that

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attery. But we remained, because we were an integral part of the people and synthesized its aspirations. Countless government parties have passed away, but the people remained with their eternal problems; and we survived because we did not raise any bars between ourselves and the people or their problems. Will we do so now that, due more to the pressure of circumstance than our own desire, we have had a taste of authority and privilege?

Our efforts should not be directed exclusively in that direction.

We recognized no sovereignty other than that of the people, no will above that of the people, no cause higher than their basic demands.

What are these problems, posed but not solved, of the Spanish people?

The Spain that works, produces and thinks, derives no benefit from a change in the leaders of the State apparatus, nor in the exorbitant increase of the government bureaucracy. Their problems are different:

The workers and peasants must be the sole masters of the instruments of labor and the land they cultivate, eliminating rent, interest and other parasitic compensations. The affirmation of the rights of capitalism to live on the labor of

liberty and justice.

THE FIGHT AGAINST FASCISM

Fascism must be fought, to free humanity from that scourge, and return to the road of progress, however slow, but still progress. Such a position should not be ours alone; it ought to be the attitude of all who consider themselves liberal, progressive, the spokesmen of advance toward more perfect social, economic and moral forms. We might disagree about methods, but, all together, each contributing his maximum of energy, we would be an invincible bloque in the face of reaction and retrogression. To kill liberty, to suppress the free expression of the people who work, is to aid in the triumph of fascism. And one can work for the fascist cause in the anti-fascist ranks as well as in the openly fascist camp. One doesn't have to be a prophet to foresee such a perspective.

We know what fascism is because we have seen it in action in other countries as well as in Spain itself; we know how it destroys culture, kills thought, annihilates the free initiative of men, imposes burdens upon people in the form of new taxes and tributes to keep up their pretorian armies, militia and hired assassins, their bureaucracy; we know how it leads to moral degeneration, corruption, physical decadence, to the death of everything human. The thought of all is substituted by the absolutism of some oligarchy, the general initiative by the unchallenged dictate of an omnipotent clique, free association by forced organization and the discipline of the morgue; the gold of law by external tinsel.

We are accustomed to saying that fascism is a throwback to medievalism; we say it because we do not have a vivid picture of the past, and the Middle Ages of theocracy and absolutism does have something of the fascist essence in it. But modern fascism, because of its greater control over peoples and their every phase of life, is infinitely more fatal. It has demonstrated how far human bestiality and irrationality can go.

In a word, although Spain had its Inquisition, although it lived under the iron domination of pre-fascist postulates for centuries, it will yet know, under fascism, more refined and disastrous horrors than it ever experienced in its long existence as a nation and a conglomerate of nations. What is in store for us in Spain is subjected by the rebel troops in league with the invading armies, makes us tremble, not so much for our fate as individuals, but as the vanguard of a more just and humane world.

We must put everything in the balance to avoid this ignominious death for Spain, play absolutely all our cards not to suffer the horrible experience of poor Italy, Germany, Austria and Japan.

(To be continued next week)

fact that these critics had never in their lives been called upon to demonstrate in practice their Anarchist theories, their enduring power and courage to face a whole world, it is necessary to point out to them that our Spanish comrades do not pretend that collectivization or socialization is Anarchism. They insist, however, that these two forms of reconstruction represent the first steps toward the realization of libertarian communism (Communismo Libertario). They are not only right, but they have proven the truism of Bakunin's principle that revolution is not only the power of destruction but also the will to construction.

Hope held for Beal

(Continued from page 1)

with a good many leaders of public opinion in that State, and left with the definite opinion that the action for a pardon has the whole-hearted support of influential local people."

Beal has received dozens of holiday messages from sympathizers interested in helping his fight for freedom, according to Hugo Pollock, Secretary of the defense group, at 19 West 44th Street, New York.

Freedom Prized by Prominent Thinkers

(Continued from Page 1)

"This situation proved equally damaging to both the privileged and underprivileged. The privileged sat tight, interfering with further organic development, while the underprivileged were deprived of opportunity of effecting any change at all.

"As civilization was then organized, an imperialistic system of forcible and legalized exploitation, it was not worth preserving."

CHALLENGE

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The Emma Goldman Papers

To the Editor, The Manchester Guardian / Emma Goldman. — 1939 Jan. 26, draft. —
1 p. ; 23 × 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Rudolf Rocker Archive.

COPY.

Roc

26th January, 1939.

To the Editor of
The Manchester Guardian.

Sir,

On June 30th, 1936, you were good enough to print in the issue of the Manchester Guardian of that date, a letter of mine dealing with the case of Mrs. Zensel Muehsam, the widow of the poet, Erich Muehsam, who had been tortured to death in one of the concentration camps of the Third Reich. In that letter I called your attention to the disappearance of Mrs. Muehsam and to the fact that all efforts made to ascertain her whereabouts had been in vain. It will interest you to know that it was precisely my letter in your valuable paper which started a campaign on behalf of Zensel Muehsam, taken up by the Labour Press in Sweden, Holland, France and the United States, but it was only in March, 1937, when a letter signed by Mrs. H. Stassova and addressed to Mr. Roger M. Baldwin, the Director of the American Civil Liberties Union, ~~frankly~~ reached the whereabouts of Mrs. Muehsam. Madame Stassova wrote that Zensel Muehsam "spent some time in a sanatorium and is at present in Moscow." In point of truth the sanatorium was the Cheka prison, and she was not released until much later after March 23rd. However, Mrs. Muehsam was finally liberated and continued to live quietly but under rigid surveillance.

Now comes the news that Mrs. Zensel Muehsam has again disappeared from the hotel in Moscow where she was living and that she left no trace of her whereabouts. This information was contained in the paper, "Derniere Nouvelle" published in Russian in Paris by Mr. Maillukov under of 18th January, 1939. The report goes on to say that every effort to ascertain what has become of Mrs. Muehsam had brought no results. The supposition is made that she may again be in Cheka prison or exiled to a concentration camp or perhaps may have lost her life in the not uncommon manner of all opponents of the present ruler of Russia.

I am taking the liberty again of appealing to you to make the possible plight of Zensel Muehsam known to your readers. I am certain that it will again prove, as it did in 1936, the beginning of a campaign to save the unfortunate woman the doom to which she is exposed.

Sincerely yours,

Emma Goldman,
21, Fifth Street, London, W.1.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

P.O.U.M. Frame-Up Fails / Emma Goldman. — pp. 15-16 ; 29 cm. *In Vanguard* [New York]. — (Feb. 1939).

Obtained from Shields Library, the University of California, Davis. Institutional Location: Department of Special Collections.

P.O.U.M. FRAME-UP FAILS

By EMMA GOLDMAN

We are offering our readers this interesting eye-witness account of the P.O.U.M. trial by comrade Emma Goldman who was one of the few admitted to the courtroom throughout the entire proceedings. That such a trial should even take place in this tragic country whose proletariat was making such heroic sacrifices in the face of united fascist intervention was indicative of the Stalinist ulcer gnawing at the vitals of Spanish life. Whatever the outcome of the Spanish War might be, the reprehensible role of the Stalinists must be widely published and exposed to the world proletariat. From the very day of the outbreak of civil war, the Stalinist virus, the blackmail scheme of the Kremlin degenerates grew steadily in its debilitating effects on the struggle for social reconstruction. We would further like to point out that there was no truth in the rumors (spread by Stalinists and left sectarian pontiffs of spurious revolutionary doctrine, whose followers are few throughout the world and whose friends were fewer among the fighting Spanish masses) that there was a deep rift in the relations of the P.O.U.M. and the C.N.T.-F.A.I. As comrade Emma Goldman points out, the latter organized and mobilized its forces against the "Moscow trials" and lent inestimable aid to the defendants.

SHORTLY after the State Attorney had completed his summing up of the indictment against the P.O.U.M. prisoners, *l'Humanité* made this comment: "Emma Goodman, the international and famous anarchist, gave her impression of the P.O.U.M. spy trial as being the fairest she had ever witnessed." I do not know what I have done to "deserve" being quoted in a Communist paper which did not know enough of my standing in the revolutionary movement even to spell my name correctly. I want, however, to assure the readers of *Vanguard* and all our comrades that I never referred to the P.O.U.M. men on trial as spies. Far from considering them as such I was convinced even before I returned to Barcelona and the opening of the trial that the charges against them prepared by Stalin's satraps in Spain were on par with the same kind of doctored evidence repeatedly used in Russia against everyone whom Stalin wishes to dispose of. If ever I had doubted the innocence of the P.O.U.M. members brought to trial, the proceedings in court during eleven days, the witnesses against and for the defence would have convinced me of the utter baselessness of the evidence used by the State Attorney. In fact I never witnessed such a crude and deliberate falsification of facts and the truth as contained in the material used against the prisoners.

The prosecuting attorney tried his utmost to make the men admit that they had received support from Hitler and Mussolini for their extensive P.O.U.M. propaganda in Spain and abroad, but that failed utterly. In other words the whole concocted conspiracy and the outrageous propaganda carried on since the May events against the P.O.U.M. as a party and its members, did not survive the light turned on it all during the trial.

I admit that similar "evidence" in Russia would have sent the enemies of Stalin to their death, but though I hold no brief for the liberality of the Negrin Government, I must say that Spain has not yet reached the brutal dictatorial condition of Russia. Perhaps this is not the virtue of the Negrin Government so much as the numerical and moral strength of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. and the socialist syndicate U.G.T. that has still kept its skin clean from the communist scourge. It is still impossible for such heinous crimes to take place in the anti-fascist part in Spain as those staged in Stalin's dominion.

I have been in courts a great many times in my life. I therefore expected to find the same harshness, vindictiveness, and lack of fairness at the trial of the P.O.U.M. as I have known

in America in the past. I was therefore considerably surprised with the tone maintained during the eleven days. The prosecuting attorney was obviously either a communist or strongly in sympathy with the Stalin followers. He was vindictive, hard, and did his utmost to incriminate the prisoners. At the close of his summing up, he demanded no less than fifteen and thirty years imprisonment for them. The very fact that he did not dare to call for the death penalty was in itself a proof that the whole fabricated charges had collapsed.

I was particularly struck by the objectivity of the superior judge. At no time did he permit the prosecuting attorney to drag in ulterior motives that had no bearing whatever on the guilt or innocence of the indicted men. When they were cross examined and the prosecuting attorney attempted to lull them, or rush them into a statement derogatory to their party or their ideas, the judge immediately objected. On the other hand he patiently listened to a five-hour speech of the defending attorney. It was a masterly analysis of the various political parties that represent the anti-fascist front. He spoke in the highest terms of the position of the C.N.T.-F.A.I., and made it very clear that the ideology of the P.O.U.M. and the personalities on trial precluded every possibility of any connection with spying or fascism. He also related the terror imposed upon the workers of Barcelona by the henchmen of Stalin which resulted in the killing of our comrades, Camillo Berneri and Barbieri, as well as a number of other victims whose names are not even known. In other words the whole proceedings in the court during eleven days impressed me as being absolutely free from partisanship, political trickery or communist venom against the men on trial.

The readers of *Vanguard* may well ask how it comes that five of the indicted members of the P.O.U.M. were given eleven and fifteen years imprisonment respectively. The reason for the sentence is twofold. First the judges had to do something to appease the insatiable appetite on the part of Stalin's representatives. The second, to prevent the disappearance of Gorkin and his comrades as Nin and others disappeared. This is not only my impression, but also the impression of a number of people who attended the trial.

It is hardly necessary for me to impress on the readers of *Vanguard* that I do not agree with the ideology of the P.O.U.M. It is a Marxist party and I have been and am absolutely opposed to Marxism, but that cannot prevent me from paying respects to the mentality and courage of Gorkin, Andrade and their comrades. Their stand in court was magnificent. Their exposition of their ideas was clear cut. There were no evasions or apologies. In point of fact the seven men in the dock demonstrated for the first time since the demoralization of all idealists in Russia, how revolutionists should face their accusers. At the end, after the prosecuting attorney had tried their patience to the breaking point, Gorkin, Andrade, Bonet, Gironella, Arquer, Escudore and Rebull rose to their full stature with their clenched fists held high in the air, sure of themselves and defiant against their enemies. That was indeed a splendid demonstration in the court which the people who unscrupulously prepared their undoing will not so easily forget.

In view of the fact that much was rumored abroad of the indifference of the C.N.T. to the condition of the P.O.U.M. prisoners and to their trial, it is not out of place to say that the Defending Attorney is a member of the C.N.T. and that the testimony of Federica Montseny was among the most laudatory of the character of the men on trial. Perhaps I had better quote from my notes about her statement:

"She says she knows some of the accused through their Trade Union work and through their literary production, and also as proven anti-fascist militants. She states that she was sent by the government to mediate the May events and that when full light can be thrown on this disturbance many things now obscure will be understood. That neither the P.O.U.M. nor the C.N.T.-F.A.I. were responsible for the May events."

The Emma Goldman Papers

P.O.U.M. Frame-Up Fails / Emma Goldman. — pp. 15-16 ; 29 cm. In Vanguard [New York]. — (Feb. 1939).

Obtained from Shields Library, the University of California, Davis. Institutional Location: Department of Special Collections.

"She adds that this affair had all the earmarks of being hatched in an underhanded and secretive manner to overthrow the Largo Caballero Government and thus do away with the proletarian influence in the government. This naturally hurt the workers' cause.

"In answer to the questions of the prosecutor she says that upon arrival from Valencia they held a meeting in the Generality to appease the excited spirits and to keep the situation in hand so that events would not follow the course mapped out by its provocateurs. They were convinced that these events were a manoeuvre against the interests of the popular masses."

I cannot emphasise enough that it was the quiet and determined stand of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. to secure a fair trial for the P.O.U.M. members and to give them every comradely assistance which has no doubt prevented a more severe sentence than the one imposed, but I feel certain that an amnesty will no doubt be granted to the men in not too distant a future. I know for a fact that the C.N.T.-F.A.I. are already working for it. But it is but right that workers in every country should send a protest to Negrin against the sentence and demand an amnesty.

COMING EVENTS

FRIDAY, FEB. 3, at 8:30 P.M., Phila., Pa.—GALA DANCE given by American Youth Branch of the S.I.A. Carlos Ramos and his orchestra. Boslover Hall, 7th and Pine Streets, Phila. Refreshments. Admission 35c.

FEB. 11, SAT. NITE—PARTY for the Vanguard, at the home of Mollie Bogin, Mohegan Colony, Crompond, N. Y. All comrades and friends invited.

FEB. 18, SAT. NITE—PARTY for the benefit of the Vanguard Group, at Comrade Ida Cohen's home, 324 East 19th St., N. Y. C., Apt. 12. Friends and comrades are cordially invited to come.

DANCE and ENTERTAINMENT, FEB. 18, given by Galelei Youth Group at the Galelei Club, 118 Cook St., Brooklyn. Admission 25c.

VANGUARD SUSTAINING FUND

Kropotkin Library Group of Sietou, N. J., \$5.00 (695); Maximilian Olay, \$1.05 (696); M. R., \$1.00 (698); A. F. Mullady, \$5.00 (701); Nueva Era Group of Langlois, Pa., \$4.00 (702); Comrade D. P., \$15.00 (711); Dr. Michael A. Cohen, \$25.00 (New Receipt Series, 7); A. Harbaugh, 50c (9); Albert F. Mullady, \$5.00 (10); M. R., \$1.00 (11); Mario Zucco, from affair in Phila., \$5.00 (12); Harry Kelly, \$1.00 (13); Jack White, \$1.00 (14); H. Mathewson, \$1.00 (15); Anna Block, \$1.00 (26); Galeleo Tobia, 50c (31); Nat Kaplan, 25c (32); A. Gurian, \$1.00 (33); R. Leonel, \$1.00 (34); Bertha Chazick, 50c (42); Kropotkin Group of Washington, D. C., \$10.00 (48); Jeanne Levey, \$3.00 (50); S.I.A. Local 23, McKeesport, Pa., \$4.58 (58); Joseph Spivak, \$1.00 (64); Mario Bettolo, \$1.00 (65); Fairfield Porter, \$5.00 (66); G. Kellert, \$1.00 (71); H. van Huizen, \$5.00 (72); Kropotkin Literary Society, Los Angeles, Cal., List No. 30: A. Bers, 50c; I. A. Herman, 50c; M. Lapidus, 50c; A. Miller, 50c; I. Isgur, 50c; P. Cohen, 50c; M. Markowitz, \$1.00; M. Lubin, 50c; Carl Halper, 50c (73); J. P. Collins, \$1.00 (75); J. Lycheck, \$3.00 (79); Donation List No. 26, through M. S.: Morris Shuman, \$1.00 (81); Mr. Brownstein, 50c (82); H. Coleman, \$1.00 (83); I. G., 50c (84); I. Newman, \$1.00 (85); Albert F. Mullady, \$5.00 (88); Free Society Group of Chicago, Ill. List No. 57: M. Olay, \$1.00; L. Miller, 25c; Kaplan, 50c; J. Huntman, 19c; Rabla, 50c; Binero, \$1.00; S. Miller, \$1.00; Max, \$1.00; B. Yelousky, \$1.00; Free Society Group, \$8.56 (97); Sam Gorelick, \$5.00 (98); I. Persons, \$1.00 (99).

AMERICA'S DILEMMA

(Continued from page 2)

evitably produces the state of hopelessness and defeatism prevailing now in the ranks of the former enthusiasts of the New Deal.

The basic premise of the framers of the New Deal has proven to be wrong in the light of the latest economic developments. The premise was that an essentially sound economic system—that of American capitalism—can be brought out of its temporary difficulties by broadening its consumption base, by lifting the submerged third of the nation to the level of good consumers. That was to be done by extensive borrowing, public works, by extending social services, by propping up here and there the sagging sectors of the economy.

The failure of this policy is obvious. A crushing public debt reaching a state of saturation, a subsistence level for millions of state-employed people, a state of dangerous tension in an economy stabilized at a low level of productive capacity and ready at any moment to plunge into a terrible crisis—all that is known by many and is felt very keenly by millions of people in the form of a growing realization that *something must be done*.

Something must be done in order to put millions of people back to work at regular wages and not doles, to expand industries and not freeze them at a depression level, to open the door of opportunity for the young people eagerly looking for a chance to get some hold upon life.

Only a socialized economy can do it and it is time to come out boldly with an immediate program of social control over industries, social control over investments, a directed economy based upon workers' and farmers' control.

Enough of this myopic policy of trailing behind a bankrupt New Deal with its maudlin hopes for a rejuvenated capitalism! Enough of this hair-splitting, doctrinaire, historically impotent socialism, ever putting off the time of its realization, forgetful of its mission even when there is a crying need for it. A way must be found to stir up the slumbering hopes of the masses of people for a way out, right now, from the economic morass, to put forth a realistic, concrete program for the economic rehabilitation of the country along the lines of public ownership of the means of production.

This is the only effective answer to be given to the growing forces of reaction, which realize too clearly the direction of popular aspirations by demagogically exploiting the slogan of "setting the wheels of industry a-rolling" and "putting the unemployed back to work at regular wages."

SUPPORT "VANGUARD"
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The Emma Goldman Papers

The Widow of Erich Muesham. A Second Disappearance / [Emma Goldman].—
[1939] Feb. 2, draft.— 1 p.; 23 × 18 cm.

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THE WIDOW OF ERICH MUEHSAM.

A Second Disappearance.

To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian. *appeal Dec 4/39*

Sir,

On June 30, 1936, you printed a letter of mine dealing with the case of Mrs. Zensel Muehsam, the widow of the poet Erich Muehsam, who had been tortured to death in one of the concentration camps of the Third Reich. In that letter I called attention to the disappearance of Mrs. Muehsam and to the fact that all efforts made to ascertain her whereabouts had been in vain. It will interest you to know that it was my letter in your paper which started a campaign on behalf of Mrs. Muehsam, taken up by the Labour Press in Sweden, Holland, France, and the United States; but it was only in March 1937, when a letter addressed to Mr. Roger M. Baldwin, the director of the American Civil Liberties Union, revealed the whereabouts of Mrs. Muehsam. The letter stated that Zensel Muehsam "spent some time in a sanatorium and is at present in Moscow." In fact the sanatorium was the Cheka prison, and she was not released until March 23. However, she was finally liberated and continued to live quietly but under rigid surveillance.

Now, comes the news that Mrs. Zensel Muehsam has again disappeared from the hotel in Moscow where she was living and that she has left no trace of her whereabouts. This information was contained in the paper "Dernieres Nouvelles," published in Russian in Paris, on January 18. The report goes on to say that every effort to ascertain what has become of Mrs. Muehsam has brought no results. I again appeal to you to make the disappearance of Zensel Muehsam known to your readers. I am certain that it will again prove, as it did in 1936, the beginning of a campaign to save the unfortunate woman.

Yours, etc.,

21, Frith Street,
London, W.1.
February 2.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

Tom Mooney's Resurrection [Part 1] / Emma Goldman. — p. 3 ; 22 cm. In Revolt [London]. — (Feb. 11, 1939).

Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

By the thousands they flee before
Franco's "Christian" Army

illuminated, as never before, the misery
of a people; it has thrown into sharp
foundations of our faith; for it is the
head, of this giant democracy, and not

21 Frith Street, London, W.1, England.

Tom Mooney's Resurrection

By Emma Goldman

A sensational newspaper published in San Francisco was sent to me by a friend. It is filled with news about Tom Mooney's pardon and resurrection from his living death. It also reports the joyous and enthusiastic reception given him by representatives of all Labour organisations of San Francisco. I, too, rejoiced with Tom's final liberation, but my joy was intermingled with considerable sorrow that the man who loved him most and was the first to proclaim Tom Mooney's innocence was no longer among the living to rejoice with me. I mean Alexander Berkman.

At the time of the bomb explosion in the Preparedness Parade July 22nd, 1916, I was in San Francisco as one of the cities in my annual itinerary for lectures. I had already addressed large audiences for a whole week. On the historic day I went to my dear co-worker, Alexander Berkman, and our friend, M. E. Fitzgerald, to lunch with them and spend the afternoon. While we were joking and laughing over our meal, the telephone rang, and Alexander Berkman stepped into his office to answer it. When he returned I noticed the extremely serious expression on his face, and I intuitively felt that something had happened.

"A bomb exploded in the Preparedness Parade this afternoon," he said: "There are killed and wounded."

"I hope they are not going to hold the Anarchists responsible for it," I cried out.

"How could they?" Fitzzi retorted.

"How could they not?" Sasha (Berkman) answered; "They always have."

On the way to my apartment I heard newsboys calling out Extra Editions. I bought the papers and found what I had expected—glaring headlines about "An Anarchist Bomb" all over the front page. The papers demanded the immediate arrest of the speakers at the Preparedness Meeting of July 20th. Hearst's

Examiner was especially bloodthirsty. The panic that followed on the heels of the explosion exposed strikingly the lack of courage, not only of the average person, but of the Radicals and Liberals as well. My largely-attended meetings dwindled to a mere fifty persons on the evening after the explosion and the weeks following, the rest of the audience consisting of detectives and police.

A reign of official terror followed the explosion. Revolutionary workers and Anarchists were, as always, the first victims. Four labour men and one woman were immediately arrested. They were Thomas J. Mooney and his wife, Rena, Warren K. Billings, Edward D. Nolan and Israel Weinberg.

Thomas Mooney, long a member of Moulders' Union, Local 164, was known throughout California as an energetic fighter in the cause of the workers. For many years he had been an effective factor in various strikes. Because of his incorruptibility, he was cordially hated by every employer and Labour politician on the coast. The United Railways had tried, a few years previously, to put Mooney behind the bars, but even the farmer jury had refused to credit the frame-up against him. Recently he had sought to organise again the motor men and conductors of the Street Car Combine. He had attempted, unsuccessfully, to call a strike of the platform men a few weeks before the parade, and the United Railways marked him for their victim. They posted bulletins on the car barns warning their men to have nothing to do with the "dynamiter Mooney," on pain of immediate discharge. On the night following the posting of the bulletins, some power-towers of the company were blown up, and those who knew smiled at the obvious attempt of the railway bosses to "get" Mooney by the peculiarly "timely" branding of him as a dynamiter.

Warren K. Billings, formerly President of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, had for years been active in Labour struggles, and the employers had once before succeeded in railroading him to prison on a trumped up charge in connection with strike troubles in San Francisco.

The other comrades of Mooney and Billings were also known active labour men, while Mrs. Mooney was a music teacher.

To charge her, her husband and the other men, with the responsibility for the Preparedness Parade explosion, was a deliberate attempt to strike Labour a deadly blow through its most energetic and uncompromising representatives. We expected a concerted response on behalf of the accused from the liberal and radical elements, regardless of political differences. Instead we were confronted by complete silence on the part of the very people who had for years known and collaborated with Tom Mooney, Billings and Nolan.

There was not a single prominent man in the unions on the coast who now dared speak up for his arrested brothers. There was no one to offer a penny for their defence. Not one word appeared even in "Organised Labour," the organ of the powerful

dared speak up for the prisoners. But we were known as Anarchists and it was a question whether the accused, of whom only Israel Weinberg, was an Anarchist, would wish to have us affiliated with their defence. They might feel that our names would hurt their case rather than do them good. I myself knew them but slightly, and Warren K. Billings, I had never met. But we could not sit by idly and be a party to the conspiracy of silence. Alexander Berkman knew all of the accused well, and he was absolutely certain of their innocence. He considered none of them capable of throwing a bomb into a crowd of people.

During the two weeks following the tragedy of July 22nd, the *Blast*, the militant paper published by Alexander Berkman, in San Francisco, and my meetings, were the only expression of protest against the terrorist campaign carried on by the local authorities at the behest of the Chamber of Commerce. Robert Minor, then an ardent Anarchist, had been summoned by Comrade Berkman from Los Angeles, to come and help in our preparation for the defence of the accused innocent men.

It required several weeks of the most strenuous effort on our part to awaken some semblance of interest even among the radicals. We succeeded in raising at my meetings \$100 and in borrowing a considerable sum for the defence of the arrested labour men. But so terrified was San Francisco that no Attorney of standing would accept the case of the prisoners, who had already been condemned by every paper on the city.

In New York I began my quest for a man with courage and legal standing who would be brave enough to defend innocent victims in the face of the terror in San Francisco. After I had been refused by several well-known lawyers, among them Frank P. Walsh, an eminent attorney in Kansas City, I had to report to the friends in San Francisco that the situation looked hopeless. Thereupon I received word that the International Workers' Defence League, organised in San Francisco, had requested Alexander Berkman to go east to secure an able attorney and to arouse the labour element to the peril of the prisoner.

(to be continued)

They Struck for Spain

When the Spanish workers rose against Fascism in the glorious July, 1936, the international anarcho-syndicalist movement immediately called for strike action against the intervention of British, French, German and Italian capitalism in Spain.

Unfortunately the reformist working class movement was tied to the state political machine and hoped to gain more by negotiating with corrupt reactionary politicians than by workers direct action.

Direct action could have saved the Spanish people two years of sufferings, but let not regret at the years that are lost prevent us acting now.

We welcome the action of the engineering shop stewards in organising a demonstration strike on January 26th. Four factories struck work at 4 p.m. to join an Arms for Spain demonstration in the west-end of London. Hearing of this, groups in other factories defying threats of dismissal joined in.

From 4 p.m. onwards trains and buses from the industrial areas

All who have read our pamphlet agree that it is a valuable contribution to a deeper understanding of the Spanish workers' struggle. If you have not read it yet, order your copy now

SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION IN SPAIN

by GASTON LEVAL.

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—NEW LEADER.

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From 4 p.m. onwards trains and buses from the industrial areas to the west-end rang with shouts of "Arms for Spain!"

In spite of threats and discouragement a large procession paraded London. It was a fine demonstration, without party labels or titles, without political seekings. Further action is planned. Keep it up shop stewards!

T.B.

Issued by the Revolt! Editorial Committee at 21 Frith Street, London, W.1, on February 11th, 1939, and printed by The Narod Press (T.U.), 129/131, Cavell Street, London, E.1.

ary workers and Anarchists were, as always, the first victims. Four labour men and one woman were immediately arrested. They were Thomas J. Mooney and his wife, Rena, Warren K. Billings, Edward D. Nolan and Israel Weinberg.

Thomas Mooney, long a member of Moulders' Union, Local 164, was known throughout California as an energetic fighter in the cause of the workers. For many years he had been an effective factor in various strikes. Because of his incorruptibility, he was cordially hated by every employer and Labour politician on the coast. The United Railways had tried, a few years previously, to put Mooney behind the bars, but even the farmer jury had refused to credit the frame-up against him. Recently he had sought to organise again the motor men and conductors of the Street Car Combine. He had attempted, unsuccessfully, to call a strike of the platform men a few weeks before the parade, and the United Railways marked him for their victim. They posted bulletins on the car barns warning their men to have nothing to do with the "dynamiter Mooney," on pain of immediate discharge. On the night following the posting of the bulletins, some power-towers of the company were blown up, and those who knew smiled at the obvious attempt of the railway bosses to "get" Mooney by the peculiarly "timely" branding of him as a dynamiter.

Warren K. Billings, formerly President of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, had for years been active in Labour struggles, and the employers had once before succeeded in railroading him to prison on a trumped up charge in connection with strike troubles in San Francisco.

The other comrades of Mooney and Billings were also known active labour men, while Mrs. Mooney was a music teacher.

To charge her, her husband and the other men, with the responsibility for the Preparedness Parade explosion, was a deliberate attempt to strike Labour a deadly blow through its most energetic and uncompromising representatives. We expected a concerted response on behalf of the accused from the liberal and radical elements, regardless of political differences. Instead we were confronted by complete silence on the part of the very people who had for years known and collaborated with Tom Mooney, Billings and Nolan.

There was not a single prominent man in the unions on the coast who now dared speak up for his arrested brothers. There was no one to offer a penny for their defence. Not one word appeared even in "Organised Labour," the organ of the powerful building trades. Not a word in the "Labour Clarion," the official weekly of the San Francisco Labour Council and of the State Federation of Labour. Even Freeman Older, who had so staunchly defended the Macnamara brothers, implicated in the explosion of the Los Angeles Mines Building, and who had always bravely championed every unpopular cause, was silent now, in the face of the evident Chamber of Commerce conspiracy to hang innocent men.

It was a desperate situation. Only Alexander Berkman and I

he was absolutely certain of their innocence. He considered none of them capable of throwing a bomb into a crowd of people.

During the two weeks following the tragedy of July 22nd, the *Blast*, the militant paper published by Alexander Berkman, in San Francisco, and my meetings, were the only expression of protest against the terrorist campaign carried on by the local authorities at the behest of the Chamber of Commerce. Robert Minor, then an ardent Anarchist, had been summoned by Comrade Berkman from Los Angeles, to come and help in our preparation for the defence of the accused innocent men.

It required several weeks of the most strenuous effort on our part to awaken some semblance of interest even among the radicals. We succeeded in raising at my meetings \$100 and in borrowing a considerable sum for the defence of the arrested labour men. But so terrified was San Francisco that no Attorney of standing would accept the case of the prisoners, who had already been condemned by every paper on the city.

In New York I began my quest for a man with courage and legal standing who would be brave enough to defend innocent victims in the face of the terror in San Francisco. After I had been refused by several well-known lawyers, among them Frank P. Walsh, an eminent attorney in Kansas City, I had to report to the friends in San Francisco that the situation looked hopeless. Thereupon I received word that the International Workers' Defence League, organised in San Francisco, had requested Alexander Berkman to go east to secure an able attorney and to arouse the labour element to the peril of the prisoner.

(to be continued)

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The Emma Goldman Papers

Tom Mooney's Resurrection [Part 2] / Emma Goldman. — p. 4 ; 22 cm. In Revolt [London]. — (Feb. 25, 1939).

Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

of the Universe we read the headline: "Fascism is Pagan" which naturally appeals to many, whilst its editorial is entitled "Why the Universe Supports Franco." It cuts both ways. The first headline refers to Cardinal Hinsley's address to the Birmingham Catholic reunion, in which, among other things he said 'It is inexplicable how English Catholics can wisely and safely

reactions to the crisis. Significant in this connection is the fact that opinion is anti-Hitler and not anti-German. The inclusion of Chamberlain as an enemy gives it a vastly different social content to the "Hang the Kaiser" spirit of the last war.

the daily press and the almost universal distrust of it. There is evidence of disillusionment with politics, of a widespread and often revolutionary pacifism, and above all, of a growing desire for knowledge and understanding.

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This is one of the many lessons brought home by this valuable factual contribution to our social thought. "Britain By Mass-Observation" is a biting criticism of that pseudo-intellectual humbug and hypocrisy which is the reflex of a social order rapidly approaching its last stages of decay.

R.V.S.

and the Church cannot keep out of politics, then its leaders cannot be immune from consequences. We feel much greater sorrow for the non-combatants—women and children—who were machine-gunned and bombed from the air by Franco's airmen in the name of "Christianity."

LIBERTARIAN.

Tom Mooney's Resurrection

By Emma Goldman

(Continued from previous issue)

IN San Francisco the "Blast" had been suppressed and its office raided twice, because of the papers, anti-war work and its efforts on behalf of Mooney. During the last raid our friend Fritz was brutally handled, and her arm almost broken by an official ruffian. It became impossible to continue the publication on the coast, and Fritz brought it to New York, where she joined 'Sasha' Berkman in his activities for the California defence.

Tom Mooney had been convicted and sentenced to death. Neither the eloquence of W. Bourke Cochran, nor the absolute demonstration that the leading witnesses of the prosecution had perjured themselves availed anything. The grip of the by an official ruffian. It became impossible to continue the publication on the coast, and Fritz brought it to New York, where she joined 'Sasha' Berkman in his activities for the California defence.

Tom Mooney had been convicted and sentenced to death. Neither the eloquence of W. Bourke Cochran, nor the absolute demonstration that the leading witnesses of the prosecution had perjured themselves availed anything. The grip of the Chamber of Commerce upon official justice in California, proved to be stronger than the most unshakeable evidence in favour of the labour defendant. There was hardly a citizen in San Francisco who did not know that the State witnesses, the Macdonalds and the Oxmans, were of the very dregs of debased humanity. Their testimony bought and paid for by District Attorney Charles Fickert, the willing tool of the employers. But innocence did not count. The bosses who had declared themselves for the "open shop" (non-union employees) had determined to hang Tom Mooney, as a warning to other labour organisers; and Mooney's doom was sealed. Warren K. Billings had already been railroaded to prison for life, without much ado.

Meanwhile the world-stirring event happened in Russia, the February-March Revolution. Thousands of Russians and Russian Jews in America rushed back to what they thought was their liberated, beloved Russia. Many of our comrades were among them. Our resourceful Sasha conceived the idea of a manifesto to the Russian workers, peasants and soldiers, and we wrote it just in time to send it with our own group, among them were a number of men and women who had worked with us in our various campaigns in the "Blast" and "Mother Earth." The manifesto was entrusted to one of the most courageous women Anarchists, who had come to America, Louise Berger, and S. F., our closest and most dependable friends. It was an appeal to the masses of Russia to voice their protest to Washington against the condemnation of Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings. We thought it the only method left to save the innocent, convicted men.

Shortly after we received the following telegram—"San Francisco, May 25th, 1917. Superior Court to-day held Oxman for trial. Chief Justice Angellotti said evidence of Oxman's guilt overwhelming. Special committee appointed by San Francisco Labour Council and Building Trades Council appear in person before Attorney-General Webb requesting answer on his disposition of Judge Griffin's request confessing error in my case. Attorney General said that records did not show error and it would be impossible to confess same.

"Powerful publicity, monster demonstration, absolutely necessary for successful outcome. California lynch law crowds fighting desperately to save themselves.

"This precludes new trial unless the unforeseen happens. Give these facts wide publicity."—Signed, Tom Mooney.

Fickert, the Prosecuting Attorney, realised that some of his old witnesses, exposed as perjurers and professional prostitutes, could not be used against Mooney, although they had been used against Warren K. Billings. He therefore

prepared others of a similar calibre, the star among them being a certain Frank C. Oxman, an alleged western cattle man. It was mainly on the evidence of Oxman that Mooney was convicted. He testified that he was in San Francisco on Preparedness Day, and he identified Mooney as the man whom he saw placing a suitcase (supposedly of explosives) on a street corner along the route of the march. An investigation proved that Oxman had not been in San Francisco on the date of the parade. Moreover, a letter by Oxman to his friend, F. E. Regall, was produced, in which Oxman urged him to earn "a piece of money" by coming to testify against Mooney. The proof of Oxman's perjury was so overwhelming that District Attorney Fickert was compelled to whom he saw placing "a suitcase" (supposedly of explosives) on a street corner along the route of the march. An investigation proved that Oxman had not been in San Francisco on the date of the parade. Moreover, a letter by Oxman to his friend, F. E. Regall, was produced, in which Oxman urged him to earn "a piece of money" by coming to testify against Mooney. The proof of Oxman's perjury was so overwhelming that District Attorney Fickert was compelled to bring him to trial.

Notwithstanding all these developments, in spite even of the admission of the trial judge, Franklin A. Griffing, that Mooney had been convicted on false testimony, the Supreme Court of California refused to intervene. Mooney was doomed to die.

The country-wide campaign that Sasha had started for Mooney almost a year previously had meanwhile borne fruit. The case had been taken up by radical and progressive labour organisations throughout the length and breadth of the land, and many organisations, as well as influential individuals, had become interested. Work to save the convicted men from the gallows continued without abatement. It was, however, Alexander Berkman (Sasha) who carried the whole brunt of the campaign, working 18 to 20 hours a day, knocking at the doors of every union, huttonholing every man and woman of importance to help him save Mooney.

Meanwhile we became involved in an anti-conscription and anti-war campaign when President Wilson rushed America into the world war almost without the knowledge of the American people.

The problem was now how to use the demonstrations in Russia to the best advantage. We had wide collections and channels to bring the matter to the attention of the labour bodies, by meetings and circulars, but other means were needed to interest those who were in a position to intercede for our friends in San Francisco. It was again Sasha who suggested that I confer with his friend, Ed Morgan, a former socialist, now an I.W.W. member. He had been very active on behalf of Mooney and he might prove of great help in his case, Sasha thought.

Ed Morgan proved a wizard. In a short time he succeeded in getting more publicity for our purpose than we had got in months. His first step in the capital had been to find out President Wilson's favourite morning papers, his second to bombard them with news items about the agitation in Russia over the San Francisco frame-up. Then Morgan huttonholed influential officials in Washington, made them familiar with the happenings on the coast and enlisted their sympathy.

Shortly afterwards came further news from Russia of still greater moment. A resolution proposed by the sailors of Kronstadt and adopted at the monster meeting, called for the arrest of Mr. Francis, the American Ambassador in Russia,

who was to be held as hostage until the San Francisco victims and Sasha should be free. A delegation of armed sailors had marched to the American Embassy in Petrograd to carry out the decision. Our old comrade, Louise Berger, who with other Russian refugees had returned to her native land after the outbreak of the Revolution, served as their interpreter. Mr. Francis had solemnly assured the delegation that it was all a mistake and that the lives of Mooney, Billings and Berkman were in no danger. But the sailors were insistent, and Mr. Francis in their presence cabled to Washington and promised to exert himself further with the American Government to secure the release of the San Francisco prisoners.

land after the outbreak of the Revolution, served as their interpreter. Mr. Francis had solemnly assured the delegation that it was all a mistake and that the lives of Mooney, Billings and Berkman were in no danger. But the sailors were insistent, and Mr. Francis in their presence cabled to Washington and promised to exert himself further with the American Government to secure the release of the San Francisco prisoners.

The threat of the sailors evidently had an effect on the Ambassador, and on President Wilson, with the result that the latter prevailed upon the Governor of California to commute the death sentence of Mooney to life imprisonment. He must also have prevailed on Governor Whitman of the State of New York, to be careful about his decision in extraditing Alexander Berkman to California.

While we were serving the two years in prison for daring to oppose the world war, it was our faithful friend, Fritz who continued the work for Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings. She had organised a conference in Chicago attended by all the labour leaders, but she had found that the labour politicians were busy side-tracking the Mooney activities. There was a disheartening lack of unanimity in favour of a general strike on behalf of Mooney and Billings, she wrote us in prison. Moreover, there was a deliberate attempt to hush up publicity. "Diplomatic" methods were to be used to liberate the man. The participation of Anarchists was to be greatly discouraged. They had been the first to sound the alarm in the San Francisco cases, and Sasha had consecrated himself to the work, at the jeopardy of his own life. Now the Anarchists and their efforts were to be eliminated from the fight. It was not the first time, nor would it be the last, that Anarchists burnt their fingers in pulling the chestnuts out of the fire for others, but if Billings and Mooney should regain their freedom we should feel our work amply repaid. From the very beginning we felt confident that Mooney would be liberated if the campaign would continue in the same militant and uncompromising manner begun by Alexander Berkman, but we were deported to Russia and could do no more for the imprisoned men. That Tom Mooney had to wait for 22 years for his resurrection is due entirely to the political wire-pulling which had been carried on on his behalf. But the main thing is that Tom Mooney is free. As I said, I rejoice in his liberation. I only wish my comrade had remained alive to share the happiness with me and with those who really remained staunch to Mooney and never wavered in his innocence.

In other words, it was primarily the tireless activities of Alexander Berkman and his resourcefulness which helped to save the life of Tom Mooney. More than any of the labour leaders who had refused to believe in Mooney's innocence and who 22 years later came to pay him homage, it was Alexander Berkman who all through the years held high the innocence and defence of Tom Mooney.

*Compiled from "Living My Life," by Emma Goldman).

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Trotsky protests too much. In Italian] Kronstadt, Trotsky e Trotskisti [Part 1] / Emma Goldman. — p. 2 ; 43 cm. In L'Adunata Dei Refrattari [New York]. — (March 4, 1939).

Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

Sabato, 4-Marzo 1939

L'ADUNATA DEI REFRAATTARI

scrittore la Coca-cola vecchia del popolo lavoratore. Sono gli azzardi che vanno per aria.

Non saranno questi gli ultimi sacrifici se i popoli non si considerano pronti a fare tabula rasa di tutti questi criminali che posano a Duci, a Dittatori e a Condottieri di popoli.

NINO NAPOLITANO

KRONSTADT, TROTSKY E TROTSKISTI

Ho davanti a me due numeri della rivista ufficiale di Trotsky, *New International*, di febbraio e aprile rispettivamente. Essi contengono articoli di John G. Wright, un trotskista al cento per cento, il quale pretende, insieme al suo pontefice Trotsky, che questi articoli costituiscano una confutazione delle accuse riguardanti l'affare di Kronstadt. Il Wright si limita a farsi eco della voce del suo padrone, e il materiale di cui si serve è tutt'altro che nuovo o risultato della sua personale conoscenza dei fatti del 1921. Preferisco quindi fare i miei omaggi a Leon Trotsky, il quale ha, se non altro, il dubbio merito di aver partecipato alla "liquidazione" di Kronstadt.

Pertanto, l'articolo di Wright contiene diverse menzogne che bisogna innanzitutto smentire ed io intendo farlo, prima di occuparmi del suo padrone.

John G. Wright pretende che la *Ribellione di Kronstadt*, di Alessandro Berkman, "non è altro che una ripetizione dei preunti fatti e delle interpretazioni degli S. R., con alcune alterazioni significative" (estratte da *La Verità sulla Russia*, in "Volia Rusia", Praga 1921).

Più avanti, l'autore accusa Alessandro Berkman di essere un "plagiario sfacciato; di fare, come suo costume, alquanto alterazioni insignificanti e di occultare le fonti vere di ciò che fa apparire come suoi apprezzamenti". Tutta la vita e l'opera di Alessandro Berkman lo hanno collocata tra i più eminenti lottatori e pensatori rivoluzionari, completamente dedicato al suo ideale. Coloro che l'hanno conosciuto possono far fede della sincerità dei suoi atti e della sua serietà e integrità di scrittore; e saranno certamente sorpresi di apprendere, dal Sig. Wright, che Alessandro Berkman era un "plagiario sfacciato" e che era "suo costume fare alterazioni insignificanti..."

I comunisti, portino l'etichetta di Trotsky o quella di Stalin, conoscono, in generale, gli scritti anarchici e i loro autori come, per esempio, la generalità dei cattolici conosce Voltaire o Thomas Paine. La sola supposizione che uno di essi conosca la posizione dell'avversario prima di vituperarlo, basterebbe a designarlo alla gerarchia comunista come eretico. Per questa sola ragione non credo che John G. Wright mentisca deliberatamente nei riguardi di Alessandro Berkman. Ritengo piuttosto che egli sia incommensurabilmente ignorante.

Alessandro Berkman ebbe sempre l'abitudine di tenere il suo diario. Anche durante i quattordici anni di purgatorio scontati nel *Western Penitentiary*, Alessandro Berkman trovò il modo di continuare il suo diario che mi mandava clandestinamente; e a bordo del "Buford" che ci trasportava nel suo lungo e pericoloso viaggio marittimo di 28 giorni, egli continuò a scrivere il suo diario conforme alla sua antica abitudine, e lo stesso fece durante i ventitre mesi della nostra permanenza in Russia.

Le *Memorie di Prigione di un Anarchico*, lavoro che i critici più conservatori hanno considerato degni di paragone con la *La casa dei morti* di Fiodor Dostoevski, fu compilata dal Berkman sulle note del suo diario. La *Ribellione di Kronstadt* e il *Il Mito Bolcevico* furono parimenti desunti dalle note che ogni giorno Berkman tracciava in Russia. Ciò basta per dimostrare quanto stupida sia l'accusa che il libro di Berkman su Kronstadt non è altro che una ripetizione di preunti fatti.

Parallela alla falsità di questa accusa che contro Alessandro Berkman fa il Wright, è l'altra con cui egli afferma che il mio vecchio compagno ha negato la presenza del generale Kaylovsky a Kronstadt.

Alla pagina 15 della *Ribellione di Kronstadt* si legge: «Bene, dubbio c'era a Kronstadt un antico generale che si chiamava Kaylovsky. Era stato Trotsky a mandarlo colà come artigiano specializzato; ma questo

generale non ebbe alcuna parte negli avvenimenti di Kronstadt". Questo fu affermato dallo stesso Zinoview nel tempo in cui si trovava all'apice della gloria. Nella seduta straordinaria del Soviet di Pietrogrado del 4 marzo, convocata per decidere le sorti di Kronstadt, Zinoview disse che "ora Kaylovsky è vecchio e non può far nulla, ma gli ufficiali bianchi lo appoggiano e traviano i marinai". Alessandro Berkman rilevò il fatto che i marinai non volevano alcuno degli antichi generali favoriti di Trotsky, né accettavano le offerte di vettovagliamento ed altri aiuti di Victor Tchernov il seguace degli S. R. dell'ala destra di Parigi.

I trotskisti considerano certamente come sentimentalismo borghese il permettere ai marinai il diritto di parlare per sé stessi. Io insisto che gli ostacoli creati ai propri avversari equivalgono ai condannati sistemi gesuitici, e che questo procedere ha più di ogni altra "sacra" tattica dei comunisti contribuito a disintegrare il movimento proletario.

Affinché il lettore sia in condizione di giudicare le malvagie accuse levate contro Kronstadt, e quel che avevano da dire i marinai stessi, riproduco l'appello che questi rivolsero ai lavoratori del mondo, il 6 marzo 1921.

"La nostra causa è giusta. Noi vogliamo che il potere sia dei Sovieti, non dei partiti. Vogliamo che le rappresentanze siano liberamente scelte dalla massa lavoratrice. I sostituti dei Sovieti, manipolati dal Partito Comunista, si sono sempre mantenuti sordi alle nostre necessità e alle nostre richieste. La sola risposta che abbiamo di quando in quando ricevuta venne dalla bocca dei fucili. Compagni, non soltanto essi vi ingannano, ma deliberatamente pervertono la verità, ricorrendo alle più spregiuvole calunnie. A Kronstadt tutto il potere è nelle mani dei soli lavoratori, marinai e soldati rivoluzionari, non nelle mani dei controrivoluzionari, diretti da alcuni Koslovsky, come vorrebbe far credere la radio menzogniera di Mosca. Non perdetevi tempo, compagni. Unitevi con noi. Mettetevi in contatto con noi. Esigete che si permetta ai vostri delegati di venire a Kronstadt! Essi soli potranno dirvi tutta la verità e rivelarvi quanto infame sia la calunnia del piano finlandese e delle offerte dell'Intesa. Vivano i contadini e gli operai rivoluzionari! Viva il potere dei Sovieti liberamente eletti!"

Cosicché, i marinai "capeggiati" da Koslovsky invitavano i lavoratori del mondo a mandare delegati a vedere se esistesse alcuna verità nella nera calunnia lanciata contro di loro dalla stampa sovietica.

Leon Trotsky si sorprende e si indigna che vi sia qualcuno che osa sollevare tanto clamore intorno alle cose di Kronstadt. Dopo tanto tempo trascorso... Infatti sono passati diciassette anni (1) e quelli non fu che un mero "episodio nella storia della relazione tra il proletariato urbano e la piccola città borghese". Perché deve esserci alcuno interessato a sollevare tanto chiasso, a tanta distanza, se non per "compromettere la sola corrente genuinamente rivoluzionaria", che non ha piegato un lembo della sua bandiera, che non ha patteggiato col nemico e che rappresenta l'avvenire? Il punto debole di Leon Trotsky non è stato mai il suo egoismo, conosciuto in tutta la sua vastità tanto dai suoi amici che dai suoi nemici. Dal giorno in cui il suo nemico mortale lo privò di tutto, fuorché della sua pallida, magra persona, l'importanza del nostro personaggio ha assunto proporzioni allarmanti.

Leon Trotsky si sente offeso dal fatto che vi sia chi ricordi l'"episodio" di Kronstadt, e faccia luce sopra la parte che egli stesso vi ebbe. Non si rende conto che coloro i quali lo hanno difeso, contro i suoi detrattori, hanno il diritto di chiedergli conto anche dei sistemi che impiegò quando era al potere e della maniera come si comportò verso coloro che non accoglievano i suoi dettami come verità evangelica. Ciò posto, era ridicolo sperare che egli si battesse la mano sul petto e dicesse: "Essendo umano, anch'io ho errato. Anch'io ho peccato, anch'io uccisi i miei fra-

telli o li feci uccidere". Soltanto i profeti sublimi e veggenti hanno raggiunto l'altarea di tanto coraggio. Leon Trotsky non è certamente uno di questi. Egli continua, invece, a considerarsi onnipotente in tutti i suoi atti o giudizi, e si agglia anatomici sul capo di chiunque osi insinuare lontanamente che, dopo tutto, anche la grande divinità Leon Trotsky ha piedi d'argilla.

Facendo la beffa delle prove documentarie lasciate dai marinai e da coloro che videro e udirono gli orrori di Kronstadt, li chiama "ideali falsi". Il che non gli impedisce, però, di assicurare i suoi lettori che le sue spiegazioni sulla ribellione di Kronstadt possono essere "documentate e illustrate con molte prove e documenti". Le persone intelligenti si domanderanno perché Leon Trotsky non abbia la decenza di produrre coteste "false etichette" onde metterle in grado di farne un'opinione esatta.

Persino nei tribunali capitalistici si concede agli accusati il diritto di presentare prove a propria difesa. Ma questo non è permesso con Leon Trotsky, il portavoce della verità unica e sola, colui che "non ha piegato un lembo della sua bandiera, né patteggiato col nemico".

EMMA GOLDMAN

(Continua)

L'ONERE DELLA PROVA

Uomini che militano nel movimento anarchico da decenni, scrivono che l'obbligo della prova spetta all'accusato, anziché all'accusatore. Un accettato basta che un individuo formuli contro un altro individuo un'accusa qualsiasi, senza averne di prova, perché l'accusato debba e possa essere considerato colpevole fino al momento in cui egli stesso non abbia dimostrata la propria innocenza.

I casi particolari a cui questo principio viene applicato sono meno importanti del principio stesso. Il principio veduto questo principio invocato da anarchici, che dovrebbero essere i difensori di tutte le conquiste del passato e i perseguitati del presente, diritto dell'arresto. Con questa affermazione essi accolgono una concezione giuridica che è l'opposto di quella che essi stessi si vantano di rappresentare. Anarchici — se poi si può dire — al tempo autodori, a Roma, giacché fin dal tempo di Roma si acquista alla l'onore della prova — quasi prebendi — imputando a colui che inizia l'azione, nel caso nostro, all'accusatore.

Questo principio deriva dall'altra, secondo cui i membri della società si da ritenere innocenti finché non sia stato dimostrato colpevole, che è il fondamento stesso di ogni convivenza sociale. Non esiste società dove ciascuno dei componenti non si conformi a determinate norme di rispetto verso gli altri, e per converso non esiste società dove ciascuno dei componenti non sia dagli altri ritenuto degno di apprezzamenti. Non è che non sia dimostrato che un è indegno. L'obbligo di dimostrare tale indegnità incombe su colui o su coloro che la preannunciano.

Da questo principio derivano i diritti della difesa, che incombono dopo che l'accusatore ha opposto i fatti su cui egli fonda la sua accusa. In alcune non esiste un fatto, come calunnia. La difesa dell'accusato incombe quando egli imputa i fatti con cui l'accusatore viene giustificato, ma perché tali fatti siano imputati o, se possibile, smentiti, occorre che siano supportati. L'accusatore deve cioè dare le "prove" della sua accusa.

Non sempre, nella storia della giurisprudenza, sono queste norme rispettate; ma quando non lo sono — e ciò avviene ancora spesso — gli uomini buoni della giustizia, e gli anarchici si fanno merito di esserne all'avanguardia, protestano, lottano, agitano la coscienza del popolo contro l'arbitrio, denunciano la tirannia che viola i più elementari diritti dell'uomo, si ribellano appunto per costringere i poteri costituiti a rispettare quello che da millenni viene considerato come un diritto fondamentale dell'umanità. L'indignazione suscitata nel mondo dai processi contro i Martiri di Chicago, contro Mooney e Dillies, contro Francisco Ferrer, contro Sacco e Vanzetti — per non citare che alcuni esempi — era volvente in parte determinata da questa non l'idea che questi uomini profittavano per la maggior parte con invece determinata dal fatto che i loro accusatori non avevano provato le colpe di cui erano accusati, e che le autorità erano ricorse a mezzi illeciti per farli condannare.

L'anarchismo ripudia la giustizia borghese, la giustizia dello Stato, ma non ripudia il concetto stesso della giustizia. L'anarchismo si avvale spedito sul concetto di giustizia, e ripudia la giustizia amministrata dallo Stato solo perché la trova insufficiente, viziosa, depravata da interessi partii.

(1) Questo articolo fu pubblicato nel numero 2 della rivista "Times" di Barcellona (Agosto 1939) col titolo: Emma Goldman: Leon Trotsky protesta: Denunciato.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Trotsky protests too much. In Italian] Kronstadt, Trotsky e Trotskisti [Part 2] / Emma Goldman. — p. 3 ; 43 cm. In L'Adunata Dei Refrattari [New York]. — (March 11, 1939).

Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

Sabato, 11 Marzo 1939

L'ADUNATA DEI REFRAATTARI

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nale indige a quel popolo generoso, per mano del governo francese, quello che i compagni di la giustamente chiamano il colpo di grazia degli accampamenti all'aria aperta, sulla terra nuda, in pieno inverno, del regime strangolatore della fame e del freddo.

D'altronde, che cosa volete che se ne faccia la borghesia francese di quel mezzo milione di rivoluzionari indotti che non hanno voluto morire sotto la mitraglia di Hitler e di Mussolini e, contro la decisione della diplomazia capitalista, non intendono sottemettersi a Franco? Non può che desiderare di respingerlo al di là della frontiera, o... di farla perire con le privazioni e le intemperie invernali.

Ed è questo appunto che sta facendo, togliendo ai senza esitazioni la maschera democratica e umanitaria.

KRONSTADT, TROTSKY E TROTSKISTI

(Vedi N. precedente)

E' permesso di comprendere tanta mancanza di elementare decenza in un John G. Wright, il quale, come ho detto, non fa che citare dalle sacre scritture bolsceviche. Ma per una figura di carattere mondiale come Trotsky, sopprimere le prove dei marinai mi pare segno di carattere assai meschino. Il vecchio proverbio che il lupo perde il pelo ma non il vizio, può benissimo applicarsi a Leon Trotsky. Il calvario sofferto durante gli anni dell'esilio, la tragica perdita dei suoi antichi compagni, non gli hanno insegnato nulla. Non un bagliore di gentilezza o di sentimento umano ha cambiato lo spirito asfissio di Trotsky.

Quanto più angosciato della più forte voce dei vivi è talvolta il silenzio dei morti! Le voci strangolate a Kronstadt sono veramente aumentate di volume in questi diciassette anni. E' forse per questo che Trotsky ne torna a sentire gli echi?

Leon Trotsky cita Marx dicendo "che è impossibile giudicare la gente e i partiti in base a ciò che essi dicono". E' patetico che egli non comprenda quanto questo può applicarsi a lui medesimo. Nessuno degli altri scrittori bolscevichi è pervenuto a tenersi in posizione prominente o a fare tanto incessante rumore alla parte presa nella Rivoluzione e nel dopo Rivoluzione, come Trotsky. In base a questo criterio del suo grande maestro, tutti gli scritti di Trotsky sarebbero privi di valore, ciò che è naturalmente assurdo.

Se ricordando i motivi che determinarono la sollevazione di Kronstadt, Leon Trotsky scrive: "Dai vari fronti lo mandai decine di telegrammi in merito alla mobilitazione di nuovi reggimenti "di fiducia", formati da lavoratori di Pietrogrado e da marinai della squadra del Baltico, ma già nel 1918 e, in ogni caso, non più tardi del 1919, i fronti incominciarono a lagnarsi di "quelli di Kronstadt" per essere esigenti, indisciplinati e non potersi fidare di loro, perché facevano più male che bene". Più avanti, nella stessa pagina, Trotsky accusa che, "quando le condizioni si fecero critiche per l'alimentazione di Pietrogrado, il Bureau Politico disse ripetutamente la possibilità di ottenere un prestito interno da Kronstadt, dove ancora esistevano viveri in quantità; ma i delegati dei lavoratori di Pietrogrado risposero essere impossibile ottenere alcun che da loro con le buone maniere. Essi speculano con gli oggetti di vestiario, col carbone e col pane. A Kronstadt, in questo momento, tutti i decreti hanno rialzato il capo". Per quanto bolscevico sia l'assassinare gli oppositori, non lo è meno il diffamarli. Da Marx a Engels, come da Lenin a Trotsky a Stalin, si è sempre seguito lo stesso metodo.

Quello non lo si può testimoniare che cosa fossero i marinai di Kronstadt nel 1918 o nel 1919. Io non arrivai in Russia che nel gennaio del 1920. Da quel tempo fino a quando Kronstadt fu "liquidata", i marinai della squadra del Baltico furono prelati esempio di valore e di indomito coraggio. Più di una volta io ho udito, dalle labbra non soltanto di "anarchici, bolscevichi e socialisti rivoluzionari" ma di molti comunisti, che i marinai erano la spina dorsale della Rivoluzione. Il primo maggio del 1920, durante la celebrazione della giornata ed altre cerimonie, assistetti in omaggio alla prima delegazione di lavoratori inglesi, i ma-

rinai di Kronstadt presentarono un forte ed attraente contingente ed erano segnalati come parte dei grandi eroi che avevano salvato la rivoluzione dalle mani di Kerensky, e Pietrogrado da quelle di Yudenich. Durante la celebrazione dell'anniversario di Ottobre, i marinai erano di nuova nelle prime fila, e la loro apparizione, in marcia davanti al Palazzo d'Inverno, fu freneticamente acclamata dalle masse che lo occupavano interamente.

E' possibile che tutti i membri influenti del Partito, ad eccezione di Trotsky, ignorassero lo stato di corruzione e di demoralizzazione che egli attribuiva a Kronstadt? Io non lo credo. Dubito anzi che Leon Trotsky non abbia trovata questa opinione dei marinai di Kronstadt che nel Marzo del 1921. La sua storia deve, d'altronde, essere stata pensata poi. O sarebbe semplicemente una maniera di giustificare l'assenza "liquidazione" di Kronstadt?

Pur concedendo che il personale avesse subito un cambiamento, rimane tuttavia il fatto che quelli di Kronstadt erano senza dubbio diversi dal come li dipingono Trotsky e i suoi turiferari. La verità è nel fatto che i marinai furono condannati esclusivamente a causa della loro profonda solidarietà coi lavoratori di Pietrogrado, la resistenza dei quali a sopportare il freddo e la fame aveva raggiunto il limite con la dichiarazione di diversi scioperi nel febbraio del 1921. Perché non accennano a questo fatto Leon Trotsky e i suoi seguaci? Leon Trotsky sa benissimo, anche se Wright lo ignora, che la prima scena del dramma di Kronstadt si svolse a Pietrogrado il 24 febbraio e i protagonisti non ne furono i marinai, ma i lavoratori scioperanti. Fu in quel giorno che gli scioperanti sfogarono la loro collera, accumulata contro l'atroce indifferenza degli uomini che avevano tanto chiacchierato della dittatura del proletariato e che da tempo l'avevano convertita nella dittatura implacabile del Partito Comunista.

Ecco come Alessandro Berkman registra, nel suo diario, gli avvenimenti di quella giornata storica:

"I lavoratori delle officine Trubotchny sono scesi in sciopero. Si lagano che nella distribuzione del vestiario invernale i comunisti sono indebitamente preferiti a quelli che non appartengono al partito. Il governo rifiuta di prendere in esame l'ingiustizia finché gli operai non siano tornati al lavoro.

"Gruppi di scioperanti si sono riuniti nelle strade adiacenti alle officine e sono stati mandati soldati per disperderli. Questi erano Kuznetsov, cioè giovani comunisti dell'accademia militare. Non c'è stata violenza.

"Ora i lavoratori dei cantieri navali e quelli dei moli Galeraya hanno fatto causa comune con gli scioperanti. L'atteggiamento arrogante del governo ha suscitato molto risentimento. Si tenta di fare una manifestazione di strada ma la cavalleria la sopprime.

Soltanto dopo le comunicazioni del suo Comitato sulle vera situazione dei lavoratori di Pietrogrado, fece Kronstadt quel che aveva fatto nel 1917. L'azione compiuta dai marinai nel 1917 era stata acclamata come orgoglio rosso e gloria della Rivoluzione. La loro identica attitudine del 1921 fu denunziata davanti al mondo come tradimento contro-rivoluzionario. Naturalmente, nel 1917 Kronstadt aveva aiutato i bolscevichi a mettersi in sella; nel 1921, invece, esigevano che fossero riconosciute le false speranze suscitate nelle masse, e protestavano contro la violazione della grande promessa ripudiata non appena i bolscevichi si sentirono sicuri al potere. Delitto abominabile, veramente. Se non che il carattere fondamentale di questo delitto consiste nel fatto che Kronstadt non si "ammutinò" senza ragioni giustificissime. Queste ragioni erano profondamente radicate nei lavoratori russi, nelle loro sofferenze, il proletariato della città.

Secondo Trotsky — non il contadino imberghesito, per esser chiari. Poiché egli ci assicura che "i contadini si erano ricongiunti con le requisizioni istituite, come un male temporaneo" e che essi "approvavano i bolscevichi mentre si accentuava la loro ostilità verso i comunisti". Questa affermazione è falsa, come può dimostrarsi con molte prove, non ultime delle quali, la liquidazione dei soviet dei contadini, capeggiata da Maria Spiridonova, e il fuoco e la mitraglia usati per costringere i contadini a consegnare i loro prodotti, e persino le armi, per il nuovo raccolto.

In omaggio alla verità storica, il contadino odiava il regime quasi fin dal primo momento, con tanta maggior ragione che la consegna di Lenin "rubate ai ladri", era stata pervertita in quella di "rubate ai contadini per la gloria della dittatura comunista".

Leon Trotsky afferma che i marinai di Kronstadt, nel 1919, non avrebbero dati i loro viveri "generosamente", e che la bontà non si sarebbe manifestata in alcuna maniera. Effettivamente il vocabolo "bontà" non esiste nel gergo bolscevico. In ogni modo, eccoli questi marinai demoralizzati, speculatori incalliti, ecc., far causa comune, nel 1921, col proletariato della città, invocando, con la loro prima petizione, l'eguaglianza nei razionamenti. Che gente villana, cotesta di Kronstadt!

I lettori troveranno alla fine dell'articolo la risoluzione di quelli di Kronstadt. Fu scritta sotto i bombardamenti dell'artiglieria bolscevica. E non v'è dubbio che ogni parola dimostra la sincerità di propositi di coloro che finirono per essere schiacciati dalla macchina mortifera della dittatura.

Entrambi gli scrittori avversi a Kronstadt, danno grande peso al fatto che i marinai non premeditarono la ribellione, ma si riunirono il primo marzo per discutere sul modo di venire in aiuto dei loro compagni di Pietrogrado, e conclusero col costituirsi essi stessi in Comitato Rivoluzionario Provvisorio. La risposta a questo la dà lo stesso John G. Wright, quando scrive che "non si può escludere affatto che le autorità locali di Kronstadt contribuirono a complicare la situazione. Non è segreto per alcuno che Kalinin, senza parlare del commissario Kuzmin, non era molto considerato da Lenin né dai suoi colleghi... In quanto alle autorità locali, o non seppero valutare in tutta la sua gravità il pericolo o furono incapaci di prendere le misure appropriate ed efficaci per dominare la crisi, e in questo senso i loro errori contribuirono allo sviluppo degli avvenimenti...".

La ragione che Lenin non avesse stima per Kalinin o per Kuzmin è una vecchia pazzia bolscevica per scaricare ogni responsabilità su qualche testa di turco, onde far sì che le teste direttive appaiano con purezza di giglio.

Le autorità locali di Kronstadt "prevaricarono" evidentemente. Kuzmin attaccò violentemente i marinai, minacciandoli di conseguenze terribili. I marinai sapevano che si dovevano aspettare minacce di quel genere. Non potevano pensare altro, se non che, se a Kuzmin e a Vassiliev fosse consentito di agire, la prima cosa che avrebbero fatto sarebbe stata di ritirare le armi e i viveri da Kronstadt. Questo fu ciò che indusse i marinai a costituire il loro Comitato Rivoluzionario Provvisorio. Un altro fattore determinante fu la notizia che ricevettero del Comitato di trenta marinai che, recatosi a Pietrogrado per conferire con quei lavoratori, era stato arrestato dalla Ceka, che gli impediva il ritorno a Kronstadt.

Entrambi gli scrittori fanno castelli di carta coi rumori che circolarono nella riunione del primo marzo, intorno al fatto che un cannone, pieno di soldati armati di tutto punto, procedeva su Kronstadt. Wright non ha mai vissuto nell'atmosfera asfissiante della dittatura. Io l'ho vissuta nei momenti in cui ogni possibilità di contatto umano è divenuta impossibile; nei momenti in cui ogni pensiero umano deve restare imprigionato nel cervello che lo origina, senza possibilità di esprimersi; e quelli sono i momenti in cui tutti i rumori assumono proporzioni enormi. Inoltre, durante il mio soggiorno a Mosca e a Pietrogrado, si vedevano frequentemente, sulla strada, camioni carichi di soldati e di agenti della Ceka, che eseguivano rotte, seppellendo la notte nel loro impaccio, la pesca ottenuta. Con la tensione prodotta dalla riunione staccata, in seguito alle minacce del discorso di Trotsky, era perfettamente naturale che si desse credito ai rumori.

(Continua)

EMMA GOLDMAN

NOTA

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LA REDAZIONE

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[Trotsky protests too much. In Italian] Kronstadt, Trotsky e Trotskisti [Part 3] / Emma Goldman. — p. 2 ; 44 cm. In L'Adunata Dei Refrattari [New York]. — (March 18, 1939).

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L'ADUNATA DEI REFRAATTARI

proprio, e l'idea "non fa nulla agli altri" che non vorrebbe che fosse fatto a se stesso".
Cio' dimostra che la Chiesa fondata in nome e per il trionfo del Cristianesimo, non ha fatto e non continua a fare i suoi milioni di misfatti e di fedi in un solo secolo.

Non rappresento la più colossale ipocrisia politica dell'ideale cristiano, come ogni partito politico rappresenta il tradimento politico dell'ideale sociale che pretende di servire.

GOLD GRAY

KRONSTADT, TROTSKY E TROTSKISTI

(Conclusione del numero precedente)

Le notizie dell'insurrezione di Kronstadt, date dalla stampa di Parigi una settimana prima che questa avvenisse, furono sfruttate nella campagna contro i marinai come prova positiva che essi erano gli strumenti della camarilla imperialista, e che la rivolta era stata incubata a Parigi. Ma era troppo evidente che la panzana era stata odita per ereditare quelli di Kronstadt agli occhi dei lavoratori.

Veramente, questo anticipo di notizie fu analogo ad altre informazioni di Parigi, Riga e Helsingfors, le quali raramente coincidevano, eppure vi hanno mai coinciso, con quanto veniva propagato dagli agenti della contro-rivoluzione nelle capitali europee. D'altronde, avvenivano nella Russia sovietica molti fatti che avrebbero rallegrato il cuore dell'Intesa, se fossero stati conosciuti, tanto erano dannosi per la rivoluzione russa, ed erano opera della dittatura dello stesso Partito Comunista. Uno di questi fatti, per esempio, fu la creazione della Ceka, che fu una delle conquiste di Ottobre e che, già nel 1921, aveva intaccato come tumore maligno il corpo della Rivoluzione. Altri fatti analoghi avvenivano che non è qui il caso di segnalare.

No, le notizie anticipate della stampa di Parigi non avevano alcuna relazione con la ribellione di Kronstadt. In realtà, nessuno credette nel 1921 a Pietrogrado, che vi fosse un'insurrezione dei marinai, e i comunisti nella loro maggioranza. Come ho già detto, John G. Wright non è che un pupillo ammestrato di Leon Trotsky, e affatto ignaro di quel che la maggior parte della gente, dentro e fuori del partito, pensava di questo preteso "anello" di congiunzione.

Gli storici dell'avvenire apprezzeranno al suo giusto valore l'"ammutinamento" di Kronstadt. E quando l'avranno valutata arriveranno senza dubbio alla conclusione che la rivolta non avrebbe potuto prodursi con maggiore opportunità se fosse stata deliberatamente preparata.

Il fattore principale che decise le sorti di Kronstadt fu la N. E. P. Ben sapendo quanto fosse considerabile l'opposizione che questa nuova impresa "rivoluzionaria" avrebbe dovuto incontrare nel partito, Lenin aveva bisogno dell'esistenza di qualche grande pericolo, onde ammantare l'opposizione e preparare l'acettazione della N. E. P. La situazione di Kronstadt non poteva presentarsi in momento più opportuno. Tutto il meccanismo travolgente della propaganda fu subito messo in moto per provare che i marinai erano vincolati ai governi imperialisti, e a tutti gli elementi contro-rivoluzionari, allo scopo di distruggere lo Stato Comunista. Ciò produsse, come arte magica, risultati fantastici. La N. E. P. fu imposta senza ostacolo di sorta.

Però la manovra terribile richiese tempo. I trecento delegati, il fiore della gioventù comunista mandati dal decimo Congresso del Partito Comunista a domare Kronstadt, non furono che un manipolo delle migliaia di uomini criminalmente sacrificati. Essi andarono alla mischia con l'animo convinto che fosse verità ciò che non era che campania di diffamazione. E quelli che ebbero salva la vita ebbero un bon triste risveglio.

Nella mia delusione, ho narrato l'intera storia del disastro, e ho raccontato l'intero colloquio, ad onta degli anni passati, e ho pensato del suo valore.

"Molti dei feriti nell'attacco contro Kronstadt furono portati allo stesso ospedale. Erano in maggioranza Kuranti. Ebbi occasione di parlare con uno di essi. Le sue sofferenze fisiche mi dissero, erano nulla in confronto della sua agonia spon-

tale. Aveva troppo tardi compreso che era stato tratto in inganno dal grido di contro-rivoluzione. A Kronstadt non c'erano né generali, né aristocrazia, né guerrieri bianchi; egli non aveva visto che compagni, marinai, e soldati che avevano combattuto eroicamente per il trionfo della Rivoluzione.

Nessuno, che abbia un grano di senso comune, troverà somiglianza tra la N. E. P. e la petizione dei marinai di Kronstadt, per stabilire il libero scambio dei prodotti. La N. E. P. veniva a restaurare i grandi mali che la Rivoluzione Russa aveva cercato di estirpare. Il libero scambio di prodotti tra gli operai e i contadini, tra il campo e la città, costituiva la stessa ragione d'esistere della Rivoluzione. Naturalmente, gli anarchici erano contro la N. E. P. Ma il libero scambio, come mi diceva Zinoviev, già nel 1920, "non entra nel nostro piano di centralizzazione". Il povero Zinoviev non poteva certamente immaginare quanto orribile sarebbe stato il frutto della centralizzazione del Potere.

Fu l'idea fissa della centralizzazione, dittatoriale, quella che venne a determinare, fin da principio, la divisione tra la città e la campagna, tra gli operai e i contadini, e non, come Leon Trotsky pretende di farci credere, "perché gli uni sono proletari" e gli altri "piccoli borghesi", poiché la dittatura paralizzò l'iniziativa degli uni e degli altri: quella del proletariato cittadino e quella del piccolo borghese della campagna.

I marinai commisero effettivamente una ingenuità, pensando che i soviet potessero liberamente vivere a fianco della dittatura. Il soviet libero cessò di vivere di buon'ora, insieme alle unioni operaie e alle cooperative, essendo l'uno e l'altro assorbiti dall'ingranaggio della macchina comunista. Io ricordo benissimo che Lenin mi disse, con grande soddisfazione: "Il vostro grande vecchio, Errico Malatesta, è d'accordo col nostro sovrano". Al che io risposi subito: "Se intendete il soviet libero, anch'io lo approvo, compagno Lenin". Lenin portò un altro argomento alla conversazione, ma io non tardai a scoprire la ragione per cui il soviet libero aveva cessato di esistere in Russia.

John G. Wright cerca di dimostrare che non vennero state difficoltà a Pietrogrado fino al 22 febbraio. In ciò concorda col confusione non qui tratta il resto del materiale del suo "storico" partito. Il malcontento e il malessere dei lavoratori era già notevole al momento del nostro arrivo. In tutte le industrie da me visitate, potei osservare un malcontento pronunciato e risentito, perché la dittatura del proletariato era stata convertita in una dittatura oppressiva del Partito Comunista, con tutti i suoi ragionamenti e tutte le sue recriminazioni. Se il malcontento dei lavoratori non esplose prima del 1921, si deve solamente al fatto che i lavoratori si acquietavano tacitamente alla speranza che, liquidati i fronti, sarebbero adempite le promesse della rivoluzione. Fu Kronstadt che scoppiò l'ultimo inganno.

I marinai di Kronstadt cercarono di prendere posizione a fianco dei lavoratori malcontenti. Invocarono l'adempimento delle promesse della Rivoluzione: "Tutto il potere ai soviet". La dittatura politica aveva assaggiato la dittatura del proletariato. Questa, e questa sola, era stata la loro offerta al sacro spirito bolscevico.

Leon Trotsky fu del sarcasmo. Di fronte alla accusa che egli fu il 1800 marinai. No, egli non eseguì quel misfatto sanguinoso. Egli incaricò il suo luogotenente Tukachevsky di eseguire la sua minaccia di annientare "come agnelli". Tukachevsky eseguì l'ordine alla lettera. Il numero dei morti fu enorme, e quelli che scapparono all'incantesimo attacco della artiglieria bolscevica, furono consegnati a Dibenko, famoso per il suo "umanitarismo" e per la sua giustizia. Tukachevsky e Dibenko, gli eredi o salvatori della Dittatura! Si direbbe che la storia abbia una maniera tutta sua di fare giustizia! (3)

LEON TROTSKY, JOHN G. WRIGHT E GLI ANARCHICI SPAGNOLI

Durante i quattro anni della guerra civile in Russia, gli anarchici appoggiarono i bolscevichi quasi senza eccezione, quantun-

(1) Tukachevsky e Dibenko, e loro soldati, sono stati liquidati da Stalin.

que aumentasse giorno per giorno la loro convinzione che il collasso della Rivoluzione era inevitabile. Essi si ritennero in dovere di tacere e di evitare qualunque atteggiamento che potesse essere interpretato come appoggio al nemico.

Per certo la Russia ebbe a combattere su molti fronti, contro molti nemici, ma in nessun momento si trovò la sua Rivoluzione in condizioni così disuguali come quelle in cui si trovano, in Spagna, gli Anarchici e la Rivoluzione, di fronte ai loro nemici. La minaccia di Franco, sostenuta dalla solidità e dai materiali italo-tedeschi, l'estensione alla Spagna delle benedizioni di Stalin, la cospirazione delle potenze imperialiste, il tradimento delle cosiddette democrazie e la generale apatia del proletariato internazionale, superano enormemente i pericoli da cui si era veduta circondata la Rivoluzione russa. Ora, che fa Trotsky di fronte a così terribile tragedia? Egli si unisce alla canoa tumultuosa, confidando che il suo pugnale avvelenato colpisca nella parte più vitale. L'anarchismo spagnolo, nel suo momento più critico.

Gli anarchici spagnoli hanno veramente commesso un grande errore. Hanno dimenticato di invitare Leon Trotsky a prendere la direzione della Rivoluzione, onde dargli agio di ripetere in terra di Spagna i successi ottenuti in Russia.

Leon Trotsky tenta di ascrivere un altro trionfo, quando domanda: "Come e dove sono stati confermati in pratica i grandi principi anarchici, qualunque siano stati parzialmente e come tendenza applicati?" Come tutte le carte che ha giocato nella sua vita, questa carta non dà a Trotsky partita vinta. Ad onore del vero, le tendenze e i principi anarchici sono stati confermati in Spagna. Parzialmente, d'accordo. Ma come poteva essere diversamente, con tutte le forze che cospirano contro la Rivoluzione spagnola? Il lavoro costruttivo compiuto dalla Confederación Nacional del Trabajo e dalla Federación Anarquista Iberica, e qualche cosa a cui non si pensò nemmeno, nel regime bolscevico, in tutti gli anni, durante i quali Trotsky fu al potere, e la collettivizzazione della terra e delle industrie spagnole, e senza dubbio una delle superiori affermazioni che si siano mai compiute in qualunque periodo rivoluzionario. E, più ancora, anche se Franco trionfasse e gli anarchici spagnoli fossero affogati nel proprio sangue, l'opera incominciata continuerebbe lo stesso. Le radici dei principi anarchici, sono così profonde nel suolo spagnolo, che non potranno mai essere strappate. Dove e quando ha Trotsky piantato la sua bandiera, che dice di non aver mai compromesso col nemico, e di rappresentare la avvenire rivoluzione dell'avvenire, ad un livello pari all'esempio che danno a gli uomini e le donne di Spagna, ridotti a combattere con le spalle al muro?

EMMA GOLDMAN

BRONX, N. Y. — Domenica, 19 Marzo 1939, ore 4, p. m. Al Van Nest Recreation Hall, 475 Van Nest Avenue, Bronx, N. Y. — La Filodrammatica Moderna rappresenta verso la Notte, dramma in tre atti di propaganda antisittica del Dottor Nieple, Brunori, ind. ballo. I compagni faranno bene ricordarsi la data per evitare probabile coincidenza con altre iniziative. Il ricavo sarà devoluto pro Colonia L'Adunata ed esuli di Spagna. Direzione: — Prendere Lexington Express e scendere alla stazione E. 180 Street e Morris Park Avenue, Bronx.

N. B. — Il numero iniziativa della lotta comunista che la "Colonia dell'Adunata" non esiste più così l'atto della serata verrà dato tutto per i bisogni urgenti dei compagni nostri.

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LA REDAZIONE

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Tom Mooney's resurrection. In Italian] Chi ha liberato Mooney? / Emma Goldman. — p. 4 ; 44 cm. In L'Adunata Dei Refrattari [New York]. — (April 1, 1939).
Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

L'ADUNATA DEI REFRAATTARI

Sabato, 1 Aprile 1939

NEL MONDO DEL LAVORO

Le Paraffine Companies, Inc. di San Francisco e di altri luoghi, fino a Philadelphia ad oriente, e fino all'Australia ad occidente, conducono un prospero commercio in materiali per tetti, pareti, vernici, ecc. ecc. Due anni fa il presidente William Herman Lowe, di queste compagnie "Pabco", rimase meravigliato nel sentire che i suoi operai, da lungo tempo tra i meglio pagati e meglio trattati, esprimessero, nonostante, il desiderio di entrare in un'unione "esterna". Invece di opporsi, il presidente sciolse l'esistente "company union" e "ordinò" (required) ai suoi 1500 operai di San Francisco e Oakland, Calif., di entrare nella unioni dell'A. F. of L. e del C. I. O. con le quali ha stipulato contratti.

Personale che la ditta Pabco aveva miserabilmente fallito nella missione di persuadere i propri operai della bontà dei suoi prodotti e dei suoi sistemi, provvide a rimediare. Tra le altre cose pensò che la ditta doveva istituire una scuola a beneficio degli operai unionisti. La settimana scorsa, 24 studenti, istruttori di storia del lavoro, economia, amministrazione, legislazione sociale ed altre materie interessanti egualmente i padroni e i lavoratori, furono diplomati dalla scuola Pabco.

Il direttore del C. I. O. sulla costa del Pacifico, Harry Bridges, trovò a tal punto soddisfacente questa scuola, che uno dei suoi incontinenti si è interessato a far sì che vi si iscriveranno funzionari delle unioni di mestiere di San Francisco. L'insegnamento fu impartito da due istruttori della Università di California (pagati insieme dallo Stato e dal Dipartimento federale degli Interni). Il presidente della Pabco disse: "Noi dobbiamo riconoscere alle unioni il loro merito... Non solo esse hanno aumentata l'efficienza della nostra fabbrica, ma ci aiutano a vendere i nostri prodotti. Ecco quel che abbiamo guadagnato a intenderci con loro".

Fin qui la rivista TIME del 27. II. 1938.

Questo piccolo racconto storico dimostra che contrariamente a quanto affermano i fanatici del Vapitalismo e i fanatici dell'unione, l'unione non è solamente compatibile con gli interessi del capitale, ma può anche diventare un anello efficace di tali interessi. Dimostra altresì quanto pericolosi siano coloro che vorrebbero deportare Harry Bridges come sovversivo pericoloso. Il presidente della ditta Pabco se l'intende col Bridges e vi tiene l'interesse della sua ditta.

Unione è una parola, una parola che, come tante altre, solleva entusiasmi e odii altrettanto fanatici.

L'unione di mestiere (il sindacato) non è un'istituzione dalla forma, dalle basi e dagli scopi fissi. Dal bolcevismo al fascismo, passando per tutto lo fasi del regime democratico liberale, tutti gli Stati e tutti gli ordinamenti economici trovano il modo di conciliarsi con l'esistenza dell'unione di mestiere. In Russia come in Italia, in Germania come in Francia, come in Inghilterra e negli Stati Uniti, l'unione di mestiere (o il sindacato) è un'istituzione riconosciuta, più o meno alleata dello Stato, più o meno serva docile del regime economico.

L'unione serve la dittatura e la democrazia, il capitalismo di Stato e il capitalismo privato. Come anche la rivoluzione, e come sempre si tengono, per quanto non ancora risolutivamente dimostrata, la rivoluzione.

Non basta quindi che l'unione esista per qualificare i lavoratori che da essa si lasciano assorbire. Bisogna vedere quale sia il contenuto ideologico dell'unione. Bisogna vedere quali siano i suoi programmi, come risolvano i problemi inerenti agli interessi contingenti

e remoti, materiali e morali, economici e politici dei lavoratori che vi aderiscono.

Certo l'unione americana, in generale, quella che tanto entusiasmo solleva nel cuore capitalistico del presidente della ditta Pabco, l'unione che si insegna l'infelice principio di conciliare gli interessi dei lavoratori con quelli del padrone, e di promuovere lo smercio dei prodotti che appartengono a quest'ultima, non può essere che una povera intrisa degli interessi dei lavoratori, e una valida colonna dell'esistente ordine economico e politico.

L'unione intermediaria presso i lavoratori degli interessi del capitale e dello Stato, è un'istituzione nemica del progresso, insidiatrice delle aspirazioni emancipatrici del proletariato — è un organo del dominio capitalistico, tanto più insidioso e nefasto in quanto i lavoratori, che lo mantengono, non indotti a crederlo invece strumento di difesa dei loro interessi presenti e futuri.

Il presidente della ditta Pabco dev'essere un furbiacchione matricolato. Come il Presidente Roosevelt, egli ha compreso che l'esistenza di una vasta burocrazia unionista indistrutta al controllo delle masse lavoratrici dispensa lo Stato da grandi eserciti armati in servizio di ordine pubblico, e le aziende capitalistiche dalla necessità di assoldare legioni di sbirri privati per proteggere fabbriche, officine e magazzini.

L'OPINIONE DEI COMPAGNI

NEW YORK CITY. — Se mi è permesso, desidero aggiungere anch'io la mia opinione a quella che tanti compagni e gruppi hanno già espressa.

Il fatto che i calunniatori del nostro movimento hanno tanto fatto per averci con loro, dimostra che essi stessi credono alla infamia che pubblicano. La questione è quindi di sapere se un gruppo più o meno numeroso di compagni, i quali, pur dicendo di essere anarchici, non pretendano di essere tutto lo anarchismo, abbia il diritto di svolgere la sua attività di propaganda, di agitazione e di assistenza senza essere tenuto a fondersi con altri gruppi o individui coi quali, a torto o a ragione, non intendano fondersi o confondersi.

Io credo che questo diritto esista. Noi siamo un certo numero di compagni che intendiamo lavorare insieme per rendere possibile la pubblicazione dell'Adunata, l'assistenza alle nostre vittime, l'edizione di libri e opuscoli, la propaganda delle idee alle quali fondamentalmente tutti sottoscriviamo.

Nessuno ha il diritto di proibircelo. Nessuno ha il diritto di costringerci a modificare il nostro criterio di cooperazione. Nessuno ha il diritto di pretendere da noi contatti e relazioni che non vogliamo contrarre. E tutto questo perché l'anarchismo è proprio fondato sul principio che soltanto le associazioni volontarie e di affinità sono legittime.

Noi non chiediamo nulla a nessuno che non senta l'utilità e l'opportunità dell'opera che insieme svolgiamo; e non intendiamo partecipare ad alcuna forma di attività che consideriamo inutile, inopportuna o dannosa, così come non intendiamo associare la nostra opera a quella di persone che, per una ragione o per un'altra, non ci garbano. Non è neanche necessario che queste ragioni siano plausibili per gli altri; basta che lo siano per noi, poiché la libertà di associazione consiste proprio in questo: nella facoltà per ogni individuo di scegliere i propri collaboratori, e di rifiutare la propria collaborazione a chi non gli garba.

Questo mi pare che intendesse la redazione dell'Adunata, quando dichiarava di preferire la morte del giornale stesso a contatti che, a suo avviso, l'avrebbero diminuito.

I molti compagni e gruppi che in condizioni di assoluta libertà e spontaneità, si sono espressi, hanno dimostrato di consentire in tale ordine di idee. E questo, a loro volta, per essere in grado di "dittatura" redazionale.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF. — Siamo a conoscenza della lurida calunniosa campagna condotta contro l'Adunata e il suo redattore. Mentre non troviamo parole abbastanza forti per qualificare i detrattori, ci solidarizziamo completamente con l'Adunata nella posizione che ha assunta di fronte al feroce attacco di cui è bersaglio.

"Mani" (Vol. 7 — No. 3, March, 1939)

CHI HA LIBERATO MOONEY?

Fu Alessandro Berkman a concepire l'idea di un manifesto rivolto ai lavoratori, ai soldati e ai marinai russi, in favore di Tom Mooney e Warren K. Billings. Il manifesto fu consegnato ad una delle più valorose donne anarchiche che fossero venute in America; Louise Berger, che, insieme ad altri del nostro gruppo, partivano per la Russia dopo la rivoluzione del Febbraio, 1917.

Qualche tempo dopo, ricevuta dalla Russia notizie importanti, i marinai di Kronstadt avevano proposto, e un grande consiglio aveva approvato, una risoluzione invocando l'arresto di Mr. Francis, Ambasciatore degli Stati Uniti in Russia, il quale doveva essere tenuto in ostaggio fino a che non fossero liberati i condannati di San Francisco, e lo stesso Berkman (del quale la California domandava l'estradizione dallo Stato di New York). Una delegazione di marinai armati si recò alla sede dell'Ambasciata americana di Pietrogrado per eseguire la risoluzione. La nostra vecchia compagna Louise Berger fece da interprete. Mr. Francis accennò solennemente la delegazione che doveva sicuramente trattarsi di un errore e che la vita di Mooney, Billings e Berkman non correva alcun pericolo. Ma i marinai insisterono, e Mr. Francis, alla loro presenza, mandò a Washington un cablogramma promettendo di adoperarsi presso il governo Americano allo scopo di ottenere la liberazione dei prigionieri di San Francisco.

La minaccia dei marinai ebbe senza dubbio effetto presso l'Ambasciatore e sul Presidente Wilson, e il risultato fu che quest'ultimo pervenne a perorare il Governatore della California a commutare la sentenza di morte pendente sul Mooney, nella reclusione a vita. Dovette inoltre riuscire a farsi ascoltare dal Governatore Whitman dello Stato di New York, consigliandolo ad essere cauto nel decidere l'estradizione di Alessandro Berkman alla California.

Durante i due anni della nostra prigionia, per aver posto opposto la guerra "Frital" continuò il nostro lavoro in pro di Tom Mooney e Warren K. Billings. Alla Russia e organizzammo una "conferenza" a Chicago, a cui presero parte tutti i leaders unionisti, ma dovete scoprire che i politici delle unioni erano troppo occupati a far deviare l'agitazione in favore di Mooney. Ci sorprese che c'era un'esasperante mancanza di unità in favore di uno sciopero generale per Mooney e Billings. Inoltre, c'era il tentativo premeditato di mettere in sordina l'agitazione in loro favore. Si volevano adottare i sistemi "diplomatici". La partecipazione degli anarchici era indesiderabile e doveva essere scoraggiata. Gli anarchici erano stati i primi a gettare l'allarme sui processi di San Francisco. Alessandro Berkman vi si era interamente dedicato mettendolo in pericolo persino la vita. Ora si voleva eliminare gli anarchici e la loro attività dall'agitazione. Non era la prima volta, né sarebbe stata l'ultima, che gli anarchici erano scottati per salvare dal fuoco le castagne altrui; ma se Billings e Mooney fossero stati liberati, — noi ci saremmo considerati soddisfattissimi. Noi eravamo fin da principio fiduciosi che se l'agitazione fosse continuata nel modo vigoroso e intransigente con cui Alessandro Berkman l'aveva iniziata, Mooney sarebbe stato liberato. Ma noi fummo deportati in Russia, e non potemmo fare altro per i condannati.

Si deve completamente al sistema a cui si ricorre, di tirare i fili politici, se Tom Mooney dovette aspettare per 22 anni la sua liberazione. (That Tom Mooney had to wait 22 years for his resurrection is due entirely to the political wire-pulling which had been carried on in his behalf. . . .)

In altre parole, fu prima di tutto l'opera di influenza e di manipolazione di Alessandro Berkman che contribuì a salvare la vita di Tom Mooney. Più di qualunque leader unionista, che non volle credere all'innocenza di Mooney salvo a recarsi poi, 22 anni dopo, a rendergli omaggio, fu Alessandro Berkman che durante tutti quegli anni tenne in alto la bandiera dell'innocenza e della difesa di Tom Mooney.

EMMA GOLDMAN
("Revolt", 25-II-1939)

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Emma Goldman, Anarchist, Crazy About Cathedrals / Emma Goldman. — 29 cm. In The Toronto Star. — (April 22, 1939).

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Toronto Star April 22/39

EMMA GOLDMAN, ANARCHIST CRAZY ABOUT CATHEDRALS

Hitler and Mussolini Merely
Puppets—Advises People
Shake Shelves

HELPING REFUGEES

Emma Goldman, heading into her 70th year, still talking anarchy in her deep, throaty voice, her home still in her suitcase, arrived in Toronto last night, this time to fight a battle for Spanish refugees.

Gray hair peeping from under her hat, a grim smile still arriving on her features exactly at the moment photographers' bulbs flashed, Emma seemed to have changed not a whit since last she was in Toronto fighting battles for birth control.

She doesn't look like an anarchist, "the mother of anarchy in America." When cameras are not around, her smile is gentle and friendly. She never did care much about clothes, but when she got off the train last night in her soft felt hat and neat ulster, umbrella in hand, spectacles perched above rosy cheeks, she looked like anyone's kindly grandmother.

Her mission to Toronto is to lecture, this time to arouse sympathy for Spanish refugees.

She has been in Spain on three trips in the last three years.

"I am here for two things," she said. "I want to put the English-speaking people straight on what is happening in Spain, to tell them the Spanish struggle is by no means finished, and also to arouse interest in the frightful conditions of the Spanish refugees."

Communists, "not the real Communists but the kind that Russia produces," were responsible, she declared, for the collapse of the Spanish government's struggle. That, she said, and starvation and the assistance lent by dictators to the rebel forces.

Blames Sabotage

"They (Communists) tried to establish their methods, but the Spanish people are not pliable, and they undermined everything the people did."



EMMA GOLDMAN

Real Communists, says Emma Goldman, are not "extremists."

"There are no Communists in Russia," she declared. "They are just opportunists. In Spain they claimed to belong to the anti-Fascist front, but they only wanted to impose their own dictatorship."

Russia is one of the many countries that won't admit Emma Goldman. She fled from there in 1919, when deported "home" by the United States, after a bitter quarrel with the Soviet leaders.

"Hitler and Mussolini. Who are they?" she asked and then answered. "Just puppets and if the people would only shake themselves, they would fall off and they would be free of both tyranny and war."

Imprisoned When 24

In 1918 she was imprisoned and then deported from the United States to Russia. She was used to prisons by then.

"The first time," she recalled last night, "was when I was 24. I went to prison then for supporting some strikers. Then the next time—it was just for two weeks, was for talking birth control. Then the next time was in 1919. . . ."

"But you've seen inside palaces too?"

"Hmmp." snorted the rugged, stocky little woman. "Lots of them. But I didn't find them especially interesting. I like cathedrals, though. I think some of the cathedrals in France and Spain are marvellous."

Though she visited United States in 1934, under amnesty granted by President Roosevelt to all who had demonstrated against participation by the United States in the great war, she doesn't believe she will be allowed to return again this year.

"Times have changed some since then," she said. "I don't think they will be as likely to welcome again Emma Goldman the anarchist."

In Toronto For Summer

She plans to stay in Toronto for the summer, and will celebrate in August her 50th anniversary as an anarchist. As an anarchist, she has never advocated violence, she claims. She urges people to learn to govern themselves. She has not been discouraged, she declared, for all the rise of fascism.

"To me it is just a passing phase in the social struggle. I am not discouraged because I measure the world in historic events."

She was born in Russia and was 14 years old when she first worked in factories there at \$1.50 a week. A year later she went in the United States and first won the attention of authorities when she led a factory workers' strike when she was 20.

Since then she has popped up here and there almost everywhere in the world. She has been married twice, last time just before she entered Canada in 1926 as a British subject, newly married to James Colton, a Scottish mine worker. He died, she said last night, just two and a half years ago.

"If you had it to begin all over, would you still choose so hard a life?" she was asked.

Emma Goldman smiled. She tucked a gray hair under her hat, adjusted her gold-rimmed spectacles.

"I would never take the easy way," she said. "I think if I have had any experience at all, if I have accumulated anything in my long struggle it is that I am temperamentally unfitted for what you call the easy way. No. I'm still going on."

FRIDAY, MAY 19,

Anarch

Emma Gold

A short, stout woman in a silk dress, bobbed hair, thick glasses, sat in a room of a tourists' hotel, and as she rocked forth in her chair, chosen words, blasted fascism, democracy and

She was Emma Goldman, known as "the mother of anarchy in America," deported in 1919 to Russia after 247 other alleged anarchists. She arrived last month on a British passport, will speak at 8:30 o'clock in Dom Polski, Langlois streets, Windsor, on "Spain?"

Considering her 70 motherly demeanor, circumstances of an urban bedroom, by all story this should have been Goldman broken in spite of a misused life, eat out to cross the river, represented by the illegals, Detroit, visible through the elm trees outside

THE SAME EMMA

But it wasn't. It Emma Goldman, unflinching in spirit, still convinced that the and prosperity of man only through abolition parties and governmenting society in communist and economic organization still maintaining that socialism must be achieved means.

"We are in a period declared Miss Goldman know how long it will world has been in such

EMMA GOLDMAN THE

"All political throats—more blood savage against common enemies. This respect is Soviet Republics process of extermination in and out engaged in whole.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Stalin Was Real Judas in Spain, Speaker Says / Emma Goldman.— 9 cm. In The Evening Telegram [Toronto]. — (April 28, 1939).

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THE EVENING TELEGRAM, TORONTO, FRIDAY, APRIL 28, 1939

Stalin Was Real Judas In Spain, Speaker Says

**Spaniards Defeated But
Not Conquered, Asserts
Miss Emma Goldman—
Speaks Here**

The people of Spain have been defeated but not conquered, although they were betrayed by the democracies and the Communist party, Emma Goldman, 70-year-old workers' crusader, told an audience in the Oddfellows' Temple last night.

After having spent several months in Spain during the revolution, the veteran lecturer brought to her listeners a first-hand picture of the Spanish scene. She arrived in Toronto a few days ago direct from Europe.

"The Spaniards are a proud people and are still fighting for their own freedom," she declared. "They're not Germans who bow before the sight of brass buttons."

It shouldn't be surprising, she said, that England and France betrayed the Spaniards as the two countries had large holdings in the natural resources of Spain which they were afraid would fall into Communist hands. On the other hand, the speaker pointed out, Stalin did not

wake up to the fact that he had had a chance to establish a Russian government in Madrid until three months after the war started. All the so-called aid which came from Russia, she said, was sent with one purpose—not to overthrow Franco, but to establish a Communist stronghold in Spain.

RAP FOR CHAMBERLAIN

The French capitalists, Miss Goldman declared, had great fortunes invested in Spain and it would be ridiculous to have expected Leon Blum, the French premier, to have done anything else but betray Spain. "It wasn't at all surprising that M. Blum was the first to sign the non-intervention pact at the behest of England," she declared.

She termed Chamberlain "the spokesman for the Bank of England." "Naturally they preferred Franco to the Loyalists," she said.

The Spanish people, she affirmed, were the first to take a stand against the terror and spread of Fascism in July, 1936. No one, save the Spaniards, she declared, had the fortitude

to move against Hitler.

By accepting the policy of non-intervention the democracies of the world demonstrated that they would rather have Franco than the Spanish people.

"The democracies knew that Franco might be bought off and would recognize the holdings of England and France in Spain," the speaker pointed out. "Representatives of labor and trade unions in England supported the policy of non-intervention at the start but when they found out its vicious workings they asked questions of Mr. Chamberlain. But that's all they did—ask questions. The leaders of the labor groups knew how to hold their masses in check."

"Mr. Atlee and Mr. Greenwood know how to put a damper on the ardor of the labor people so far as Spain was concerned," Miss Goldman declared. "From Stalin's point of view he knew that if he could establish a Communist stronghold in Spain he would be able to force France and England to his terms."

RUSSIA SENT OLD GUNS

She revealed that Stalin had sent practically useless and out-moded tanks, machine guns and rifles to Spain for Spanish gold. In addition to arms he sent his Gestapo police "who confiscated passports from the boys of the International brigade and threw scores of them in prison."

"The moment Stalin put his iron hand into the Spanish situation he undermined the forces of the Loyalists and sacrificed the chances of the Spanish people in their war against Fascism."

She said that "not a single can of milk" ever reached Catalonia because of the undermining efforts of the Communists in that section of the country.

"The real Judas Iscariot is Stalin and he will have to answer for his destructive work in the anti-Fascist struggle," the speaker declared firmly. "In the last stages of the struggle Negrin became like pulty in the hands of the Communists. It was with the aid of Negrin that Franco was successful in conquering the

revolutionary forces.

"Now the struggle is over, the Spanish people are under the yoke of Franco but there is a comeback for the people of Spain—and none for the Communist party. The day is fast approaching when Italy and Germany will be demanding their share of the dividends of Spanish soil. The imperialists will have to watch out."

If the democracies of the world had risen to stop the Fascist invasion of Spain, she suggested, Mussolini and Hitler wouldn't be so brave in marching on helpless countries to-day.

"What should Canada do now in the face of events in Europe?" she was asked.

"There is no more principle involved in the coming war than there was in 1914," the speaker replied. "The English-speaking people should take a stand against it. As the old gentlemen make war they should be sent first to the front lines. I would oppose it even if it means going to prison."

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Again, We Are Celebrating the First of May] / [Emma Goldman]. — [1939 May?, draft]. — 2 p. ; 31 x 22 cm.

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Again we are celebrating the first of May, ~~Again we are~~ marching in parades and singing songs. ~~Again we are~~ listening to pretty speeches of politicians and labor leaders. And again we shall go home contented that we have done right by our workers conscience and celebrated the workers holiday. But is this the purpose of the First of May?

2

Now did the workers of the world follow the example of those who gave their lives in the workers cause? If they ~~had~~ we would have no glorious butchery of ten million men, the flower of our manhood in the last war. Our masters called it the war to end wars. But we know now that it was the war to start wars. Millions of workers were led by their so called "Socialist" leaders to give their young lives for the benefit of their masters and rulers. And where do we stand now after the war to have the world for democracy has been won?

Most of Europe is under the iron hell of dictatorships. The masses of the workers who have been trained to blindly follow their leaders were unable to fight back when the Mussolinis and Hitlers swooped down upon them like birds of prey. The well-disciplined masses of the vote-casting workers remained helpless when their "great" leaders capitulated or deserted them. And the situation in the countries that have not yet succumbed to open Fascism is not much better.

In Great Britain after that magnificent show of labor strength and solidarity in the General Strike of 1926 anti-labor laws have been enacted. Millions of workers have been "living" on the dole. And now they have ~~been~~ a boom. The unemployed have been put to the useful manufacture of murder gas, poison gases and bombing aeroplanes. This is the State and Capitalism way of solving the problem of unemployment. First, they stopped the workers from creating the goods necessary for life. Then they keep the workers in idleness feeding them on crumbs. And when the workers began to grumble they are put to digging their own graves; they are put to the manufacture of arms that will silence the grumblers and make of the living but fools the workers "glorious death". That is the State and Capitalism's idea of "law and order".

In France we have "workers" government supported by the Socialists and Communists. The small gains of last summer's great strike wave are being taken away from the workers by the old trick of raising the cost of living. During those strikes the politicians ~~xxx~~ coined a new slogan for the French workers "the police is with us". And thousands of workers were repeating that slogan believing it true. But then came the tragedy of Clichy. In the evening of March 16th five workers were killed, eighty seriously wounded and three hundred lightly wounded, all because they dared to demonstrate against a Fascist provocation. That was the bloody answer of the police to the workers call "La police avec nous". That is the Popular Front government's idea of fighting Fascism.

But in Spain the workers did not follow the labor politicians. There the workers are fighting Fascism under the Anarchist and Anarcha-Syndicalist red and black banners of the CNT, FAI. There a genuine united front has been created; not a united front by politicians for the purpose of serving the foreign diplomacy of one country or another, but a fighting unity on the battle front against international Fascism and a constructive unity in the rear for the building of a new, free society without rulers and exploiters, without a state and capitalism. And not only international ~~but~~ ~~also~~ homegrown Spanish Capitalism—being afraid that their rights to exploitation are being taken away from them once and for all—are beginning to throttle the victorious revolution of the Spanish masses. But those heroic masses who know how to fight the foreign supported Fascists, will also know how to fight their own Capitalists, no matter what protective coloring they may have adapted.

We are being told that here in Canada, prosperity is back again. Stock gamblers are cashing in on our future dead of the next war. The barons of industry are harvesting millions of dollars from the sweat and toil of the Canadian workers. Many of these millions go across the border to "foreigners". All this happens within the regulations of "law and order". But when the workers organize, as is the case in Oshawa, to demand a ~~share~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~crumbs~~ from the rich tables laden with wealth produced by the workers

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Again, We Are Celebrating the First of May] / [Emma Goldman]. — [1939 May?, draft]. — 2 p. ; 31 × 22 cm.

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then the cry of "foreign agitators" is raised. ~~Yes, we~~ the creators of all wealth, ~~the supporters of all society~~, become a menace to "law and order". Yes, our masters will grant us our "democratic" rights when it comes to elections. They know that as long as we are using our "powerful" slips of paper, nothing is threatening their privileges. But when we use direct action, our collective strength and strike for higher wages, then our bosses tell us that we have overstepped our "democratic" rights.

The lesson to be derived is clear and simple. Our strength lies in the field of economics, in the factories, in the workshops, in the mines, and not in the lobbies of Parliaments or on the steps of city halls.

Therefore fellow workers, let us mark this first of May by the realisation that organization in the economic field is our only effective weapon against war and its creator the state, against Capitalism and its offspring Fascism. Let us show on this First of May our determination to rebuild society on the basis of Free Socialism, on the basis of Libertarian Communism, on the basis of Anarchism.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Anarchist Then—And Now / Emma Goldman.— 19 cm. In The Detroit News. — (May 19, 1939).

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FRIDAY, MAY 19, 1939.

THE DETROIT NEWS

Anarchist Then—and Now

Emma Goldman in Windsor, Keeps Faith

By RUSSELL BARNES

A short, stout woman in a brown silk dress, bobbed grey hair and thick glasses, sat in an upstairs bedroom of a tourist home in Windsor, and as she rocked back and forth in her chair, in beautifully-chosen words, blasted communism, fascism, democracy and capitalism. She was Emma Goldman, once known as "the most dangerous woman in America," who was deported in 1919 to Russia, along with 247 other alleged revolutionaries. She arrived last month in Canada on a British passport to lecture, and will speak at 8:30 o'clock tonight at Dom Polak, Langlois and Ottawa streets, Windsor, on "Who Betrayed Spain?"

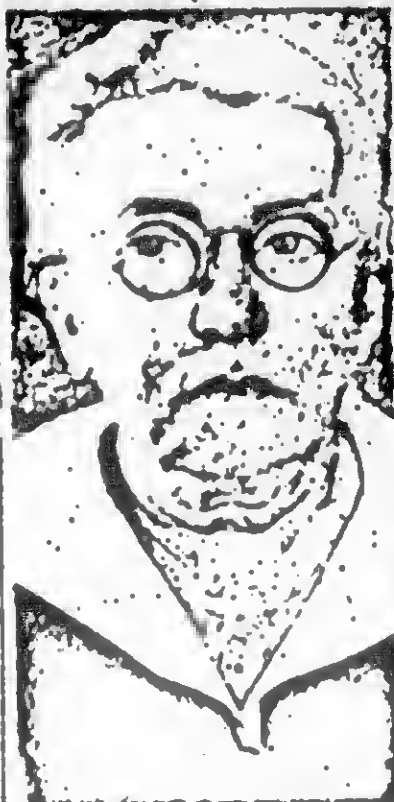
Considering her 70 years, grandmotherly demeanor, and the circumstances of an upstairs tourist bedroom, by all story-book maxims this should have been an Emma Goldman broken in spirit, repentant of a misused life, sating her heart out to cross the river to the America represented by the lighted towers of Detroit, visible through the branches of the elm trees outside the window.

THE SAME EMMA

But it wasn't. It was the old Emma Goldman, unrepentant, staunch in spirit, virilic of tongue, still convinced that the happiness and prosperity of mankind can come only through abolishing political parties and governments, and rooting society in community cultural and economic organizations. And still maintaining that she has always preached that her type of anarchism must be achieved by peaceable means.

"We are in a period of reaction," declared Miss Goldman. "I don't know how long it will last. The world has been in such periods be-

fore, and has come out of them. My faith in anarchy is unshaken. I think that the behavior of modern imperialistic governments and their leaders will help convince the mass



EMMA GOLDMAN

of people that chances for happiness and prosperity do not lie with political parties and political governments. And like Lincoln I do not believe that you can fool the people all the time.

"I believe now that another world war is inevitable, although I think

it could have been stopped last year without a shot. If the democracies had not surrendered Czechoslovakia and Spain.

NOT MUCH CHOICE

"But in a war between modern democracies and the fascist powers, I do not believe that it makes much difference for the people involved who wins. The only difference is the difference between being shot and hanged.

"Modern democracy is only fascism in disguise. The liberties of the people are being constantly curtailed. The latest example is censorship in England. And, of course, the present preparation of another imperialistic war. The people always lose in such wars.

"Communism is finished. It has failed in Russia, and set back the attainment of true socialism. Stalin sold it out, and now is throwing the resources of Russia to support of bourgeois capitalism. If Stalin had stayed out of Spain, I think the Spanish people would have won. Franco's rebellion would have become demoralized and collapsed.

SEES FRANCO'S FINISH

"The Spanish people paid dearly in gold and blood for Russian help. The Russians tried to establish their terrorist regime in Spain, and the people came to hate communists more than they did fascists.

"But Franco will not last long. He is trying to use German terrorist methods on the Spanish people, and the Spanish people won't take it the way the Germans did. Franco is not only faced with deep-rooted opposition of the people, but also disunion in his own ranks.

"Are you going to try to enter the United States?" Miss Goldman was asked.

"No," she replied. "I have not applied and, judging by the Dies committee and other evidences of reaction in the United States, I doubt if they would let me in. But the United States is still my country as much as an anarchist can have a country."

WPA expenditures in New York City of 1938 were \$164,838,164

EMMA GOLDMAN on "POLITICAL PARTIES" in THE DETROIT NEWS, Oct. 10, 1934

"All political movements are at each other's throats—more bitter, vindictive and downright savage against each other than against their common enemies. The most unpardonable offender in this respect is the so-called Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. Not only is it keeping up a process of extermination of all political opponents in and outside its territory, but also is engaged in wholesale character assassination."

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Emma Goldman, 70, Holds Fast to Anarchy / Emma Goldman. — 29 cm.
In [The Detroit Times?]. — (May 19, 1939).

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Emma Goldman, 70, Holds Fast to Anarchy



EMMA GOLDMAN

"The most dangerous woman in the world," now 70 years old, today is in a small tourist home in Windsor, still hopeful that the world will reach the state of anarchy she has been seeking for the last 50 years.

Emma Goldman has despaired of communism. She despises fascism and has no faith in democracy. She is anti-everything except anarchism.

"The cause of anarchy has been strengthened by the failure of the democracies," Miss Goldman said.

SPAIN BETRAYED

"The collapse of the Communist government in Spain strengthens our cause. The forces of liberty were on the

with kid gloves," Miss Goldman said. "We do not preach the theory of violence, but we do not believe in fighting violence by temperate measures."

Miss Goldman was brought to Canada by the Libertarian Group, an organization of anarchists.

"The Libertarians are not really an organization," she

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SPAIN BETRAYED

"The collapse of the Communist government in Spain strengthens our cause. The forces of liberty were on the way to victory in Spain. They were defeated not because their ideas were not good, but because the Loyalist government was betrayed by the democracies."

Miss Goldman predicted the downfall of Franco in a very short time, saying:

"As long as there is a single revolutionary left in Spain there will be an uprising against the reactionary victors of the war. You can't keep the Spanish people down. They are not like the Germans, who put up no fight against Hitler. They are born champions of freedom."

BARRED FROM U. S.

The woman whose presence in the United States was considered so menacing that she was deported in 1919, still is barred from this country. Across the river she spoke on "Who Betrayed Spain" at a rally in Dom Polski Hall.

"I still consider the United States my country," Miss Goldman said. "I spent more than half my life and all my formative years there. It is the most progressive country in the world."

"Anarchy will win, but not

with kid gloves," Miss Goldman said. "We do not preach the theory of violence, but we do not believe in fighting violence by temperate measures."

Miss Goldman was brought to Canada by the Libertarian Group, an organization of anarchists.

"The Libertarians are not really an organization," she said. "We do not believe in organization. It is impossible to tell how many members there are as there are no dues paid and no lists of members."

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] They Called Her Dangerous. "Red Emma" Goldman Stumps for Anarchy / Emma Goldman. — pp. 5, 20 ; 29 cm. In *The Windsor Star*. — (May 19, 1939).

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They Called Her Dangerous



MRS. EMMA GOLDMAN

'Red Emma' Goldman Stumps For Anarchy

Social Revolutionary Predicts War And
Regards Rebellion as Only
Alternative

By DOUGLAS MACFARLANE

EVERYTHING'S red about Emma Goldman but her hair

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Social Revolutionary Predicts War And
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By DOUGLAS MACFARLANE

EVERYTHING'S red about Emma Goldman but her hair. She isn't a Communist. She isn't a Fascist. As a matter of record, she condemns both. But she is a philosophical Anarchist who became known as "Red Emma" on both sides of the Atlantic because of her constant preaching of a social revolution.

SPEAKING TONIGHT

She's preaching in Windsor at the Dom Polski Hall tonight and will answer her topic question: "Who Betrayed Spain?" for those who would know.

Emma isn't a big woman—physically. It can be truthfully said that the first impression she conveys on introduction is a trifle disappointing. Her hair is gray and straight. Her face is plain. Her eyes are covered with thick-lensed glasses.

Her face is lined. Her mouth holds some of the bitterness that marked her early life. She is 69 years old and beginning to show it.

But Emma Goldman is a human dynamo if there ever was one. She talks with the sureness and rapidity of a woman who for decades has made others listen. Her finger-tips grasp of international affairs seems unlimited. She has theories which, although they may be labelled far-fetched and seditious to the nth degree, are definitely thought-provoking.

FORD CASE RECALLED

Henry Ford once sued a Chicago newspaper for \$1,000,000 because an

editorial described him as an Anarchist. Mr. Ford's definition of an Anarchist from the witness stand was a "bomb thrower." He was given judgment for exactly six cents.

Emma makes no bones about being an Anarchist but she is equally definite about her opposition to this business of bomb-throwing and the like. She stoutly denies—and always has denied—that she is an advocate of violence. But she predicts with no more trepidation than a weather bureau hands out the "probs" that the world is going to see violence aplenty and it's going to see it pronto.

Sitting in the quiet of a tourist home on Ouellette avenue, Miss Goldman—who has been married twice—stated simply but with a conviction that could not go unrecognized:

"War, world war, seems inevitable. There is only one alternative to world war and that is rebellion. But I believe that this world war will come

CONTINUED ON PAGE TWENTY
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'Red Emma' Goldman Stumps For Anarchy

Social Revolutionary Predicts War And Regards Rebellion as Only Alternative

CONTINUED FROM PAGE FIVE
THIS SECTION

before the peoples of this world move with potent force against government.

HAS WRITTEN ON "SPAIN"

"I am still writing. My most recent work is 'Spain.' I went to Spain in 1936 and travelled extensively in the country. I went back to England to lecture on behalf of the anti-Fascists in Spain. And then returned to Spain in 1937 and stayed there on into 1938.

"The Spanish struggle was one of the most marvellous and really great epics this world has ever seen," the king-pin Anarchist asserted. "The Spanish peasants were first to rise against Fascism as the people of Germany and Italy have not done.

"Hitler and Mussolini had it easy compared to Franco. Franco would never have been able to win the Spanish war like he did had it not been for the help of the democracies and Italy and Germany. I say the help of the democracies because Franco was definitely assisted by means of the Non-Intervention Pact.

"England and France held off and in so doing they showed both poor statesmanship and a selfish interest in their own country.

"Certainly Germany and Italy are waiting to collect their spoils in Spain. And when they do it will bring England and France to war. All this business of Chamberlain's appeasement has been a farce. The appeasement was merely because England was not prepared for war.

REVOLUTION AS ALTERNATIVE

"But just so long as they are prepared, the English will not try to appease the impossible. And the only alternative to war seems to be revolution.

"I am opposed, and always have been, to imperialistic wars. I went to prison in 1917 because I was. I have not been convinced of the failure of the so-called peace that was brought about by the Great War. And I shall oppose war.

"War today is merely a scramble for power and loot, with the people

paying the price more so now than in 1914-18."

There you have the typical Emma Goldman continuity on the kaleidoscope of world affairs. She appears to be at home on any subject of universal interest that you may pull out of the hat. Her opinions may not tie in with the accepted Canadian feeling but there is a possession of knowledge that demands a degree of acceptance.

TALKS ON ROYAL VISIT

Regarding the popular topic—the royal visit to Canada—the Russian Jewess coincides with opinion held in many circles.

"Obviously there is a definite reason for the King and Queen coming to Canada. It is not news to say that England is preparing for war. And England sees definite need of support from her dominions. The royal visit is undoubtedly a move aimed to cement the British Empire into greater unity.

"And behind the move is that one word which the world has come to fear but which the world is coming to expect—war."

Miss Goldman's theories, in general, have been known for many a year in many a country. She declaims the need for organized government, provided mass intelligence is sufficiently trained. She does not admit that government holds society together but rather asserts that the binding force is industrial and cultural effort.

EXPLAINS HER THEORY

Hence, instead of being governed, people should learn to govern themselves—in the manner of a co-operative or syndicate, is her claim. But, in her own words, she makes it very plain:

"We don't believe in foisting anything on any country. Any change must take place from within. Otherwise, it is a grievous mistake. In social and economic conditions arise where millions are without work and suffer a drab and miserable life, they will arise from within.

"Why do I lecture? Why do I travel through Canada? Why do I travel through those countries that will admit me?

"Because people are so burdened with their worries and troubles that they have no time to think of action to remedy them. I and others with me, merely awaken them. We do not force any violent change upon them. The change must come from the soil and needs of the country.

"That is what happened in Spain at the time of the revolution. That was merely a bursting of forces that had accumulated.

"My definition of revolution is nothing else but the bursting point of the accumulated, evolutionary forces that have preceded it."

OPINION OF FASCISM

In expressing the Goldman opinion of Fascism, this 69-year-old native of Russia provided much food for thought. The mere question: "What do you think of Fascism?" brought an unhesitating 10-minute prediction of the downfall of Fascists and their

Germany and other countries where it is a force.

"Representatives of the capitalistic system believe that Fascism will bolster the debris of the system—foolishly, because it won't. In putting labor in a straitjacket and throttling culture, Fascism cannot hope to continue. Temporarily? Yes. But in no way permanently.

"The people do and will rise against it. There is unrest in Fascist countries now. Fascism leads to its own defeat. War or revolution? I think war first. But I also think that in some countries, war will end with revolution.

OPRESSED "RISE UP"

"I am afraid that revolution is the only alternative to war. When the people are oppressed and rise up, there is no way of stopping them. And the democracies, by reason of the existence of Fascism, are forced to become more reactionary.

"England, with its fear and panic of the Fascists and its new war measures, is placing such restrictions that mark a terrible decline in the political liberties that England has enjoyed. It is a vicious circle. One thing leads to another. The only solution that I offer is the social awakening of the masses, all people who create."

Touching on more personal subjects, Miss Goldman stated that she expected to conduct a coast-to-coast lecture tour of Canada during the next 10 months. Following her visit to Windsor, she will return to Toronto and mark time there until autumn when she will head for the Pacific Coast.

"I expect to continue lecturing as long as I am physically and mentally

bitter. She wrote that her father, Abraham, frequently beat her and she worked for small pay in a factory making gloves and shawls.

For a time the family lived in Rochester, N.Y., and there, in February, 1887, she married Jacob Kersner. She has written that she never quarrelled with him but that she was going through "a tremendous spiritual upheaval and he did not follow." The "upheaval" was her definite conviction

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"In Fascism, I see the last attempt to bolster the capitalistic system," she said. "International finance, all manufacturers of arms, all large industrial interests have backed Fascism in Italy.

Germany and other countries where it is a force.

"Representatives of the capitalistic system believe that Fascism will bolster the debris of the system—foolishly, because it won't. In putting labor in a straitjacket and throttling culture, Fascism cannot hope to continue. Temporarily? Yes. But in no way permanently.

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"I expect to continue lecturing as long as I am physically and mentally able," she observed. "If my voice fails me, then I will have to turn solely to writing. I have only written four books but I have turned out innumerable pamphlets, articles for both magazines and newspapers."

"BRITAIN MY COUNTRY"

"Great Britain is my country. I am one of His Majesty's subjects," she went on, with a wry smile. "I have the distinction of being the first American citizen to be robbed of citizenship for deportation. That was in 1919. I was re-admitted to the United States for three months in 1934 by special amnesty of President Roosevelt."

Miss Goldman explains that she is a very poor sleeper and seldom does she give in to the "sand man" for more than four hours. She has acquired the habit of reading or writing until 4 and 5 a.m. and this, in itself, accounts for her brief rest periods.

"You know, I really need six hours sleep to be half-way human but I seldom get it," she advised. "Do I eat very much. I eat very, very extensively."

When it comes to reading, the Anarchist leader plays no heavy favorites but does show a slight preference for modern biographies. She is extremely fond of plays and has lectured extensively on the theatre and drama.

The matter of finance holds few worries for Miss Goldman. When she was lecturing in the United States, she netted as much as \$6,000 per year but turned a large share of it back into a magazine she was publishing.

AIDED BY FRIENDS

When she is on tour, she stays with friends and she has thousands of them throughout the world. Her largest expense is postage as her correspondence is a job in itself. Her passage to Canada from England was contributed by Canadian friends. When she was in the United States, her women friends "rigged" her out from head to toe.

Money is merely a means to an end to Emma.

Born in Kovno, Russia (now in Lithuania), June 27, 1869, Miss Goldman went to the United States when she was 15 years old. Her childhood, she has indicated in her memoirs, was

bitter. She wrote that her father, Abraham, frequently beat her and she worked for small pay in a factory making gloves and shawls.

For a time the family lived in Rochester, N.Y., and there, in February, 1887, she married Jacob Kersner. She has written that she never quarrelled with him but that she was going through "a tremendous spiritual upheaval and he did not follow." The "upheaval" was her definite conversion to Anarchistic philosophy, largely because of her reaction to the hanging of the Chicago Haymarket bombers.

RECORD IN NEW YORK

She went to New York City, joined a young radical group on the lower East Side and obtained a job in a factory. She quit when refused a raise in pay. In 1888, she helped lead a strike of factory girls.

For making speeches "urging revolution, violence and bloodshed" in connection with the Debs Railway strike in 1893, she was arrested in New York and served seven months on Blackwell's Island. Part of the time she was in the dungeons because of trouble with the head matron.

On September 6, 1901, Leon Czolgosz shot President McKinley at Buffalo, N.Y. In his confession, the assassin said he had been influenced by the writings of Emma Goldman and by some speeches he had heard her make in Cleveland. She was arrested in Chicago and questioned for two weeks.

She was released without prosecution but 18 years later, in December, 1919, after serving a short prison term for obstructing the World War draft, she was sent to her native Russia. She soon fell out with Soviet leaders, denounced Bolshevism as tyranny, and has spent the years since wandering restlessly about Europe, always casting a longing eye toward American shores.

She is still wandering but has returned to Canada.

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Terms Reds 'Traitors'

Communists Irked

With a strong-arm squad of "wobblies" on hand to quell Communist-provoked disorder, Emma Goldman last night branded Stalin and his Soviet regime the arch-betrayers of the Spanish people.

Storms of applause and scattered jeers greeted "Red" Emma as she addressed an audience of 350 in Dom Polski Hall.

Flatcuffs threatened to mar the meeting when Bert Levy, Windsor veteran of the Spanish War, clashed with a member of the 12-man delegation sent by a Detroit I. W. W. union to assure order during the giny-haired Anarchist's address.

Disorder flared when Alan Clark, a young Detroitier with a bright red f. w. w. button in his lapel, spoke up during a question period following Miss Goldman's talk:

"How is it that the Communists come back from the Spanish war so healthy they can get up and talk, when the Anarcho-Syndicalists are all shot to h—l?"

Levy, who related he was released from hospital only last week after treatment for wounds suffered in the Spanish struggle, didn't like the remark and emphatically said so.

"Keep your yap shut or you'll get your teeth knocked down your throat!" was his angry cry.

Trouble was in the air. The two men were only a few feet apart. Levy stood up in the audience. Clark was on the sidelines. Heated language came from Levy.

Keen resentment on behalf of members of the International Brigade was voiced by Levy. He pointed to the number of Spanish war victims who lost limbs or eyesight.

An outburst of booing from the audience followed.

But the tension eased when the short, stout woman on the platform who boasts half a century of militant Anarchism appealed for freedom of speech. The crowd quieted.

"I suggest this friend of yours, Miss Conditum, go to the hospitals in Toronto and see men without legs, or arms or eyes," Levy called.

The disturbance was over and the Windsor man sat down with a parting shot at the Detrouer—"keep quiet. . ."

At a meeting in Detroit, members of Metal Machine Union No. 440, Industrial Workers of the World, voted to send a 12-man delegation to prevent Communists from disturbing Miss Goldman's meeting, Branch Secretary Ralph Verlaime said.

"We were ready to go into action and throw them out if they got rough," Verlaque added. "We wobbled a try to help the Anarchists."

Clark explained he meant no slight to the International Brigade in the remark which caused so much dispute. It was just a passing reference, the Detroiters said.

Whatever they thought of Anarchism the crowd filling Dom Polskie Hall was with Miss Goldman most of the way. She didn't pull her punches in a fiery address in which she answered her own question: "Who Betrayed Swain?"

And the audience came through nobly when "Red" Emma, once called the most dangerous woman in America, issued a stirring appeal for aid for Spanish war refugees.

No less than \$36 in bills and \$17.50 in silver poured in the aging woman who spoke with authority of international affairs. All the money will go towards its avowed purpose, she pledged the crowd.

With vitriolic tongue Miss Goldman lashed Josef Stalin and his Russia. With potent phrases she blasted the

Fascist states and the nemesis of her most bitter language was for the Comintern and its leaders. "It was Russia who betrays Spanish people and the Spanish cause," she clipped.

The Spanish people came to the Communists and Communism even more than they hated Fascism because they knew Fascism for what it was.

The Communist regime was
great deception. the great illusion

The audience burst forth with applause.

"I have enough documentary evidence to prove the Judas Iscariot of the Spanish struggle, more than anyone else, was Stalin and the Government."

Warming to her work, Miss
ma: went on:

Stalin is not afraid of the
nemeses of the capitalist class.
he's afraid of his own satraps.
"We dead men don't speak—
why they're all eliminated."

Confidently she declared:
"The Spanish people are de
but not conquered."

From the first the Comm sought to disrupt the people's n tion in Spain, hating with a haired Barcelona and the Cata district, said Miss Goldman.

While Miss Goldman held the oracles had sold out Spain, she some excuse, in their "capitalist point." She had none at all for communist Russia.

"What are we to say of the Stalin who has destroyed the Revolution, who has killed off the best of the Bolsheviks, who has played the most treacherous and despicable part in the Spanish war?" she asked.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Terms Reds "Betrayers" / Emma Goldman. — 14 cm. In The Windsor Star. — (May 20, 1939).

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Miss Goldman, in Toronto, last night, and the audience was quiet.

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AUDIENCE APPLAUDS

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From the first the Communists sought to disrupt the people's revolution in Spain, bating with a bitter hatred Barcelona and the Catalonian district, said Miss Goldman.

EXCUSE FOR DEMOCRACIES

While Miss Goldman held the democracies had sold out Spain, she found some excuse in their "capitalist viewpoint." She had none at all for Communist Russia.

"What are we to say of the man Stalin who has destroyed the Russian revolution, who has killed off the best of the Bolsheviks, who has played a most treacherous and despicable part in the Spanish war?" she asked

"Hoovey!" cried a male voice from the audience, but others murmured in protest at the interruption.

"The Cheka was established in Spain," the undaunted Anarchist went on. "It began a system of terror. Hundreds were arrested, tortured and destroyed."

Yet Miss Goldman is confident that the Spanish people will emerge triumphant in the end.

"The Spanish people are defeated but they are not conquered," she declared. "As long as one Spaniard has the revolutionary spirit, there is no peace, no security for Franco."

"SPAIN WILL BE FREE"

For nearly an hour Miss Goldman spoke, and she closed with the ringing promise:

"Spain will be free!"

Veterans of the Spanish war differed with the speaker in her remarks on lack of Russian aid in furnishing arms other than weapons from the last war, purchased from munitions makers "for a song." Several told of using Russian rifles and seeing many machine guns and tanks of Russian make in Spain.

But Miss Goldman wasn't stopped. Yes, she agreed, but they were members of the International Brigade and as Communists, got the best equipment. Not so the Spanish people.

Miss Goldman lashed out again at Russia and Communism.

"The Communist must abide by the party line," she commented. "If he's in Russia and he doesn't, he's made one head shorter. If he's in Europe, he's expelled from the Communist Party."

STALIN'S "ONE AIM"

She went on:

"There's only one aim for Stalin, and that's to strengthen his power in Russia and get ground in every

Terms Reds 'Betrayers'

Emma Goldman States
Spain Double-Crossed
by Russia

country, not for the world revolution, but for his power."

Miss Goldman noted:

"I think many of the Communists in the International Brigade were sincere idealists who fought heroically at the front. Many were wounded, some mortally, and so were the Anarchists."

"I do not think the bullets of Franco were any respecters of individuals or political creeds."

A final challenge to Red Russia was flung by "Red" Emma.

"As long as I will have a breath in my body, I will go forth from one end of the world to the other to expose the treachery of Stalin and the Soviet Government."

Miss Goldman is staying over in Windsor today, returning to Toronto Sunday. She will deliver a single lecture there, then cease speaking for the summer.

Miss Dorothy Rogers, Toronto, was in the chair for last night's meeting.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

To Comrades and Friends on the North American Continent / Emma Goldman. —
 1939 June 27, circular? — 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.
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TO COMRADES AND FRIENDS ON THE NORTH AMERICAN CONTINENT:

As you see, I am now very near to you in the United States, yet still very far away. Fortunately, there are no spiritual boundaries to the all-embracing force of comradeship and solidarity. I, therefore, feel very close to all of you regardless of arbitrary frontier divisions. I feel certain that you also feel close to me.

August 15, '39, will be exactly a half century since I entered our ranks and took up the battle for Anarchism. Far from regretting this step, I can say honestly I am more convinced than in August, 1889, of the logic and justice of our ideal. True, we are passing through a period of the blackest reaction in every country. The Fascists, the so-called democracies, and even "the workers' fatherland" are competing with each other to further forge the chains of economic and political slavery and to destroy the individual altogether. By this very scramble for Power, the State in every country has proven its utter inability to meet the needs of the people and to maintain even a modicum of freedom and well-being.

Only one country and one people have attempted to translate Anarchist thought and ideas into action. They were Spain and the Spanish people. By their heroic struggle against Fascism, and in defense of the Spanish Revolution, and even more so, by their magnificent constructive work, they have silenced forever the contention that Anarchism is a wild idea, utterly impractical and never to be realized. If they have been defeated in the end, it was entirely due to the conspiracy of the Democracies and Soviet Russia to crush the Spanish Revolution at all costs. No less guilty was the International Proletariat. By its acquiescence to the half-hearted sympathy on the part of its leaders with Spain, the workers have betrayed their Spanish brothers and have thus helped Franco to defeat the glorious beginnings in Spain.

Yes! Franco has defeated the Spanish Revolution, but he has not conquered the Spanish workers and peasants of the National Confederation of Labour, the Anarchist Federation of Iberia and the Libertarian Youth. Forced to flee the tender mercies of Franco, subjected to the most barbarous treatment in the French concentration camps, our Spanish Comrades continue to be imbued with their ideal. Those that I was able to see before sailing for Canada entrusted me with a message to the comrades in Canada and the United States. It is:— "Tell all the comrades that though defeated, we are not conquered. As long as we will draw a living breath, no power will succeed in crushing us and in extinguishing our flaming spirit and our determination to come back to Spain, and take up once more the battle to realize the promise of July 19th, 1936."

Let me impress upon all, especially comrades of U.S. and Canada, the need of increasing your fervour and energy for our gallant Spanish Libertarians now suffering beyond belief in concentration camps and exile.

Issued on my 70th Birthday,
 June 27th, 1939.

295 Vaughan Road,

Toronto, Ont., Canada.

PUBLISHERS NOTE: To this appeal of our UN-OFFICIAL—but well recognized—LIBERTARIAN AMBASSADOR To The World At Large, we add assurances that every single cent of support sent through Emma Goldman, or this Committee, to Spanish Libertarians, who escaped Franco's

Fraternally,

Emma Goldman

"blood-spilling machine" will reach such Spanish persons. Most are exiles, facing death, if they return to Spain. They face near-starvation till they learn to make a living in foreign lands.
 —LOS ANGELES LIBERTARIAN COMMITTEE.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] "Workers Stabbed," Says Emma Goldman / Emma Goldman. — (Sept. 21, 1939, newsclipping). — 1 p. ; 14 × 7 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Michigan, Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library. Institutional Location: Labadie Collection, Emma Goldman Papers, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.

'Workers Stabbed,' Says Emma Goldman

TORONTO, Ont., Sept. 20 (UP)

—Josef Stalin, through the Russian-German pact, has "stabbed the workers of the world in the back," Emma Goldman, world-famed radical, told an audience in Odd Fellows' Hall last night.

The 70-year-old preacher of world revolution, who lived for years in Russia, was violently critical of the agreement, which she described as "crucifying" the world's workers.

"The workers of the world have been deceived, betrayed and cheated" she declared. "While they looked to Russia for hope of better days to come they have been sold out by Stalin, the great betrayer."

"Stalin's pretence of world revolution is one of the most horrible lies of history. His betrayal of Spain will be nothing compared to his ultimate betrayal of the world when he signs the pact with Japan that is brewing."

"Some persons blamed Britain and France for forcing Stalin to sign with Hitler because of their slowness but Stalin tried for the good grace of Hitler — if such a man could be capable of grace — for years."

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Stalin Branded Betrayer by Emma Goldman / Emma Goldman. — 9 cm. In Democrat and Chronicle [Rochester]. — (Sept. 21, 1939).
Obtained from the Rochester Public Library, Rochester, NY.

Stalin Branded Betrayer by Emma Goldman

BIOGRAPHY, Emma Goldman

Emma Goldman, former Rochesterian who became a world-famed anarchist and labor crusader, yesterday branded Stalin as "the great betrayer" of labor in an address in Toronto.

Speaking before a cheering, enthusiastic audience, Miss Goldman declared Stalin, through his Russian-German pact, has today "stabbed the workers of the world in the back."

The once fiery "High Priestess of Anarchy," product of a Rochester sweatshop system of years ago, today is a mild appearing, 70-year-old preacher of world revolution.

Deported from the United States 20 years ago after numerous violent clashes with police and municipal authorities, Miss Goldman lived for years in Russia before

returning to this continent and making her home in Toronto.

She was violently critical of the Russo-German agreement, which she described as "crucifying" the world's workers.

"The workers of the world have been deceived, betrayed and cheated," she declared. "While they looked to Russia for hope of better days to come they have been sold out by Stalin, the great betrayer."

"Stalin's pretence of world revolution is one of the most horrible lies of history. His betrayal of Spain will be nothing compared to his ultimate betrayal of the world when he signs the pact with Japan that is brewing."

"Some persons blamed Britain and France for forcing Stalin to sign with Hitler because of their slowness but Stalin tried for the

good grace of Hitler—if such a man could be capable of grace—for years.

"The British and French governments have not pretended to represent the working classes or communism, or socialism, or any other, but they have been true to their colors when their people's rights were threatened and we have to admit they do not pretend."

"Stalin pretended to be the symbol of communism and we expected much from him," the veteran anarchist said. "Now he has destroyed both socialism and communism in his own country and in others."

"This is the arch-betrayal, the crucifying, of the workers of the world by that evil satyr of the Kremlin."

SEP 21 1939

The Emma Goldman Papers

"Let Canada Be a Warning" / [Emma Goldman]. — 1939 Nov. 25, draft. — 2 p. ; 31 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Michigan, Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library. Institutional Location: Labadie Collection, Frederico Arcos Papers, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.

Toronto, Ont..
Nov. 25, 1939.

"LET CANADA BE A WARNING"

The issue of THE NATION of October 28th contained an article by S. J. Kennedy headed LET CANADA BE A WARNING, wherein the writer discusses the new War measure in Canada known as "The Defence of Canada Regulations Decree, Section 39(a)." It was under this measure, which became law on the 28th of September, that four Italian and one Cuban anti-Fascists were arrested six days later on October 4th, their premises raided and a truck-load of literature taken away by the "Red Squad" and the Mounted Police. The Cuban is held by the Immigration authorities without any charge. One of the Italians was immediately discharged and three held for trial.

Since then two trials have taken place. One dealing with the charges (six against each of the defendants) "having printed and distributed literature intended or likely to cause disaffection to His Majesty.....", the other dealing with two broken, rusty revolvers found in the room of Arthur Bortolotti, the most outstanding personality of the Italian group. Both trials brought out forcibly the attempt on the part of the "Red Squad" to convict the men. Especially was this apparent during the second trial which took place November 6th dealing with the revolvers.

In both cases all men were entirely exonerated, as the exhibits displayed in Court consisted of boxes and boxes of old standard Anarchist works and anti-Fascist literature that could have no bearing on section 39(a).

Arthur Bortolotti, who should have been freed with the other two of his co-defendants, only changed his jailers and now finds himself under the jurisdiction of the Immigration authorities who are apparently keen on disposing of him. Arthur Bortolotti has lived in Canada for twenty years. Like so many other foreign libertarians who had believed that the world is their country, entirely oblivious to the possibility of what war will usher into the world, is now likely to pay heavily for this naive faith.

During all these years he was never molested or interfered with by the Immigration Department; but Arthur Bortolotti is an ardent anti-Fascist, completely dedicated to the effort to prevent Fascism from taking root in Canada. He succeeded in uncovering a fascist school in Windsor where Canadian children were being taught the blessings of Mussolini. He, therefore, incurred the hatred of the fascists who did their utmost to check the work of their enemy no. 1 and to make it impossible for Arthur Bortolotti to live in Canada. It was not until the War Decrees went into effect that the black elements saw their

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The Emma Goldman Papers

"Let Canada Be a Warning" / [Emma Goldman]. — 1939 Nov. 25, draft. — 2 p. ; 31 x 22 cm.

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chance. It is, therefore, reasonably certain that they were back of the arrest and the raid.

The failure to see Bortolotti and the others sent to the penitentiary has no doubt increased their deadly hatred and strengthened their determination to do their utmost to bring about the next step in their miserable game, that is to see Arthur Bortolotti deported to Italy. Readers of THE NATION need hardly to be told what the fate of the man would be if the fascists and the immigration authorities were successful in their design. Nevertheless, it may not be out of place to stress the fact that sure death would meet Arthur Bortolotti on his arrival. From all indications here it seems that Italy knows all about the man and his tireless activities to expose the black scourge. He would, therefore, be received with open arms and at the best would be given hospitality on one of the infamous Islands which, of course, would spell slow death.

Mr. Kennedy stressed the fact that "the outcome of the case will be watched anxiously by people who have scarcely heard of Anarchism, who have only a nodding - and, at the moment - curtly nodding - acquaintance with Communism, but who fear that their own small liberties will be affected." The author was entirely too optimistic. - In point of fact, the people of this City seem not to care about their liberties sufficiently to "watch anxiously" the outcome of the arrests. So far, it has not been possible to find even a baker's dozen of public-spirited men and women to express some opinion on the abrogation of civil liberties inherent in Section 39(a). Much less has anyone been aroused to the impending danger threatening Arthur Bortolotti.

As to the press, with the exception of a few lines reporting the trials, the papers in this City have maintained a conspiracy of silence. The liberal evening paper, so termed, in this City has refused to acquaint its readers with the full implication of the Decrees, or as to the fate awaiting Arthur Bortolotti should the Department of Immigration succeed in shoving him out of the country. In other words, those in charge of the defence are, therefore, up against a solid wall. It is for this reason that they appeal to the liberal publications in the United States. THE NATION has on many occasions lent moral support to the struggle to save some victim of reaction. It is to be hoped that they will also give space to the fact concerning Arthur Bortolotti and his plight. It is felt here that a protest in such publications as THE NATION and others may instil some courage to a few liberal-minded people in Canada to raise their voices in behalf of Arthur Bortolotti and to give his defence moral and financial support. Contributions may be sent to Miss Clara Fredricks, 45 West 17th St., New York City.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

Trotsky Protests Too Much / Emma Goldman.— London : Libertarian Education, [1940?].— 8 p. ; 22 × 28 cm.

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Trotsky Protests Too Much

by

Emma Goldman

A
Libertarian Education Project Reprint.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

Trotsky Protests Too Much / Emma Goldman.— London : Libertarian Education, [1940?].— 8 p. ; 22 x 28 cm.

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N. Petrov, "Pochemu ia anarkhist", *Volnyi Kronstadt*, October 23, 1917, pp. 2-3.

I AM AN ANARCHIST because contemporary society is divided into two opposing classes: the impoverished and dispossessed workers and peasants who have created with their own hands and their own enormous toil all the riches of the earth, and the rich men, kings, and presidents who have confiscated all these riches for themselves. Towards these parasitic capitalists and ruling kings and presidents there arose in me a feeling of outrage, indignation, and loathing, while at the same time I felt sorrow and compassion for the labouring proletariat who have been eternal slaves in the vice-like grip of the worldwide bourgeoisie.

I am an anarchist because I strive by my own personal initiative to impress upon the masses the idea of anarchist communism. I interpret communism in the full sense of the word, for I shall find my own happiness in the common happiness of free and autonomous men like myself.

I am not deluded by the loud and vulgar "socialist" phrase, "dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry". Dictatorship is a synonym for authority, and authority is something alien to the masses. Authority always and everywhere corrupts the rulers, who play the role of flies on the horns of an ox in pasture, poisonous flies which from time to time bite the ox and contaminate its blood, draining its energy and killing its independent initiative.

I am an anarchist because I scorn and detest all authority, for all authority is founded on injustice, exploitation, and compulsion over the human personality. Authority dehumanizes the individual and makes him a slave.

I am an anarchist because I believe that the present struggle between the classes will end only when the toiling masses, organized as a class, gain their true interests and conquer, by means of a violent social revolution, all the riches of the earth. Having accomplished such an overturn and having abolished all institutions of government and authority, the oppressed class must proclaim a society of free producers which will endeavour to satisfy the needs of each individual, who must in turn give society his labour and his concern for the welfare of all mankind.

I am an opponent of private property when it is held by individual capitalist parasites, for private property is theft.

INTRODUCTION.

This pamphlet grew out of an article for *Vanguard*, the Anarchist monthly published in New York City. It appeared in the July issue, 1938, but as the space of the magazine is limited, only part of the manuscript could be used. It is here given in a revised and enlarged form.

Leon Trotsky will have it that criticism of his part in the Kronstadt tragedy is only to aid and abet his mortal enemy, Stalin. It does not occur to him that one might detest the savage in the Kremlin and his cruel regime and yet not exonerate Leon Trotsky from the crime against the sailors of Kronstadt.

In point of truth I see no marked difference between the two protagonists of the benevolent system of the dictatorship except that Leon Trotsky is no longer in power to enforce its blessings, and Josef Stalin is. No, I hold no brief for the present ruler of Russia. I must, however, point out that Stalin did not come down as a gift from heaven to the hapless Russian people. He is merely continuing the Bolshevik traditions, even if in a more relentless manner.

The process of alienating the Russian masses from the Revolution had begun almost immediately after Lenin and his party had ascended to power. Crass discrimination in rations and housing, suppression of every political right, continued persecution and arrests, early became the order of the day. True, the purges undertaken at that time did not include party members, although Communists also helped to fill the prisons and concentration camps. A case in point is the first Labour Opposition whose rank and file were quickly eliminated and their leaders, Shlapnikov sent to the Caucasus for "a rest," and Alexandra Kollontay placed under house arrest. But all the other political opponents, among them Mensheviks, Social Revolutionists, Anarchists, many of the Liberal intelligentsia and workers as well as peasants, were given short shrift in the cellars of the Cheka, or exiled to slow death in distant parts of Russia and Siberia. In other words, Stalin has not originated the theory or methods that have crushed the Russian Revolution and have forged new chains for the Russian people.

I admit, the dictatorship under Stalin's rule has become monstrous. That does not, however, lessen the guilt of Leon Trotsky as one of the actors in the revolutionary drama of which Kronstadt was one of the bloodiest scenes.

The Emma Goldman Papers

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LEON TROTSKY PROTESTS TOO MUCH.

By Emma Goldman:

I have before me two numbers, February and April, 1938, of the *New International*, Trotsky's official magazine. They contain articles by John G. Wright, a hundred per cent. Trotskyist, and the Grand Mogul himself, purporting to be a refutation of the charges against him in re Kronstadt. Mr. Wright is merely echoing the voice of his master, and his material is in no way first hand, or from personal contact with the events of 1921. I prefer to pay my respects to Leon Trotsky. He has at least the doubtful merit of having been a party to the "liquidation" of Kronstadt.

There are, however, several very rash mis-statements in Wright's article that need to be knocked on the head. I shall, therefore, proceed to do so at once and deal with his master afterwards.

John G. Wright claims that *The Kronstadt Rebellion*, by Alexander Berkman, "is merely a restatement of the alleged facts and interpretations of the Right Social Revolutionists with a few insignificant alterations"—(culled from "The Truth About Russia in Volyn, Russia, Prague, 1921").

The writer further accuses Alexander Berkman of "brazenness, plagiarism, and making, as is his custom, a few insignificant alterations, and hiding the real source of what appears as his own appraisal." Alexander Berkman's life and work have placed him among the greatest revolutionary thinkers and fighters, utterly dedicated to his ideal. Those who knew him will testify to his sterling quality in all his actions, as well as his integrity as a serious writer. They will certainly be amused to learn from Mr. Wright that Alexander Berkman was a "plagiarist" and "brazen," and that "his custom is making a few insignificant alterations"

The average Communist, whether of the Trotsky or Stalin brand, knows about as much of Anarchist literature and its authors as, let us say, the average Catholic knows about Voltaire or Thomas Paine. The very suggestion that one should know what one's opponents stand for before calling them names would be put down as heresy by the Communist hierarchy. I do not think, therefore, that John G. Wright deliberately lies about Alexander Berkman. Rather do I think that he is densely ignorant.

It was Alexander Berkman's life-long habit to keep diaries. Even during the fourteen years' purgatory he had endured in the Western Penitentiary in the United States, Alexander Berkman had managed to keep up his diary which he succeeded in sending out *sub rosa* to me. On the S.S. "Buford" which took us on our long perilous cruise of 28 days, my comrade continued his diary and he kept up this old habit through the 23 months of our stay in Russia.

Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist, conceded by conservative critics even to be comparable with Feodor Dostoyevsky's *Dead House*, was fashioned from his diary. *The Kronstadt Rebellion* and his *Bolshevik Myth* are also the offspring of his day-by-day record.

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in Russia. It is stupid, therefore, to charge that Berkman's brochure about Kronstadt "is merely a restatement of the alleged facts from the S.R. work that appeared in Prague."

On a par in accuracy with this charge against Alexander Berkman by Wright is his accusation that my old pal had denied the existence of General Kozlovsky in Kronstadt.

The Kronstadt Rebellion, page 15, states: "There was indeed a former General Kozlovsky in Kronstadt. It was Trotsky who had placed him there as an artillery specialist. He played no role whatever in the Kronstadt events." This was borne out by none other than Zinoviev who was then still at the zenith of his glory. At the Extraordinary Session of the Petrograd Soviet, 4th March, 1921, called to decide the fate of Kronstadt, Zinoviev said: "Of course Kozlovsky is old and can do nothing, but the White Officers are back of him and are misleading the sailors." Alexander Berkman, however, stressed the fact that the sailors would have none of Trotsky's former pet General, nor would they accept the offer of provisions and other help of Victor Tchernov, leader of the Right S.R.'s in Paris (Socialist Revolutionists).

Trotskyists no doubt consider it bourgeois sentimentality to permit the maligned sailors the right to speak for themselves. I insist that this approach to one's opponent is damnable Jesuitism and has done more to disintegrate the whole labour movement than anything else of the "sacred" tactics of Bolshevism.

That the reader may be in a position to decide between the criminal charge against Kronstadt and what the sailors had to say for themselves, I here reproduce the radio message to the workers of the world, 6th March, 1921:—

"Our cause is just: we stand for the power of soviets, not parties. We stand for freely elected representatives of the labouring masses. The substitute Soviets manipulated by the Communist Party have always been deaf to our needs and demands; the only reply we have ever received was shooting Comrades! They not only deceive you; they deliberately pervert the truth and resort to most despicable defamation. . . . In Kronstadt the whole power is exclusively in the hands of the revolutionary sailors, soldiers and workers—not with counter revolutionists led by some Kozlovsky, as the lying Moscow radio tries to make you believe. . . . Do not delay, comrades! Join us, get in touch with us; demand admission to Kronstadt for your delegates! Only they will tell you the whole truth and will expose the fiendish calumny about Finnish bread and Entente offers."

"Long live the revolutionary proletariat and the peasantry!"

"Long live the power of freely elected Soviets!"

The sailors "led" by Kozlovsky, yet pleading with the workers of the world to send delegates that they might see whether there was any truth in the black calumny spread against them by the Soviet Press!

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The Emma Goldman Papers

Trotsky Protests Too Much / Emma Goldman.— London : Libertarian Education, [1940?].— 8 p. ; 22 x 28 cm.

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Leon Trotsky is surprised and indignant that anyone should dare to raise such a hue and cry over Kronstadt. After all, it happened so long ago, in fact seventeen years have passed, and it was a mere "episode in the history of the relation between the proletarian city and the petty bourgeois village." Why should anyone want to make so much ado at this late day unless it is to "compromise the only genuine revolutionary current which has never repudiated its banner, has not compromised with its enemies, and which alone represents the future." Leon Trotsky's egotism known far and wide by his friends and his foes, has never been his weakest spot. Since his mortal enemy has endowed him with nothing short of a magic wand, his self-importance has reached alarming proportions.

Leon Trotsky is outraged that people should have revived the Kronstadt "episode" and ask questions about his part. It does not occur to him that those who have come to his defence against his detractors have a right to ask what methods he had employed when he was in power, and how he had dealt with those who did not subscribe to his dictum as gospel truth. Of course it was ridiculous to expect that he would beat his chest and say, "I, too, was but human and made mistakes. I, too, have sinned and have killed my brothers or ordered them to be killed." Only sublime prophets and seers have risen to such heights of courage. Leon Trotsky is certainly not one of them. On the contrary, he continues to claim omnipotence in all his acts and judgments and to call anathema on the heads of anyone who foolishly suggests that the great god Leon Trotsky also has feet of clay.

He jeers at the documentary evidence left by the Kronstadt sailors and the evidence of those who had been within sight and hearing of the dreadful siege of Kronstadt. He calls them "false labels." That does not, however, prevent him from assuring his readers that his explanation of the Kronstadt rebellion could be "substantiated and illustrated by many facts and documents." Intelligent people may well ask why Leon Trotsky did not have the decency to present these "false labels" so that the people might be in a position to form a correct opinion of them.

Now, it is a fact that even capitalist courts grant the defendant the right to present evidence on his own behalf. Not so Leon Trotsky, the spokesman of the one and only truth, he who has "never repudiated his banner and has never compromised with its enemies."

One can understand such lack of common decency in John G. Wright. He is, as I have already stated, merely quoting holy Bolshevik scripture. But for a world figure like Leon Trotsky to silence the evidence of the sailors seems to me indicative of a very small character. The old saying of the leopard changing his spots but not his nature forcibly applies to Leon Trotsky. The Calvary he has endured during his years of exile, the tragic loss of those near and dear to him, and, more poignantly still, the betrayal by his former comrades in arms, have taught him nothing. Not a

glimmer of human kindness or mellowness has affected Trotsky's rancorous spirit.

What a pity that the silence of the dead sometimes speaks louder than the living voice. In point of truth the voices strangled in Kronstadt have grown in volume these seventeen years. Is it for this reason, I wonder, that Leon Trotsky resents its sound?

Leon Trotsky quotes Marx as saying, "that it is impossible to judge either parties or people by what they say about themselves." How pathetic that he does not realise how much this applies to him! No man among the able Bolshevik writers has managed to keep himself so much in the foreground or boasted so incessantly of his share in the Russian Revolution and after as Leon Trotsky. By this criterion of his great teacher, one would have to declare all Leon Trotsky's writing to be worthless, which would be nonsense of course.

In discrediting the motives which conditioned the Kronstadt uprising, Leon Trotsky records the following: "From different fronts I sent dozens of telegrams about the mobilisation of new 'reliable' detachments from among the Petersburg workers and Baltic fleet sailors, but already in 1918, and in any case not later than 1919, the fronts began to complain that a new contingent of 'Kronstadters' were unsatisfactory, exacting, undisciplined, unreliable in battle and doing more harm than good." Further on, on the same page, Trotsky charges that, "when conditions became very critical in hungry Petrograd the Political Bureau more than once discussed the possibility of securing an 'internal loan' from Kronstadt where a quantity of old provisions still remained, but the delegates of the Petrograd workers answered, 'You will never get anything from them by kindness; they speculate in cloth, coal and bread. At present in Kronstadt every kind of riff-raff has raised its head.'" How very Bolshevik that is, not only to slay one's opponents but also to beamirch their characters. From Marx and Engels, Lenin, Trotsky to Stalin, this method has ever been the same.

Now, I do not presume to argue what the Kronstadt sailors were in 1918 or 1919. I did not reach Russia until January, 1920. From that time on until Kronstadt was "liquidated" the sailors of the Baltic fleet were held up as the glorious example of valour and unflinching courage. Time on end I was told not only by Anarchists, Mensheviks and social revolutionists, but by many Communists, that the sailors were the very backbone of the Revolution. On the 1st of May, 1920, during the celebration and the other festivities organised for the first British Labour Mission, the Kronstadt sailors presented a large clear-cut contingent, and were then pointed out as among the great heroes who had saved the Revolution from Kerensky, and Petrograd from Yudenich. During the anniversary of October the sailors were again in the front ranks, and their re-enactment of the taking of the Winter Palace was wildly acclaimed by a packed mass.

The Emma Goldman Papers

Trotsky Protests Too Much / Emma Goldman.— London : Libertarian Education, [1940?].— 8 p. ; 22 x 28 cm.

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Is it possible that the leading members of the party, save Leon Trotsky, were unaware of the corruption and the demoralisation of Kronstadt, claimed by him? I do not think so. Moreover, I doubt whether Trotsky himself held this view of the Kronstadt sailors until March, 1921. His story must, therefore, be an after-thought, or is it a rationalisation to justify the senseless "liquidation" of Kronstadt?

Granted that the personnel had undergone a change, it is yet a fact that the Kronstadters in 1921 were nevertheless far from the picture Leon Trotsky and his echo have painted. In point of actual fact, the sailors met their doom only because of their deep kinship and solidarity with the Petrograd workers whose power of endurance of cold and hunger had reached the breaking point in a series of strikes in February, 1921. Why have Leon Trotsky and his followers failed to mention this? Leon Trotsky knows perfectly well, if Wright does not, that the first scene of the Kronstadt drama was staged in Petrograd on 24th February, and played not by the sailors but by the strikers. For it was on this date that the strikers had given vent to their accumulated wrath over the callous indifference of the men who had prated about the dictatorship of the proletariat which had long ago deteriorated into the merciless dictatorship of the Communist Party.

Alexander Berkman's entry in his diary of this historic day reads:—

"The Trubotchny mill workers have gone on strike. In the distribution of winter clothing, they complain, the Communists received undue advantage over the non-partisans. The Government refuses to consider the grievances till the men return to work."

"Crowds of strikers gathered in the street near the mills, and soldiers were sent to disperse them. They were Kursanti, Communist youths of the military academy. There was no violence."

"Now the strikers have been joined by the men from the Admiralty shops and Calernaya docks. There is much resentment against the arrogant attitude of the Government. A street demonstration was attempted, but mounted troops suppressed it."

It was after the report of their Committee of the real state of affairs among the workers in Petrograd that the Kronstadt sailors did in 1921 what they had done in 1917. They immediately made common cause with the workers. The part of the sailors in 1917 was hailed as the red pride and glory of the Revolution. Their identical part in 1921 was denounced to the whole world as counter-revolutionary treason. Naturally, in 1917 Kronstadt helped the Bolsheviks into the saddle. In 1921 they demanded a reckoning for the false hopes raised in the masses, and the great promise broken almost immediately the Bolsheviks had felt entrenched in their power. A heinous crime indeed. The important phase of this crime, however, is that Kronstadt did not "mutiny" out of a clear

sky. The cause for it was deeply rooted in the suffering of the Russian workers; the city proletariat, as well as the peasantry.

To be sure, the former commissar assures us that "the peasants reconciled themselves to the requisition as a temporary evil," and that "the peasants approved of the Bolsheviks, but became increasingly hostile to the Communists." But these contentions are mere fiction, as can be demonstrated by numerous proofs—not the least of them the liquidation of the peasant soviet, headed by Maria Spiridonova, and iron and fire used to force the peasants to yield up all their produce, including their grain for their spring sowing.

In point of historic truth, the peasants hated the régime almost from the start, certainly from the moment when Lenin's slogan, "Rob the robbers" was turned into "Rob the peasants for the glory of the Communist Dictatorship." That is why they were in constant ferment against the Bolshevik Dictatorship. A case in point was the uprising of the Karelian Peasants drowned in blood by the Tsarist General Slatchev-Krimsky. If the peasants were so enamoured with the Soviet régime, as Leon Trotsky would have us believe, why was it necessary to rush this terrible man to Karelia.

He had fought against the Revolution from its very beginning and had led some of the Wrangel forces in the Crimea. He was guilty of fiendish barbarities to war prisoners and infamous as a maker of pogroms. Now Slatchev-Krimsky recanted and he returned to "his Fatherland." This arch-counter revolutionist and Jew-baiter, together with several Tsarist generals and White Guardists, was received by the Bolsheviks with military honours. No doubt it was just retribution that the anti-Semite had to salute the Jew, Trotsky, his military superior. But to the Revolution and the Russian people the triumphal return of the imperialist was an outrage.

As a reward for his newly-fledged love of the Socialist Fatherland, Slatchev-Krimsky was commissioned to quell the Karelian peasants who demanded self-determination and better conditions.

Leon Trotsky tells us that the Kronstadt sailors in 1919 would not have given up provisions by "kindness"—not that kindness had been tried at any time. In fact, this word does not exist in Bolshevik lingo. Yet here are these demoralised sailors, the riff-raff speculators, etc., siding with the city proletariat in 1921, and their first demand is for equalisation of rations. What villains these Kronstadters were, really!

Much is being made by both writers against Kronstadt of the fact that the sailors who, as we insist, did not premeditate the rebellion, but met on the 1st March to discuss ways and means of aiding their Petrograd comrades, quickly formed themselves into a Provisional Revolutionary Committee. The answer to this is actually given by John G. Wright himself. He writes: "It is by no means excluded that the local authorities in Kronstadt bungled in their handling of the situation It is no secret that

"My Disillusionment in Russia," p. 230.

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Kalinin and Commissar Kuzmin, were none too highly esteemed by Lenin and his colleagues In so far as the local authorities were blind to the full extent of the danger or failed to take proper and effective measures to cope with the crisis, to that extent their blunders played a part in the unfolding events

The statement that Lenin did not esteem Kalinin or Kuzmin highly is unfortunately an old trick of Bolshevism to lay all blame on some bungler so that the heads may remain lily pure.

Indeed, the local authorities in Kronstadt did "bungle." Kuzmin attacked the sailors violently and threatened them with dire results. The sailors evidently knew what to expect from such threats. They could not but guess that if Kuzmin and Vassiliev were permitted to be at large their first step would be to remove arms and provisions from Kronstadt. (This was the reason why the sailors formed their Provisional Revolutionary Committee. An additional factor, too, was the news that a committee of 80 sailors went to Petrograd to confer with the workers had been denied the right to return to Kronstadt, that they had been arrested and placed in the Cheka.

Both writers make a mountain of a molehill of the rumours announced at the meeting of 1st March to the effect that a truckload of soldiers heavily armed were on their way to Kronstadt. Wright has evidently never lived under an air-tight dictatorship. I have. When every channel of human contact is closed, when every thought is thrown back on itself and expression stifled, then rumours rise like mushrooms from the ground and grow into terrifying dimensions. Besides, truckloads of soldiers and Chekists armed to their very teeth tearing along the streets in the day, throwing out their nets at night and dragging their human haul to the Cheka, was a frequent sight in Petrograd and Moscow during the time when I was there. In the tension of the meeting after Kuzmin's threatening speech, it was perfectly natural for rumours to be given credence.

The news in the Paris Press about the Kronstadt uprising two weeks before it happened had been stressed in the campaign against the sailors as proof positive that they had been tools of the Imperialist gang and that the rebellion had actually been hatched in Paris. It was too obvious that this yarn was used only to discredit the Kronstadters in the eyes of the workers.

In reality this advance news was like other news from Paris, Riga or Helsingfors, and which rarely, if ever, coincided with anything that had been claimed by the counter-revolutionary agents abroad. On the other hand, many events happened in Soviet Russia which would have gladdened the heart of the Entente and which they never got to know—events far more detrimental to the Russian Revolution caused by the dictatorship of the Communist Party itself. For instance, the Cheka which undermined many achievements of October and which already in 1921 had become a malignant growth on the body of the Revolution, and many other similar events which would take me too far afield to treat here.

No, the advance news in the Paris Press had no bearing what-

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ever on the Kronstadt rebellion. In point of fact, no one in Petrograd in 1921 believed its connection, not even quite a number of Communists. As I have already stated, John G. Wright is merely an apt pupil of Leon Trotsky and therefore quite innocent of what most people within and outside of the party thought about this so-called "link."

Future historians will no doubt appraise the Kronstadt "mutiny" in its real value. If and when they do, they will no doubt come to the conclusion that the uprising could not have come more opportunely if it had been deliberately planned.

The most dominant factor which decided the fate of Kronstadt was the N.E.P. (the New Economic Policy). Lenin, aware of the very considerable party opposition this new-fangled "revolutionary" scheme would meet, needed some impending menace to ensure the smooth and ready acceptance of the N.E.P. Kronstadt came along most conveniently. The whole crushing propaganda machine was immediately put into motion to prove that the sailors were in league with all the Imperialist powers, and all the counter-revolutionary elements to destroy the Communist State. That worked like magic. The N.E.P. was rushed through without a hitch.

Time alone will prove the frightful cost this manoeuvre has entailed. The three hundred delegates, the young Communist flower, rushed from the Party Congress to crush Kronstadt, were a mere handful of the thousands wantonly sacrificed. They went fervently believing the campaign of vilification. Those who remained alive had a rude awakening.

I have recorded a meeting with a wounded Communist in a hospital in *My Disillusionment*. It has lost nothing of its poignancy in the years since:

"Many of those wounded in the attack on Kronstadt had been brought to the same hospital, mostly *Kursanti*. I had an opportunity to speak to one of them. His physical suffering, he said, was nothing as compared with his mental agony. Too late he had realised that he had been duped by the cry of 'counter-revolution.' No Tsarist generals, no White Guardists in Kronstadt had led the sailors—he found only his own comrades, sailors, soldiers and workers, who had heroically fought for the Revolution."

No one at all in his senses will see any similarity between the N.E.P. and the demand of the Kronstadt sailors for the right of free exchange of products. The N.E.P. came to reintroduce the grave evils the Russian Revolution had attempted to eradicate. The free exchange of products between the workers and the peasants, between the city and the country, embodied the very *raison d'être* of the Revolution. Naturally the Anarchists were against the N.E.P. But free exchange, as Zinoviev had told me in 1920, "is out of our plan of centralisation." Poor Zinoviev could not possibly imagine what a horrible ogre the centralisation of power would become.

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It is the idea first of centralisation of the dictatorship which early began to divide the city and the village, the workers and the peasants, not, as Leon Trotsky will have it, because "the one is proletarian . . . and the other petty bourgeois," but because the dictatorship had paralysed the initiative of both the city proletariat and the peasantry.

Leon Trotsky makes it appear that the Petrograd workers quickly sensed "the petty bourgeois nature of the Kronstadt uprising and therefore refused to have anything to do with it." He omits the most important reason for the seeming indifference of the workers of Petrograd. It is of importance, therefore, to point out that the campaign of slander, lies and calumny against the sailors began on the 2nd March, 1921. The Soviet Press fairly cored poison against the sailors. The most despicable charges were hurled against them, and this was kept up until Kronstadt was liquidated on 17th March. In addition, Petrograd was put under martial law. Several factories were shut down and the workers thus robbed, began to hold counsel with each other. In the diary of Alexander Berkman, I find the following:—

"Many arrests are taking place. Groups of strikers guarded by Chekists on the way to prison are a common sight. There is great nervous tension in the city. Elaborate precautions have been taken to protect the Government institution. Machine guns are placed on the Astoria, the living quarters of Zinoviev and other prominent Bolsheviks. Official proclamations commanding immediate return of the strikers to the factories . . . and warning the populace against congregating in the streets.

"The Committee of Defence has initiated a 'clean-up of the city.' Many workers suspected of sympathising with Kronstadt have been placed under arrest. All Petrograd sailors and part of the garrison thought to be 'untrustworthy' have been ordered to distant points, while the families of Kronstadt sailors living in Petrograd are held as hostages. The Committee of Defence notified Kronstadt that 'the prisoners are kept as pledges' for the safety of the Commissar of the Baltic Fleet, N. N. Kuzmin, the Chairman of the Kronstadt Soviet, T. Vassiliev, and other Communists. If the least harm is suffered by our comrades the hostages will pay with their lives."

Under these iron-clad rules it was physically impossible for the workers of Petrograd to ally themselves with Kronstadt, especially as not one word of the manifestoes issued by the sailors in their paper was permitted to penetrate to the workers in Petrograd. In other words, Leon Trotsky deliberately falsifies the facts. The workers would certainly have sided with the sailors because they knew that they were not mutineers or counter-revolutionists, but that they had taken a stand with the workers as their comrades had done as long ago as 1905, and March and October, 1917. It is there-

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fore a grossly criminal and conscious libel on the memory of the Kronstadt sailors.

In the *New International* on page 106, second column, Trotsky assures his readers that no one "we may say in passing, bothered in those days about the Anarchists." That unfortunately does not tally with the incessant persecution of Anarchists which began in 1918, when Leon Trotsky liquidated the Anarchist headquarters in Moscow with machine guns. At that time the process of elimination of the Anarchists began. Even now so many years later, the concentration camps of the Soviet Government are full of the Anarchists who remained alive. Actually before the Kronstadt uprising, in fact in October, 1920, when Leon Trotsky again had changed his mind about Machno, because he needed his help and his army to liquidate Wrangel, and when he consented to the Anarchist Conference in Kharkov, several hundred Anarchists were drawn into a net and despatched to the Boutirka prison where they were kept without any charge until April, 1921, when they, together with other Left politicals, were forcibly removed in the dead of night and secretly sent to various prisons and concentration camps in Russia and Siberia. But that is a page of Soviet history of its own. What is to the point in this instance is that the Anarchists must have been thought of very much, else there would have been no reason to arrest them and ship them in the old Tsarist way to distant parts of Russia and Siberia.

Leon Trotsky ridicules the demands of the sailors for Free Soviets. It was indeed naive of them to think that free Soviets can live side by side with a dictatorship. Actually the free Soviets had ceased to exist at an early stage in the Communist game, as the Trade Unions and the co-operatives. They had all been hitched to the chariot wheel of the Bolshevik State machine. I well remember Lenin telling me with great satisfaction, "Your Grand Old Man, Enrico Malatesta, is for our soviets." I hastened to say, "You mean free soviets, Comrade Lenin. I, too, am for them." Lenin turned our talk to something else. But I soon discovered why Free Soviets had ceased to exist in Russia.

John G. Wright will have it that there was no trouble in Petrograd until 22nd February. That is on par with his other rehash of the "historio" Party material. The unrest and dissatisfaction of the workers were already very marked when we arrived. In every industry I visited I found extreme dissatisfaction and resentment because the dictatorship of the proletariat had been turned into a devastating dictatorship of the Communist Party with its different rations and discriminations. If the discontent of the workers had not broken loose before 1921 it was only because they still clung tenaciously to the hope that when the fronts would be liquidated the promise of the Revolution would be fulfilled. It was Kronstadt which pricked the last bubble.

The sailors had dared to stand by the discontented workers. They had dared to demand that the promise of the Revolution—all Power in the Soviets—should be fulfilled. The political dictatorship

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had slain the dictatorship of the proletariat. That and that alone was their unforgivable offence against the holy spirit of Bolshevism.

In his article Wright has a footnote to page 49, second column, wherein he states that Victor Serge in a recent comment on Kronstadt "concedes that the Bolsheviks, once confronted with the mutiny had no other recourse except to crush it." Victor Serge is now out of the hospitable shores of the workers' "fatherland." I therefore do not consider it a breach of faith when I say that if Victor Serge made this statement charged to him by John G. Wright, he is merely not telling the truth. Victor Serge was one of the French Communist Section who was as much distressed and horrified over the impending butchery decided upon by Leon Trotsky to "shoot the sailors as pheasants" as Alexander Berkman, myself and many other revolutionists. He used to spend every free hour in our room running up and down, tearing his hair, clenching his fists in indignation and repeating that "something must be done, something must be done, to stop the frightful massacre." When he was asked why he, as a party member, did not raise his voice in protest in the party session, his reply was that that would not help the sailors and would mark him for the Cheka and even silent disappearance. The only excuse for Victor Serge at the time was a young wife and a small baby. But for him to state now, after seventeen years, that "the Bolsheviks once confronted with the mutiny had no other recourse except to crush it," is, to say the least, inexcusable. Victor Serge knows as well as I do that there was no mutiny in Kronstadt, that the sailors actually did not use their arms in any shape or form until the bombardment of Kronstadt began. He also knows that neither the arrested Communist Commissars nor any other Communists were touched by the sailors. I therefore call upon Victor Serge to come out with the truth. That he was able to continue in Russia under the comradely régime of Lenin, Trotsky and the other unfortunates who have been recently murdered, conscious of all the horrors that are going on, is his affair, but I cannot keep silent in the face of the charge against him as saying that the Bolsheviks were justified in crushing the sailors.

Leon Trotsky is sarcastic about the accusation that he had shot 1,600 sailors. No, he did not do the bloody job himself. He entrusted Tuchaevsky, his lieutenant, to shoot the sailors "like pheasants" as he had threatened. Tuchaevsky carried out the order to the last degree. The numbers ran into legions, and those who remained after the ceaseless attack of Bolshevik artillery, were placed under the care of Dibenko, famous for his humanity and his justice.

Tuchaevsky and Dibenko, the heroes and saviours of the dictatorship! History seems to have its own way of meting out justice.

Leon Trotsky tries a trump card, when he asks, "Where and when were their great principles confirmed, in practice at least

partially, at least in tendency?" This card, like all others he has already played in his life, will not win him the game. In point of fact Anarchist principles in practice and tendency have been confirmed in Spain. I agree, only partially. How could that be otherwise with all the forces conspiring against the Spanish Revolution? The constructive work undertaken by the National Confederation of Labour (the C.N.T.), and the Anarchist Federation of Iberia (the F.A.I.), is something never thought of by the Bolshevik régime in all the years of its power, and yet the collectivisation of the industries and the land stand out as the greatest achievement of any revolutionary period. Moreover, even if Franco should win, and the Spanish Anarchists be exterminated, the work they have started will continue to live. Anarchist principles and tendencies are so deeply rooted in Spanish soil that they cannot be eradicated.

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Leon Trotsky, John G. Wright and the Spanish Anarchists.

During the four years civil war in Russia the Anarchists almost to a man stood by the Bolsheviks, though they grow more daily conscious of the impending collapse of the Revolution. They felt in duty bound to keep silent and to avoid everything that would bring aid and comfort to the enemies of the Revolution.

Certainly the Russian Revolution fought against many fronts and many enemies, but at no time were the odds so frightful as those confronting the Spanish people, the Anarchists and the Revolution. The menace of Franco, aided by German and Italian man power and military equipment, Stalin's blessing transferred to Spain, the conspiracy of the Imperialist powers, the betrayal by the so-called democracies and, not the least, the apathy of the international proletariat, far outweigh the dangers that surrounded the Russian Revolution. What does Trotsky do in the face of such a terrible tragedy? He joins the howling mob and thrusts his own poisoned dagger into the vitals of the Spanish Anarchists in their most crucial hour. No doubt the Spanish Anarchists have committed a grave error. They failed to invite Leon Trotsky to take charge of the Spanish Revolution and to show them how well he had succeeded in Russia that it may be repeated all over again on Spanish soil. That seems to be his chagrin.

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The
PLACE OF THE INDIVIDUAL
IN SOCIETY



By EMMA GOLDMAN

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THE INDIVIDUAL, SOCIETY AND THE STATE

By

EMMA GOLDMAN

The minds of men are in confusion, for the very foundations of our civilization seem to be tottering. People are losing faith in the existing institutions, and the more intelligent realize that capitalist industrialism is defeating the very purpose it is supposed to serve.

The world is at a loss for a way out. Parliamentary democracy and democracy are on the decline. Salvation is being sought in Fascism and other forms of "strong" government.

The struggle of opposing ideas now going on in the world involves social problems urgently demanding a solution. The welfare of the individual and the fate of human society depend on the right answer to those questions. The crisis, unemployment, war, disarmament, international relations, etc., are among those problems.

The State, government with its functions and powers, is now the subject of vital interest to every thinking man. Political developments in all civilized countries have brought the questions home. Shall we have a strong government? Are democracy and parliamentary government to be preferred, or is Fascism of one kind or another, dictatorship — monarchical, bourgeois or proletarian — the solution of the ills and difficulties that beset society today?

In other words, shall we cure the evils of democracy by more democracy, or shall we cut the Gordian knot of popular government with the sword of dictatorship?

My answer is neither the one nor the other. I am

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against dictatorship and Fascism as I am opposed to parliamentary regimes and so-called political democracy.

Nazism has been justly called an attack on civilization. This characterization applies with equal force to every form of dictatorship; indeed, to every kind of suppression and coercive authority. For what is civilization in the true sense? All progress has been essentially an enlargement of the liberties of the individual with a corresponding decrease of the authority wielded over him by external forces. This holds good in the realm of physical as well as of political and economic existence. In the physical world man has progressed to the extent in which he has subdued the forces of nature and made them useful to himself. Primitive man made a step on the road to progress when he first produced fire and thus triumphed over darkness, when he chained the wind or harnessed water.

What role did authority or government play in human endeavor for betterment, in invention and discovery? None whatever, or at least none that was helpful. It has always been the individual that has accomplished every miracle in that sphere, usually in spite of the prohibition, persecution and interference by authority, human and divine.

Similarly, in the political sphere, the road of progress lay in getting away more and more from the authority of the tribal chief or of the clan, of prince and king, of government, of the State. Economically, progress has meant greater well-being of ever larger numbers. Culturally, it has signified the result of all the other achievements — greater independence, political, mental and psychic.

Regarded from this angle, the problems of man's relation to the State assumes an entirely different significance. It is no more a question of whether dictatorship is preferable to democracy, or Italian Fascism superior to Hitlerism. A larger and far more vital question poses

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itself: Is political government, is the State beneficial to mankind, and how does it affect the individual in the social scheme of things?

The individual is the true reality in life. A cosmos in himself, he does not exist for the State, nor for that abstraction called "society," or the "nation," which is only a collection of individuals. Man, the individual, has always been and, necessarily is the sole source and motive power of evolution and progress. Civilization has been a continuous struggle of the individual or of groups of individuals against the State and even against "society," that is, against the majority subdued and hypnotized by the State and State worship. Man's greatest battles have been waged against man-made obstacles and artificial handicaps imposed upon him to paralyze his growth and development. Human thought has always been falsified by tradition and custom, and perverted false education in the interests of those who held power and enjoyed privileges. In other words, by the State and the ruling classes. This constant incessant conflict has been the history of mankind.

Individuality may be described as the consciousness of the individual as to what he is and how he lives. It is inherent in every human being and is a thing of growth. The State and social institutions come and go, but individuality remains and persists. The very essence of individuality is expression; the sense of dignity and independence is the soil wherein it thrives. Individuality is not the impersonal and mechanistic thing that the State treats as an "individual". The individual is not merely the result of heredity and environment, of cause and effect. He is that and a great deal more, a great deal else. The living man cannot be defined; he is the fountain-head of all life and all values; he is not a part of this or of that; he is a whole, an individual whole, a growing, changing, yet always constant whole.

Individuality is not to be confused with the various

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ideas and concepts of Individualism; much less with that "rugged individualism" which is only a masked attempt to repress and defeat the individual and his individuality. So-called Individualism is the social and economic *laissez faire*: the exploitation of the masses by the classes by means of legal trickery, spiritual debasement and systematic indoctrination of the servile spirit, which process is known as "education." That corrupt and perverse "individualism" is the strait-jacket of individuality. It has converted life into a degrading race for externals, for possession, for social prestige and supremacy. Its highest wisdom is "the devil take the hindmost."

This "rugged individualism" has inevitably resulted in the greatest modern slavery, the crassest class distinctions, driving millions to the breadline. "Rugged individualism" has meant all the "individualism" for the masters, while the people are regimented into a slave caste to serve a handful of self-seeking "supermen." America is perhaps the best representative of this kind of individualism, in whose name political tyranny and social oppression are defended and held up as virtues; while every aspiration and attempt of man to gain freedom and social opportunity to live is denounced as "un-American" and evil in the name of that same individualism.

There was a time when the State was unknown. In his natural condition man existed without any State or organized government. People lived as families in small communities; They tilled the soil and practiced the arts and crafts. The individual, and later the family, was the unit of social life where each was free and the equal of his neighbor. Human society then was not a State but an association; a voluntary association for mutual protection and benefit. The elders and more experienced members were the guides and advisers of the people. They helped to manage the affairs of life.

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not to rule and dominate the individual.

Political government and the State were a much later development, growing out of the desire of the stronger to take advantage of the weaker, of the few against the many. The State, ecclesiastical and secular, served to give an appearance of legality and right to the wrong done by the few to the many. That appearance of right was necessary the easier to rule the people, because no government can exist without the consent of the people, consent open, tacit or assumed. Constitutionalism and democracy are the modern forms of that alleged consent; the consent being inoculated and indoctrinated by what is called "education," at home, in the church, and in every other phase of life.

That consent is the belief in authority, in the necessity for it. At its base is the doctrine that man is evil, vicious, and too incompetent to know what is good for him. On this all government and oppression is built. God and the State exist and are supported by this dogma.

Yet the State is nothing but a name. It is an abstraction. Like other similar conceptions — nation, race, humanity — it has no organic reality. To call the State an organism shows a diseased tendency to make a fetish of words.

The State is a term for the legislative and administrative machinery whereby certain business of the people is transacted, and badly so. There is nothing sacred, holy or mysterious about it. The State has no more conscience or moral mission than a commercial company for working a coal mine or running a railroad.

The State has no more existence than gods and devils have. They are equally the reflex and creation of man, for man, the individual, is the only reality. The State is but the shadow of man, the shadow of his opaqueness of his ignorance and fear.

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Life begins and ends with man, the individual. Without him there is no race, no humanity, no State. No, not even "society" is possible without man. It is the individual who lives, breathes and suffers. His development, his advance, has been a continuous struggle against the fetishes of his own creation and particularly so against the "State."

In former days religious authority fashioned political life in the image of the Church. The authority of the State, the "rights" of rulers came from on high; power, like faith, was divine. Philosophers have written thick volumes to prove the sanctity of the State; some have even clad it with infallibility and with god-like attributes. Some have talked themselves into the insane notion that the State is "superhuman," the supreme reality, "the absolute."

Enquiry was condemned as blasphemy. Servitude was the highest virtue. By such precepts and training certain things came to be regarded as self-evident, as sacred of their truth, but because of constant and persistent repetition.

All progress has been essentially an unmasking of "divinity" and "mystery," of alleged sacred, eternal "truth"; it has been a gradual elimination of the abstract and the substitution in its place of the real, the concrete. In short, of facts against fancy, of knowledge against ignorance, of light against darkness.

That slow and arduous liberation of the individual was not accomplished by the aid of the State. On the contrary, it was by continuous conflict, by a life-and-death struggle with the State, that even the smallest vestige of independence and freedom has been won. It has cost mankind much time and blood to secure what little it has gained so far from kings, tears and governments.

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The great heroic figure of that long Golgotha has been Man. It has always been the individual, often alone and singly, at other times in unity and co-operation with others of his kind, who has fought and bled in the age-long battle against suppression and oppression, against the powers that enslave and degrade him.

More than that and more significant: It was man, the individual, whose soul first rebelled against injustice and degradation; it was the individual who first conceived the idea of resistance to the conditions under which he chafed. In short, it is always the individual who is the parent of the liberating thought as well as of the deed.

This refers not only to political struggles, but to the entire gamut of human life and effort, in all ages and climes. It has always been the individual, the man of strong mind and will to liberty, who paved the way for every human advance, for every step toward a freer and better world; in science, philosophy and art, as well as in industry, whose genius rose to the heights, conceiving the "impossible," visualizing its realization and imbuing others with his enthusiasm to work and strive for it. Socially speaking, it was always the prophet, the seer, the idealist, who dreamed of a world more to his heart's desire and who served as the beacon light on the road to greater achievement.

The State, every government whatever its form, character or color—be it absolute or constitutional, monarchy or republic, Fascist, Nazi or Bolshevik — is by its very nature conservative, static, intolerant of change and opposed to it. Whatever changes it undergoes are always the result of pressure exerted upon it, pressure strong enough to compel the ruling powers to submit peaceably or otherwise, generally "otherwise" — that is, by revolution. Moreover, the inherent conservatism of government, of authority of any kind, unavoidably becomes reactionary. For two reasons: first, because it is in

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the nature of government not only to retain the power it has, but also to strengthen, widen and perpetuate it, nationally as well as internationally. The stronger authority grows, the greater the State and its power, the less it can tolerate a similar authority or political power alongside of itself. The psychology of government demands that its influence and prestige constantly grow, at home and abroad, and it exploits every opportunity to increase it. This tendency is motivated by the financial and commercial interests back of the government, represented and served by it. The fundamental *raison d'être* of every government to which, incidentally, historians of former days wilfully shut their eyes, has become too obvious now even for professors to ignore.

The other factor which impels governments to become even more conservative and reactionary is their inherent distrust of the individual and fear of individuality. Our political and social scheme cannot afford to tolerate the individual and his constant quest for innovation. In "self-defense" the State therefore suppresses, persecutes, punishes and even deprives the individual of life. It is aided in this by every institution that stands for the preservation of the existing order. It resorts to every form of violence and force, and its efforts are supported by the "moral indignation" of the majority against the heretic, the social dissenter and the political rebel — the majority for centuries drilled in State worship, trained in discipline and obedience and subdued by the awe of authority in the home, the school, the church and the press.

The strongest bulwark of authority is uniformity; the least divergence from it is the greatest crime. The wholesale mechanisation of modern life has increased uniformity a thousandfold. It is everywhere present, in habits, tastes, dress, thoughts and ideas. Its most concentrated dullness is "public opinion." Few have the courage to stand out against it. He who refuses to sub-

mit is at once labelled "queer," "different," and decried as a disturbing element in the comfortable stagnancy of modern life.

Perhaps even more than constituted authority, it is social uniformity and sameness that harass the individual most. His very "uniqueness," "separateness" and "differentiation" make him an alien, not only in his native place, but even in his own home. Often more so than the foreign born who generally falls in with the established.

In the true sense one's native land, with its background of tradition, early impressions, reminiscences and other things dear to one, is not enough to make sensitive human beings feel at home. A certain atmosphere of "belonging," the consciousness of being "at one" with the people and environment, is more essential to one's feeling of home. This holds good in relation to one's family, the smaller local circle, as well as the larger phase of the life and activities commonly called one's country. The individual whose vision encompasses the whole world often feels nowhere so hedged in and out of touch with his surroundings than in his native land.

In pre-war time the individual could at least escape national and family boredom. The whole world was open to his longings and his quests. Now the world has become a prison, and life continual solitary confinement. Especially is this true since the advent of dictatorship, right and left.

Friedrich Nietzsche called the State a cold monster. What would he have called the hideous beast in the garb of modern dictatorship? Not that government had ever allowed much scope to the individual; but the champions of the new State ideology do not grant even that much. "The individual is nothing," they declare, "it is the collectivity which counts." Nothing less than the complete surrender of the individual will satisfy the insatiable appetite of the new deity.

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Strangely enough, the loudest advocates of this new gospel are to be found among the British and American intelligentsia. Just now they are enamored with the "dictatorship of the proletariat." In theory only, to be sure. In practice, they still prefer the few liberties in their own respective countries. They go to Russia for a short visit or as salesmen of the "revolution," but they feel safer and more comfortable at home.

Perhaps it is not only lack of courage which keeps these good Britishers and Americans in their native lands rather than in the millenium come. Subconsciously there may lurk the feeling that individuality remains the most fundamental fact of all human association, suppressed and persecuted yet never defeated, and in the long run the victor.

The "genius of man," which is but another name for personality and individuality, bores its way through all the caverns of dogma, through the thick walls of tradition and custom, defying all taboos, setting authority at naught, facing contumely and the scaffold—ultimately to be blessed as prophet and martyr by succeeding generations. But for the "genius of man," that inherent, persistent quality of individuality, we would be still roaming the primeval forests.

Peter Kropotkin has shown what wonderful results this unique force of man's individuality has achieved when strengthened by co-operation with other individualities. The one-sided and entirely inadequate Darwinian theory of the struggle for existence received its biological and sociological completion from the great Anarchist scientist and thinker. In his profound work, *Mutual Aid* Kropotkin shows that in the animal kingdom, as well as in human society, co-operation — as opposed to internecine strife and struggle — has worked for the survival and evolution of the species. He demonstrated that only mutual aid and voluntary co-operation — not the omni-

potent, all-devastating State — can create the basis for a free individual and associational life.

At present the individual is the pawn of the zealots of dictatorship and the equally obsessed zealots of "rugged individualism." The excuse of the former is its claim of a new objective. The latter does not even make a pretense of anything new. As a matter of fact "rugged individualism" has learned nothing and forgotten nothing. Under its guidance the brute struggle for physical existence is still kept up. Strange as it may seem, and utterly absurd as it is, the struggle for physical survival goes merrily on though the necessity for it has entirely disappeared. Indeed, the struggle is being continued apparently because there is no necessity for it. Does not so-called overproduction prove it? Is not the world-wide economic crisis an eloquent demonstration that the struggle for existence is being maintained by the blindness of "rugged individualism" at the risk of its own destruction?

One of the insane characteristics of this struggle is the complete negation of the relation of the producer to the things he produces. The average worker has no inner point of contact with the industry he is employed in, and he is a stranger to the process of production of which he is a mechanical part. Like any other cog of the machine, he is replaceable at any time by other similar depersonalized human beings.

The intellectual proletarian, though he foolishly thinks himself a free agent, is not much better off. He, too, has a little choice or self-direction, in his particular metier as his brother who works with his hands. Material considerations and desire for greater social prestige are usually the deciding factors in the vocation of the intellectual. Added to it is the tendency to follow in the footsteps of family tradition, and become doctors, lawyers, teachers, engineers, etc. The groove requires less effort and personality. In consequence nearly everybody

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is out of place in our present scheme of things. The masses plod on, partly because their senses have been dulled by the deadly routine of work and because they must eke out an existence. This applies with even greater force to the political fabric of today. There is no place in its texture for free choice of independent thought and activity. There is a place only for voting and tax-paying puppets.

The interests of the State and those of the individual differ fundamentally and are antagonistic. The State and the political and economic institutions it supports can exist only by fashioning the individual to their particular purpose; training him to respect "law and order;" teaching him obedience, submission and unquestioning faith in the wisdom and justice of government; above all, loyal service and complete self-sacrifice when the State commands it, as in war. The State puts itself and its interests even above the claims of religion and of God. It punishes religious or conscientious scruples against individuality because there is no individuality without liberty, and liberty is the greatest menace to authority.

The struggle of the individual against these tremendous odds is the more difficult — too often dangerous to life and limb — because it is not truth or falsehood which serves as the criterion of the opposition he meets. It is not the validity or usefulness of his thought or activity which rouses against him the forces of the State and of "public opinion." The persecution of the innovator and protestant has always been inspired by fear on the part of constituted authority of having its infallibility questioned and its power undermined.

Man's true liberation, individual and collective, lies in his emancipation from authority and from the belief in it. All human evolution has been a struggle in that direction and for that object. It is not invention and

mechanics which constitute development. The ability to travel at the rate of 100 miles an hour is no evidence of being civilized. True civilization is to be measured by the individual, the unit of all social life; by his individuality and the extent to which it is free to have its being, to grow and expand unhindered by invasive and coercive authority.

Socially speaking, the criterion of civilization and culture is the degree of liberty and economic opportunity which the individual enjoys; of social and international unity and co-operation unrestricted by man-made laws and other artificial obstacles; by the absence of privileged castes and by the reality of liberty and human dignity; in short, by the true emancipation of the individual.

Political absolutism has been abolished because men have realized in the course of time that absolute power is evil and destructive. But the same thing is true of all power, whether it be the power of privilege, of money, of the priest, of the politician or of so-called democracy. In its effect on individuality it matters little what the particular character of coercion is — whether it be as black as Fascism, as yellow as Nazism or as pretentiously red as Bolshevism. It is power that corrupts and degrades both master and slave and it makes no difference whether the power is wielded by an autocrat, by parliament or Soviets. More pernicious than the power of a dictator is that of a class; the most terrible — the tyranny of a majority.

The long process of history has taught man that division and strife mean death, and that unity and co-operation advance his cause, multiply his strength and further his welfare. The spirit of government has always worked against the social application of this vital lesson, except where it served the State and aided its own particular interests. It is this anti-progressive and anti-social spirit of the State and of the privileged castes back of

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it which has been responsible for the bitter struggle between man and man. The individual and ever larger groups of individuals are beginning to see beneath the surface of the established order of things. No longer are they so blinded as in the past by the glare and tinsel of the State idea, and of the "blessings" of "rugged individualism." Man is reaching out for the wider scope of human relations which liberty alone can give. For true liberty is not a mere scrap of paper called "constitution," "legal right" or "law." It is not an abstraction derived from the non-reality known as "the State." It is not the negative thing of being free from something, because with such freedom you may starve to death. Real freedom, true liberty is positive: it is freedom to something; it is the liberty to be, to do; in short, the liberty of actual and active opportunity.

That sort of liberty is not a gift: it is the natural right of man, of every human being. It cannot be given: it cannot be conferred by any law or government. The need of it, the longing for it, is inherent in the individual. Disobedience to every form of coercion is the instinctive expression of it. Rebellion and revolution are the more or less conscious attempt to achieve it. Those manifestations, individual and social, are fundamentally expressions of the values of man. That those values may be nurtured, the community must realize that its greatest and most lasting asset is the unit — the individual.

In religion, as in politics, people speak of abstractions and believe they are dealing with realities. But when it does come to the real and the concrete, most people seem to lose vital touch with it. It may well be because reality alone is too matter-of-fact, too cold to enthuse the human soul. It can be aroused to enthusiasm only by things out of the commonplace, out of the ordinary. In other words, the Ideal is the spark that fires the imagination and hearts of men. Some ideal is needed to rouse man out of the inertia and humdrum of his exist-

ence and turn the abject slave into an heroic figure.

Right here, of course, comes the Marxist objector who has outmarxed Marx himself. To such a one, man is a mere puppet in the hands of that metaphysical Almighty called economic determinism or, more vulgarly, the class struggle. Man's will, individual and collective, his psychic life and mental orientation count for almost nothing with our Marxist and do not affect his conception of human history.

No intelligent student will deny the importance of the economic factor in the social growth and development of mankind. But only narrow and wilful dogmatism can persist in remaining blind to the important role played by an idea as conceived by the imagination and aspirations of the individual.

It were vain and unprofitable to attempt to balance one factor as against another in human experience. No one single factor in the complex of individual or social behavior can be designated as the factor of decisive quality. We know too little, and may never know enough, of human psychology to weigh and measure the relative values of this or that factor in determining man's conduct. To form such dogmas in their social connotation is nothing short of bigotry; yet, perhaps, it has its uses, for the very attempt to do so proved the persistence of the human will and confutes the Marxists.

Fortunately even some Marxists are beginning to see that all is not well with the Marxian creed. After all, Marx was but human — all too human — hence by no means infallible. The practical application of economic determinism in Russia is helping to clear the minds of the more intelligent Marxists. This can be seen in the transvaluation of Marxian values going on in Socialist and even Communist ranks in some European countries. They are slowly realising that their theory has overlooked the human element, *den Menschen*, as a Socialist paper put it. Important as the economic factor is, it is not enough.

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The rejuvenation of mankind needs the inspiration and energising force of an ideal.

Such an ideal I see in Anarchism. To be sure, not in the popular misrepresentations of Anarchism spread by the worshippers of the State and authority. I mean the philosophy of a new social order based on the released energies of the individual and the free association of liberated individuals.

Of all social theories Anarchism alone steadfastly proclaims that society exists for man, not man for society. The sole legitimate purpose of society is to serve the needs and advance the aspiration of the individual. Only by doing so can it justify its existence and be an aid to progress and culture.

The political parties and men savagely scrambling for power will scorn me as hopelessly out of tune with our time. I cheerfully admit the charge. I find comfort in the assurance that their hysteria lacks enduring quality. Their hosanna is but of the hour.

Man's yearning for liberation from all authority and power will never be soothed by their cracked song. Man's quest for freedom from every shackle is eternal. It must and will go on.

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- p. 4 of cover

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We are confident that the united protest of the international proletariat will give our comrades life and freedom.

With comradely greetings
The Foreign Bureau for the Organization of the
Russian Anarcho-Syndicalist Confederation.

G. MAXIMOFF
MARK
YARTCHUK

APPEAL FOR HELP

Having now left Russia, we realize that our first and most necessary statements should be made in behalf of the political prisoners of Russia. It is a sad and heartbreaking commentary upon the state of affairs in Russia if one has to speak about political prisoners in the country of Social Revolution. Unfortunately such is the actual state of things.

And by political prisoners we do not refer to the counter-revolutionists who are the prisoners of the Revolution. Unbelievable as it may seem, the prisons and jails of Soviet Russia are now crowded with the revolutionary elements of the country: men and women of the highest caliber, of the highest social ideals and aspirations. Throughout the vast expanses of the country, in Central Russia and in Siberia, in the prisons of the old and new regime, in the solitary cells of the Che-Ka, revolutionists of all parties and movements are now languishing: Left Social-Revolutionists, Maximists, Communists from the "workers' opposition," Anarchists, Anarcho-Syndicalists and Universalists — Partisans of various schools of social philosophy, but all true revolutionists and active participants of the November revolution of 1917. The situation of the political prisoners is highly deplorable. Apart from moral sufferings and torments, the purely physical side of their existence is extremely lamentable. Due to the general state of the country, the lack of building materials and skilled workers, alterations of prisons have become nearly nigh impossible. That is why the hygienic conditions in most of the prisons are now of the most primitive kind. But worse than all is the food problem. At no time did the Bolshevik government supply its prisoners with sufficient food. The rations given to prisoners fell upon their friends, relatives and comrades. But now the situation has taken a turn for the worse. Only 52 percent of the food tax collections have thus far been taken in. With famine

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PROFESSOR A. A. BOROVY
Died in 1936 in exile, Vlatka



LEV CHERNY (TURCHANINOV)
Shot to death in 1921 by Che-Ka



OLGA TARATUTA
In prisons and exile since 1920



FANIA and AARON BARON
Fania shot to death in 1921 by Moscow Che-Ka.
Aaron in prisons and exile since 1920, probably
shot in 1937

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conditions now existing in the Volga provinces, with the general breakdown of the economic apparatus of the government, the situation of the prison population has indeed become hopeless.

The needs of the political prisoners are satisfied, of course, by the Political Red Cross, a faithful and active organization. One of the outstanding members of this organization is the old eminent revolutionist, Vera Figner. This organization was very successful in its mission considering how difficult it is for anyone to save anything from ones meagre ration. However, the Political Red Cross until now has been able to supply the most basic needs of the political prisoners. Of all the prisoners *with the exception of Anarchists!* Not because the Red Cross is discriminatory in its work. Just the opposite—the organization is non-partisan in its work, although strongly colored by the rightest convictions of the socialist elements. But, guided by political reasons, the Anarchists of Russia have always reverted to self-aid in the work of helping the imprisoned comrades, for the purpose of which an Anarchist Red Cross (now called the Black Cross) was set up with the aim of providing for the Anarchists in the Russian prisons. This now has become a Herculean task for the Anarchists who still happen to enjoy their freedom. Many of the most active comrades have given their life for the revolution, a vast number of them fell on the front defending the revolution, while others were executed or thrown into the Bolshevik prisons. Many of those who survived and are still at liberty are themselves on the very brink of starvation: the Black Cross has to make superhuman efforts to keep the political prisoners from starving to death. The work done by it is one of self-sacrifice and high nobility.

But if its work was always hard and full of obstacles it has now become immeasurably more difficult. The new policy of systematic persecutions of Anarchists by the Bolshevik government is the greatest obstacle in the work of the Black Cross. Since most of its members have been imprisoned by now, the organization was revamped and now it is known under the name of the Society to Aid the Anarchists in the Russian Prisons. It heroically continues the work of extending to the prisoners the small material aid which it succeeds in collecting. Unfortunately, its possibilities to do so are very limited. The comrades who are at liberty deprive themselves from the basic necessities in order to send a few pounds of bread or potatoes to the prisoners. They are eager to share the last they

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bave. But they themselves have so little, and the number of comrades in prison is so vast and their need so great! From the prisons of Moscow, Petrograd, Orel and Vladimir, from the far-off Eastern provinces, from the comrades exiled to the frozen North, from everywhere comes that frightful news: the terrible whip of famine, the dreadful scurvy. Their hands and feet swell up, their gums weaken, their teeth are falling out. . . . Their bodies are actually disintegrating.

Comrades who are at liberty, pay heed to this cry for help! The Anarchists in Russia cannot supply the barest needs of the imprisoned comrades unless helped in this work by comrades abroad. In the name of the Society to Aid Anarchists in Russian Prisons, in the name of our tortured comrades who freeze and starve to death in the Bolshevik prisons, who suffer now for their faithfulness to the highest ideals, in the name of all of them, we call upon you, comrades and friends, from everywhere. Only your voluntary and immediate aid will be able to save our imprisoned comrades of Russia from starving to death.

With comradely greetings,

ALEXANDER BERKMAN

Delegate at large from the

Society to Aid Anarchist Prisoners in Russia

EMMA GOLDMAN and A. SHAPIRO—Secretary
of Anarcho-Syndicalist Union "Golos Trouda."

III

The Dry Guillotine Begins to Work

1922 – 1939

A YEAR BY YEAR CHRONICLE OF ARRESTS,
PERSECUTIONS AND STRUGGLES OF
ANARCHISTS IN PRISONS AND EXILES.

The Emma Goldman Papers

Statement: Fund for Spanish Refugees / Emma Goldman.— 1940 Jan. 18.—
2 p.; 29 × 22 cm.

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Toronto, January 18, 1940

STATEMENT

FUND FOR SPANISH REFUGEES

Disbursements

April 28, 1939 - To Molly Alperine.....	\$ 24.00
For distribution among Mujeres Libres & German Refugees from Spain in Concentration Camps in France.	
April 28, 1939 - To Ethel Mannin.....	40.00
For the needs of Spanish Refugees in London, England.	
June, 1939 - To Ethel Mannin.....	50.00
For the needs of Spanish Refugees in London, England.	
June 10, 1939 - For mailing clothes to England....	5.00
July 15, 1939 - To Lucia Sanchez Saornil, Sec'y... S.I.A. per A.S.	50.00
Aug. 9, 1939 - To Mercedes Comasando.....	20.00
Sept. 11, 1939 - To Ethel Mannin.....	31.08
For the needs of Spanish Refugees in London, England.	
Oct. 4, 1939 - For a Spanish Refugee for Trans -.. Atlantic passage.	50.00
Oct. 4, 1939 - To Paul Gomex Saavedra, Mexico.....	25.00
Oct. 13, 1939 - For a Spanish Refugee for Trans-.. Atlantic passage.	50.00
Nov. 14, 1939 - To Therese Souhy.....	10.00
Dec. 4, 1939 - To Pedro Herrera.....	50.00
For 42 Spanish Refugees settled on an estate in France.	
May 1, 1939 - To A.S.....	14.00
For German Refugees in French Camps who fought in Spain.	
July 5, 1939 - To Ethel Mannin.....	26.00
For the London Section of S.I.A.	
	\$445.08

Total Receipts.....\$532.34

Disbursements.....\$445.08

Charges & Exchange on Money

Orders & Cheques.....3.68 448.76

BANK BALANCE.....\$ 83.58

Emma Goldman

Audited & found correct

J. Fritzgerald

Jan. 31/1940

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Emma Goldman's meeting, Toronto, April 27/39.....	\$ 64.00
" " " " May 9/39.....	24.15
" " " " May 16/39.....	31.02
" " " Windsor May 19/39.....	103.75
" " " Toronto Sept. 19/39.....	28.50
" " " Windsor Sept. 28/39.....	21.45
" " " " Sept. 29/39.....	2.00
Exchange received on American cheque.....	<u>1.88</u>

\$276.75

EMMA GOLDMAN TESTIMONIAL FUND

Receipts

Banquet for Emma Goldman's 50th Anniversary	
Sept. 30/39	\$138.45
Picture Show Nov. 8th, 1939.....	41.25
Emma Goldman's meeting Winnipeg, Dec. 1939.....	4.60
Bridge at Mrs. Culiner's Jan. 14/40.....	<u>31.29</u>

\$15.59

\$492.34

April 18, 1939 - From Rose Bernstein, Montreal, Que.....	<u>40.00</u>
Subscriptions to Emma Goldman Party.	

TOTAL.....\$532.34

Emma Goldman

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J. H. Gerald -
Jan. 31/1940

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[Correspondence: treasury report on Spanish refugees' committee. In Italian] Corrispondenze Comunicazioni: Resoconto Fondo pro' Rifugiati di Spagna / Emma Goldman and J. Fitzgerald. — 28 cm. In L'Adunata dei Refrattari [New York]. — (Jan. 31, 1940).

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POTALIVO

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Emma Goldman Testimonial Fund: Banchetto del 50.º anniversario, 30-IX-39 di E. G.: \$128.45; Spettacolo cinematografico, 8-XI-39: \$41.25; Comizio E. G. a Winnipeg, Dec. 1939: \$4.60; Partita presso Mrs. Cullen, Genn. 1940: \$31.29; totale \$215.59.

Da Rosa Dinstein, di Montreal \$40; Totale entrate \$532.34.

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J. Fitzgerald

31 Gennaio 1940.

Questo resoconto ci perviene accompagnato da una lettera in cui Emma Goldman spiega che una delle ragioni per cui decise di trasferire la sua residenza dall'Europa al Canada, fu il suo desiderio di adoperarsi a raccogliere fondi per venire in aiuto dei compagni spagnoli confinati nei campi di concentramento francesi. Le iniziative di cui manda il resoconto segnarono i primi passi di questa sua attività che avrebbe potuto continuare con maggior successo se lo scoppio della guerra non fosse venuto a crearsi ostacoli. Poi, l'arresto dei compagni di Toronto, alla cui difesa Emma Goldman si è dedicata fin dal primo giorno con attività febbrile, l'ha costretto a rinviare alla continuazione del suo piano iniziale.

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NEWARK, N. J. — Sabato 17 febbraio, ore 7.30 p. m., all'Ateneo de E. Social, 36 Downing st., avrà luogo una serata con dramma e ballo per il mantenimento del locale. Il Comitato

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GARY, IND. — Domenica 25 febbraio, ore 8 p. m., alla sala W. E. avrà luogo una serata con dramma e ballo a beneficio dei rifugiati di Spagna. Il Comitato

NEW YORK, N. Y. — Domenica 25 febbraio al Centro Espanol, 147 Columbus ave., avrà luogo una serata con dramma e ballo per la Solidarietà Internazionale antifascista. Il Comitato

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EAST BOSTON, Mass. — Sabato, 2 Marzo d'accordo con i compagni spagnoli grande festa a totale beneficio della S.I.A. Il Circolo Aurora

PITTSBURGH, Pa. — Domenica 3, marzo, ore 2.30 p. m., alla Sala dell'Italian Citizen Club di Brownstown, la "Filodrammatica Giovanile" di Brooklyn, rappresenterà in inglese: "Scampolo". Indi farsa in italiano. Negli intermezzi ballo classico del rai-
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BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Financial Account of the Funds for the Spanish Refugees. In Italian] Resoconto Fondo pro' Rifugiati di Spagna / Emma Goldman and [M.E.?] Fitzgerald. — p. 7 ; 36 cm. In L'Adunata dei Refrattari [New York] — (Feb. 17, 1940).
Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

L'ADUNATA DEI REFRATTARI

7

RE

CORRISPONDENZE

COMUNICAZIONI

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I processi intentati contro i quattro arrestati di Toronto sono uniti in fumo, ma due di essi sono sempre sotto minaccia di deportazione in Italia. Bortolotti poté essere liberato, sotto \$4.000 di cauzione forniti da compagni e amici di Toronto e di Detroit. Per Joachim la cauzione è negata. Emma Goldman non è del tutto insoddisfatta dei risultati ottenuti sinora, ma resta da impedire la deportazione di Bortolotti e di Joachim in Italia, ottenendo che per primo sia riconosciuto il diritto di risiedere nel Canada, che il secondo, ove ciò non sia possibile passa entrare in un altro paese.

Ottenuta questo, E. G. conta di riprendere il filo interrotto delle sue attività in favore dei profughi di Spagna, i quali restano indomiti ad onta dei rovesci subiti, e dovunque si trovino, in Europa o nelle Americhe non tarderanno a dimostrare la fermezza del loro carattere e la costanza della loro fede.

PATERSON, N. J. — Domenica scorsa al Dover Club, nella confusione, avvenne uno scambio di soprannomi. Chi si è trovato con un "overcoat" che non

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Il Comitato

BROOKLYN, N. Y. — Domenica 18 febbraio, ore 5 P. M. precise, al Gallie Club, 118, Cook Street avrà luogo un ballo in maschera con grande sorpresa delle donne. Cibarie e rinfreschi per tutti. Il ricavato sarà devoluto dove urge il bisogno.

Un Gruppo di Donne

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Il Circolo di Cultura Sociale

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Faceliamo appello ai compagni e simpatizzanti della zona dell'Antracite ad intervenire numerosi a questa nostra iniziativa.

Il Comitato

PHILADELPHIA, Pa. — Domenica, 3 marzo, ore 3 p. m. al Labor Educational Centre, 415 So. 19th Street conferenza sul tema: "La Comune". Entrata e parola libera.

Il Circolo d'Emancipazione Sociale

PHILADELPHIA, Pa. — Sabato, 9 marzo, ore 7.30 p. m. al "Labor Educational Center", 415 So. 19th Street avrà luogo una festa con ballo a pro Vittime Politiche e l'Adunata. I compagni e gli amici sono pregati di non mancare.

Il Circolo d'Emancipazione Sociale

CHICAGO, Ill. — Sabato, 9 marzo, ore 8 p. m.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Emma Goldman and the Dies commission. In Italian] Emma Goldman e la Commissione Dies / Emma Goldman. — 31 cm. In L'Adunata dei Refrattari [New York]. — (May 25, 1940).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Archivio Famiglia Berneri, Pistoia, Italy.

EMMA GOLDMAN E LA COMMISSIONE DIES

Sollecitata a comparire davanti alla Commissione parlamentare presieduta dal Rappresentante Dies, nell'autunno scorso, quando questa commissione intraprese la sua campagna contro i comunisti, Emma Goldman si rifiutò energicamente, dicendo nel seguente estratto di lettera le sue ragioni.

In quanto a Isaac Don Levine, so bene che egli crede di far bene. Ma mi riempie d'indignazione il fatto ch'egli possa suggerirmi di presentarmi dinanzi alla Commissione Dies. Anche se non potessi mai vederc gli Stati Uniti, e anche se la mia vita stessa ne dipendesse, mi rifiuterei di rendere servizio a questa nauseabonda commissione, che non ha nessunissima preoccupazione per qualsiasi genere di libertà. E' fin troppo evidente che Dies attacca i comunisti per soddisfare le sue personali ambizioni, e che egli rappresenta gli elementi più reazionari e più foschi che esistano negli S. U. Ma per quanto mi ripugnano il Dies e la sua commissione, i rinnegati comunisti mi ripugnano anche di più. Costoro, che sono stati nel partito e che per anni ed anni hanno gettato fango contro di noi perchè abbiamo rivelato la vera situazione esistente in Russia e le attività staliniane in Spagna, questi miserabili delatori si fanno ora la concorrenza nel confessare i loro peccati alla Commissione Dies — niente meno!

Nulla al mondo potrebbe indurmi a mettermi al loro livello. E, questo, non perchè mi preoccupino gli attacchi che seguirebbero se mi unissi alla canea. Voi sapete benissimo che di questo non m'importa. Ma è la mia dignità, la mia integrità che mi vieta di comperarmi l'ammissione negli S. U. rendendo servizio al signor Dies.

Certo, io non sento che disprezzo per i comunisti americani e la mia posizione rispetto alla Russia è oggi quella che è sempre stata. Se mai, gli ultimi avvenimenti sintetizzati dal patto Hitler-Stalin, hanno semplicemente rivendicata l'opinione di tutti noi che abbiamo da lungo tempo denunciate le infamie incommensurabili di cui Stalin è capace. Le mie tre visite alla Spagna mi hanno dimostrato che non c'è differenza alcuna tra Hitler e Stalin. Se mai, la mia conclusione è che Hitler è meno ipocrita, poichè egli ha apertamente detto di servire Franco. Stalin e i suoi satelliti non hanno avuto questa franchezza. Essi gridavano da tutti i tetti che ogni loro preoccupazione era per la democrazia e per la pace. Essi sono riusciti a far credere alla maggioranza dei liberali deficienti, che Stalin era contrario al fascismo e cooperava all'uccisione del drago. In realtà egli cercò semplicemente, coi suoi metodi sadici, d'infliggere il suo tallone di ferro sul collo del popolo spagnolo; e quando s'accorse che questo popolo non voleva saperne di lui, rese a Franco il servizio di schiacciare il più splendido inizio di costruzione che la storia abbia conosciuto. Così la mia posizione nei confronti della Russia non è mutata. E' stata invece mille volte consolidata. Come ho sempre fatto, mi propongo di continuare a strappare la maschera dal muso ripugnante di Stalin e denunciare l'assenza di scrupoli, la mancanza di onestà e la viltà dei comunisti. Ma questo intendo fare dalla mia particolare indipendente tribuna, o dinanzi a gente che è veramente libertaria. Non mai davanti alla Commissione Dies. Potete dirlo a Don se avete occasione di rivederlo.

EMMA GOLDMAN

The Emma Goldman Papers

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Memorial Meeting / Emma Goldman. — 1940 May 31. — 1 p. ; 18 × 11 cm.
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Memorial Meeting

to honor the

Outstanding Woman of Our Time

EMMA GOLDMAN

Anarchist • Author • Speaker • Journalist

at TOWN HALL

123 West 43rd Street

Friday Evening, May 31, 1940

8:15 p.m.

Tributes will be paid by

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

ROGER BALDWIN

NORMAN THOMAS

HARRY WEINBERGER

ROSE PESOTTA
of the I.L.G.W.U.

HARRY KELLY

MARTIN GUDALL

Miss Goldman's guide in Spain

RUDOLF ROCKER
(In Yiddish)

DOROTHY ROGERS

ELIOT WHITE

LEONARD D. ABBOTT, will preside
CLIFFORD DEMAREST of the Orgon

The public is invited

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The
Emma
Goldman
Papers

A Microfilm Edition

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Goldman Writings

January 1, 1935 to May 31, 1940

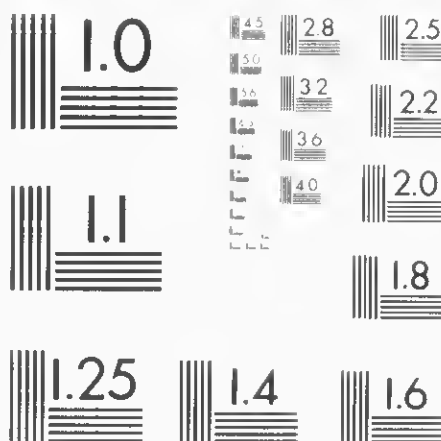
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Candace Falk
Ronald J. Zboray
and
Daniel Cornford

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